STANDARD EDITION.

THE

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE,
AS WELL AS A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

MANY HUNDRED WOOD-CUTS;

AND

ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR ILLUSTRATIVE PORTRAITS, ENGRAVED ON STEEL

BY

GEORGE L. CRAIK AND CHARLES MAC FARLANE,
ASSISTED BY OTHER CONTRIBUTORS.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUL E VI.,

BEING THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

LONDON:
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1847.

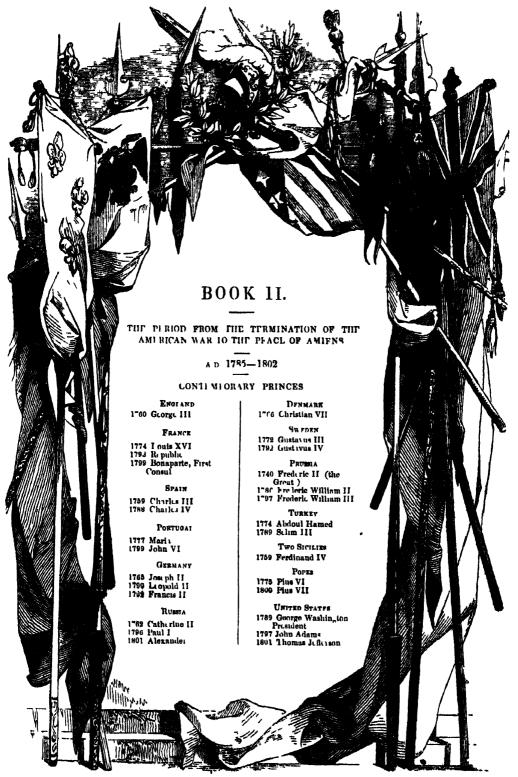


LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	F	,ege	Pag	re
١	Ornamental Title-page.	-	39 Fullarton crossing a mountain-stream, in his march on	•
2	Ornamental Border.		Palagatcherry. From a drawing by Daniell 15	9
3	Initial Letter	2	1. 1.) and any or sail. I form stringer uffaces in and conference of	
4	Fox. From a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds			
5	Pitt. From a portrait by Hoppner	5	11 11bles comes 110m a tringer 10th and	
6	Lillo on the Scheldt. From an original drawing in the		42 Nabob of Oude. From a painting by Horne 16	-
	Royal Collection, British Museum	11		
	The Hague. From an original drawing	12	The state of the s	9
ч	Surat. From a view in the Library of the East India Com-		45 The Prince of Wales. From a passing by Sir William	
	pauy	17		-
9	Fort St. George, Madras. From an early view published by		46 Nimeguen From a drawing by Anelay	-
	Carey in 1787	19	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	-
10	Bombay. From a view in the Library of the East India		48 Sir Philip Francis. From a portrait by J. Lonsdale 28	
	Company	20		11
11	General view of Madras From a drawing by Thomas		50 Dutch Sluice-breakers attacking a Dyke. From a print by	
	Daviell	24		
	Rock of Trinchinopoly. From an original drawing	27		16
IJ	Gingee. From a painting by Lieutenant G. Payne	28	The state of the s	
14	Group of Mahratta Arms. From the collection of Sir S.		by Anelay	8
	Meyrick	38		
15	Lord Clive. From a portrait in the Government House,		Dutch print	
	Calcutta	33		17
16	The Government Buildings, Madras. From a drawing by		55 George III. (his usual appearance at this period). From a	
	Thomas Daniell	35		2
17	Sujah-u-Dowla and his ten sons. From a painting "takeu		56 Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. From a painting by Sir	
	by his Excellency's permission at Fyzabad," by M1. Ket-		Joshua Reynolds	1
	tle; drawn by Mr. B. Sly, from a copy in the Museum of		57 Jane, Duchess of Gordon. From a painting by Sir Joshua	
	the Royal Asiatic Society	40		
	Calcutta, from Fort William. From a print by Orme, 1756	44		-
19	Obelisk built on the site of the Black Hole, Calcutta, to com-		59 Louis XVI. From a portrait by Duplemis-Bertaux 8	
	memorate the murder of one hundred and twenty-three		60 Necker. From a portrait by Duplessis-Rertaux 33	-
	Englishmen. From a drawing in the India House	47		1
	Patna. From a view by Thomas Daniell	56		
21	Palace of Sujah Dowla at Lucknow. From a drawing in		print	4
	the British Museum	89		
22	Shah Alum presenting the grant of the Dewance to Lord			
	Clive From the picture painted by Benjamin West .	90		
	Monghir, view within the Fort	93		
	View of Calcutta. From a print by Daniell	95		_
	Hyder Ali. From a Hindu miniature	97	. I	
	Old East India House, Leadenhall-street	102 108		
	Warren Hastings Council House, Calcutta. From a view by Daniell	114		
	Shah Alum. From a Hindu picture, engraved in Franklin's	-	70 Talleyrand. From a portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux 30 71 Camille Desmoulins. From a portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux 30	
	TTI. AMI I AT	122		w
90		122		
21		125		•
	Benares . Road near Calcutta, troops on march. From a drawing by		From an original drawing	27
		128	1 . T	
23		130		**
	The state of the s		At Deadle Desimal Assa - Bount of the	
	7)	145		п
		147		
87	Group of Polygars. From armed figures in the collection	140	man to the second and a second as	
	of Sir Samuel Meyrick	187		74
38		168		
	A annum Enterested to 1 or services to 1 o 1	300		

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page	
79	Porte St. Antoine. From a view by Legard 429	96 Marat
80	The Paris Women entering the Hall of the National Assem-	97 Tuileries and Louvre, River Front. From a view by Batty
	bly, Versailles. From the Tableaux Historiques 428	98 Saint Cloud. From a French bird's eye view
81	The King's arrival at Paris from Versailles. From a medal	99 Les Hauteurs, Saint Cloud. From a view by Batty
	by Andrieu	100 Paris Patriots. From a print by Duplessis-Bertaux
82	Palace of the Tuileries	101 March of Flemish Troops. From a drawing by Walsh
83	Convent of the Jacobins. From an original drawing 437	102 Dr. Priestley
84	Specimens of French Assignats	103 National Assembly, Paris. From a drawing by Duplessis-
85	View in Nootka Sound. From a drawing by Webber . 459	Bertaux
86	Ismael. From an original drawing 476	104 The Luxembourg. From a view by Testard
87	Hotel de Ville, Paris. From a view by Lespinasse 478	105 Burning of the Pope in Effigy in the Palais Royal, 1791.
88	Abbé Maury. From a portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux . 480	Tableaux Historiques de la Révolution Française
89	Palais Royal. View by Lespinasse 482	106 Detention of the King at Varennes. From Tableau His-
90	Danton. From a portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux 483	toriques de la Révolution Française
91	Armed Parisian Citizen. French print 484	107 Pétion
98	The Cordelier Club-House. From a view by Champion . 485	108 Condorcet. From a portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux
93	A Mob-Citizen of Paris. French print 487	109 Thomas Paine
94	Chantilly March of the Provincial Federalists for Paris . 495	110 Roland. From a portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux
95	Fite of the Federation. From a view by Duplessis Bertaux 499	111 Madame Roland. From a Portrait by Duplessis-Bertaux .



CHAPTER I.

NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

A.D. 1785.



R. PITT's first parliament, prorogued on the 20th of August, 1784, did not reassemble until the 25th of January. The young great premier's Mr. Fox, rival. had been again returned for Westminster at the last general election:*

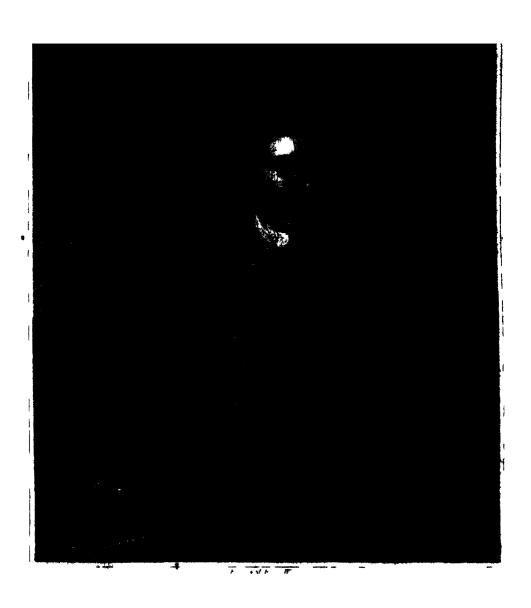
but Sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful Tory candidate, having demanded a scrutiny, Corbett, the high bailiff of the city of Westminster, and a warm Pittite, not without encouragement from the minister or from his triumphant party, took upon himself to make no return of representatives for that city; and Fox had been obliged to creep into parliament as member for a Scotch burgh — a circumstance which had given rise to many sarcastic jokes in the preceding session. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament the conduct of the high bailiff had been taken up warmly by the opposition, and had been as warmly defended by the minister and his friends. Counsel had been heard at the bar, petitions from Mr. Fox and petitions from the Westminster electors had been read; but ministerial majorities had justified the conduct of the bailiff, and had ordered him to proceed in the scrutiny " with all practicable dispatch." But Corbett too well knew what was expected from him by his party to make use of any dispatch, and at the opening of the present session, when the scrutiny had lasted some eight months,

it was found that not quite two out of the seven parishes into which Westminster was divided were scrutinised. It was calculated that at this rate, as one of the parishes examined was comparatively a small one, the scrutiny would be prolonged to three years. On the 8th of February the subject was brought again before the House by a petition from the electors; and the high bailiff and his counsel underwent another long examination at the bar touching the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny with more dispatch. The bailiff gave in evidence that it would certainly take not less, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finish the scrutiny. On the very next day Mr. Welbore Ellis, now out of place and in opposition, moved that the high bailiff should obey the writ, and make a return of the precept—which meant, at least according to the doctrine of the mover and his friends, that he should declare elected those who had stood highest on the poll. A long and violent debate, marked, on both sides, with gross personalities, followed; and the constitutional law or rule was absolutely buried under mountains of abuse and rhetoric. Fox, as his speech is reported by a friendly organ, was mild and even pathetic in accusing his



Fox. From a Portrait by Sir J. Reynolds.

rival, Pitt, of unfairness. "He had," he said, " always wished to stand well with the right honourable gentleman: he remembered the day he had first congratulated the House on the acquisition of his abilities: it had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day desert his principles, and lend himself to be the instru-



Commentarity Confermal equals

ment of that secret influence which they had both combated so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman—a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he never could have expected that he could have descended so low as to be the court persecutor of any man. He fancied he saw in him so much generosity of soul, so much elevation of mind, that so grovelling a passion as malice could not have found an asylum in his breast. He saw plainly that it was a pecuniary contest, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expense of it. scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than 30,000/. a-year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might easily be got at, for he was poor; but, little as he had, he would spend it to the last shilling. If in the end he should lose his election, it would not be through want of a legal majority, but through want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the Treasury."* The young premier, more starch and stern than any veteran minister that had appeared in modern times, called these charges "mad and violent assertions,"- sa gross as they were unfounded,"the products of one "mad with desperation and disappointment." He accused Fox of filling his speech for three hours at a time " with everything that was personal, inflammatory, and invidious."+ And, with a scornful elevation of the nostril, he continued-" I say, nevertheless, I am not surprised if he should pretend to be the butt of ministerial persecution; and if, by striving to excite the public compassion, he should seek to reinstate himself in that popularity which he once enjoyed, but which he so unhappily has forfeited. For it is the best and most ordinary resource of these political apostates to court and to offer themselves to persecution for the sake of the popular predilection and pity which usually fall upon persecuted men; it becomes worth their while to suffer, for a time, political martyrdom, for the sake of the canonization that awaits the suffering martyr; and I make on doubt the right honourable gentleman has so much penetration, and at the same time so much passive virtue about him, that he would be glad not only to seem a poor, injured, persecuted man, but he would gladly seek an opportunity of even really suffering a little persecution, if it be possible to find such an opportunity."! At a late hour an amendment was moved by Lord Mulgrave to leave out of Welbore Ellis's original motion every word except that, and to insert the words following:-"the Speaker do acquaint the high bailiff-first, that he is not precluded by the resolution of this House, communicated to him on the 8th of June last,§ from making a return whenever he shall be

satisfied in his own judgment that he can do so: and secondly, that this House is not satisfied that the scrutiny has been proceeded in as expeditiously as it might have been ;—that it is his duty to adopt and enforce such just and reasonable regulations as shall appear to him most likely to prevent unnecessary delay in future; that he is not precluded from so doing by want of consent in either party; and that he may be assured of the support of this House in the discharge of his duty." Upon this the House divided, when there appeared for the amendment 174, and against it 135. This ministerial majority was far less than it had been on points of the same question during the preceding session. A few days later, on the 18th of February, I'ux's bosom-friend, Colonel Fitzpatrick, presented another petition from the electors of Westminster, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar in defence of their rights and privileges, and in order that some new facts might be stated, of which they were not informed when they presented their former petition. Fitzpatrick moved that counsel should be called in, and then Lord Frederick Campbell moved, by way of mendment, that the said counsel should not be permitted to argue against the legality of the scrutiny. After much debate this ministerial amendment was carried by 203 against The coursel refused to plead under the restrictions imposed by the amendment. Thereupon the House called the high bailiff to the bar, and examined him touching the new facts alleged in the petition—which were, that Mr. Fox's counsel had offered, whilst the scrutiny was proceeding in the parish of St. Ann, where Fox was said to be the strongest, to go next into the parishes of St. Margarct and St. John, where he was stated to be the weakest; and that Sir Cecil Wray had, by his counsel, declined the proposal. The high bailiff gave in evidence that such an offer had really been made by the Foxites and not accepted by the other party; and shortly after this the bailiff was very conveniently taken ill and allowed to retire without further questioning or cross-questioning. As he walked out of the House Colonel Fitzpatrick moved (not in the best grammar)-" That, it appearing to this House that Thomas Corbett, Esquire, high bailiff, having received a precept from the Sheriff of Middlesex for electing two citizens to serve in parliament for the city of Westmanter; and having taken and finally closed the poli on the 17th of May last, being the day next before the day of return of the said writ, he be now directed forthwith to make a return of his precept of members chosen in pursuance thereof." This motion was rejected, but by a majority of only nine, the numbers being 145 against 136. On the 3rd of March Alderman Sawbridge brought forward the same motion. Pitt moved the question of adjournment upon it, but had the more tification of being left in a minority of thirty eight, the numbers being, for the adjournment

Lord Mulgrave, was "That the high builiff of Westmanster do pro-cood in the scrutiny for the said city with all practicable disputch."

^{*} Ann. Regist. † Id. ‡ Speeches of the Right Hen. William Pitt in the House of Com-nons. 3rd edit.

i The resolution passed in the preceding session, on the motion of

124, and against it 162. The main question was then put and carried without a division: and thus, after a protracted struggle of nearly ten months, was terminated the famed Westminster scrutiny, the high bailiff, on the very next day, making a return of Lord Hood and Mr. Fox, as duly elected members. Fox immediately brought an action against the high bailiff for not returning him at first when duly elected by a legal majority of votes. The trial came on on the 19th of June of the following year, 1786, before Lord Loughborough, in the Court of Common Pleas. Loughborough, whom we have formerly seen playing many political parts as Mr. Wedderburn, had at present settled down in a decided enmity to Mr. Pitt. Fox laid his damages at 100,000l.: the jury, after a few minutes' consultation, gave a verdict in his favour, but only for Fox declared that the money should be distributed among the charities of Westminster.*

Gross personality, and other kinds of coarseness, continued to characterise the debates; and a practice, introduced some time before, to interrupt the very eloquent but very long speeches of Burke, was frequently resorted to, in order to stop or disturb the opposition orators. The method was to get up a loud combination of coughing, hemming, hawking, and other noises on the ministerial benches, the leader and principal performer being Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire, the hero of the satirical poem called the 'Rolliad,' and afterwards Lord Rolle, by grace of these and other services rendered to Pitt. The warm temper of Burke and of other members of the opposition did not permit them to bear these insults with philosophy or with contempt; and in resenting them they were occasionally guilty of almost equal improprieties. It was observed and admitted by one of his closest adherents, that, though he had established his political preponderance and gained over partisans, Pitt was not succeeding in making friends. + But the proud, cold nature of the young premier made him as indifferent as he was unattaching: he rather wanted or sought for tools than friends. Of the hearty, thorough support of the king he was well assured: this gave him a degree of strength which no minister had possessed for a long time.

The king's speech at the opening of this session particularly recommended to consideration the state and trade of Ireland. The concessions which had been made from time to time were far from satisfying the Irish people, who continued their armed associations, and in other respects followed the same line of conduct which had led to revolution and independence in America. As early as in the month of September, 1783, a meeting of delegates from the province of Ulster, appointed and backed by the volunteers, was held at Dungannon for the purpose of reforming the Irish parliament. At this great meeting a plan of reform was agreed upon; and it was further resolved that a convention of represent-

Ann. Regist.
 † Wilberforce's Diary, in Life by his Sons.

atives from the whole volunteer army of Ireland should assemble in the following month of November at Dublin. Nearly all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom adhered to the resolutions thus passed. In October delegates from all the corps of the province of Leinster assembled in Dublin and boldly put forth their demand for a reform of the representation, for the admission of Roman Catholics to the elective franchise, and for a more free enjoyment of the benefits of trade and manufacture. And on the day appointed by the meeting at Dungannon - the 10th of November, 1783—the grand national convention of volunteers, consisting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in procession to the Rotunda, and there opened their session by proposing a total remodelling of the Irish constitution. The mass of the people were soon taught to consider that those delegates were their real representatives, and that the members of the Irish House of Commons were traitors or mere intruders. Several members of that house, however, were also members of this grand national convention, and among these was the eloquent and impetuous Henry Flood, who, on the 29th of November, attempted to introduce the new-modelled constitution into the house in the shape of a bill. The motion was indignantly rejected by 157 against 77, the majority declaring that the proposal was tendered to them at the point of the bayonet. The house then voted a very loyal address to the king, expressing the great happiness they enjoyed under the present form of government and constitution, which they said they were determined to sugart with their lives and fortunes. The House of Lords, still less desirous of a change which would have been a revolution, concurred in the address. The national convention immediately agreed upon a counter-address, in the text of which they denied all revolutionary intention and any wish to separate Ireland from England. The volunteer corps, who had been well supplied by government with arms during the American war to enable them to repel invasion, retained their imposing attitude, and were constantly seen drilling and training. The Belfast company resolved and agreed to instruct in the use of arms persons of all ranks and religious persuasions who should present themselves; and they offered them the use of their own firelocks. The volunteers of the city and county of Dublin resolved that every honest and industrious Irishman, however poor and obscure, ought to be trained to the use of arms; and similar resolutions were entered into in most parts of the kingdom.* The Roman Catholics, of course, far outnumbered the Protestants; but for a time there was no apparent distinction as to religious faiths, and the Presbyterians of the North

Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland, by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., member in the late Irish Parliament. A one-sided, ill-written book, and little to be depended upon, except where documents are quoted. It is to be said, however, that the works on the other (or Irish Revolutionary) side are at the least, quite as restricted and releast. prejudiced and violent.



seemed linked heart and hand with their old antagonists the Papists. The doctrine of toleration was set forth in the broadest manner; the volunteers, their delegates and conventions, claimed the elective franchise equally for persons of every form of religious worship. But another and more questionable principle was involved in their demands for annual parliaments and a sort of universal suffrage. In the month of March, 1784, Mr. Flood again introduced in the Commons his bill " for the more equal representation of the people in parliament." It was supported by a long array of petitions; but it was nevertheless thrown out at the second reading by a majority of nearly two to one. The citizens of Dublin held an aggregate meeting and issued a circular address to the Irish people, recommending that five persons should be elected from every county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin in NATIONAL CONGRESS. This close and quick imitation of the Americans roused the British government and called forth the energy of Pitt, whose opposition harangues about purifying the British House of Commons had deluded many of the Irish into a belief that he was an ardent friend to parliamentary reform in its most extensive sense. Measures were taken to prevent the meeting of this proposed congress: the attorney-general for Ireland menaced the sheriffs of the county and city of Dublin with a prosecution; the high sheriff of the county, who had presided at an assembly of freeholders met to elect delegates, was prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench and condemned to a trifling fine and a short imprisonment; several of the county magistrates were attacked for having called meetings and signed resolutions; and prosecutions were instituted against the printers and publishers of Sunday newspapers. congress nevertheless met in October, though in a very incomplete form, passed many strong resolutions, and peaceably adjourned with exhortations to all Irish patriots to do their best in order to render its next meeting more complete and effec-As the best remedy for the distresses of the manufacturers, a plan of protecting duties had been introduced into the Irish House of Commons; and as a beginning a duty of 2s. 6d. per yard had been proposed on all drapery imported into that kingdom. But this motion had been rejected by a majority of three to one, and the rejection had been followed by some rioting among the Dublin mob, who accused the majority of having sold themselves to England. On the 2nd of January of the present year, 1785, the national congress met again at Dublin, consisting of delegates from twenty-seven of the counties-in all about 200 individuals. Their tone was high and threatening; their proceedings continued to be an imitation of the conduct of the American revolutionists, only varying through the difference of national character, or the greater heat or impetuosity of Irish-born patriots. Many of the leaders and orators were the same men who, a few

The printer of the 'Volunteers' Journal' was committed to the Newgate of Dublin on a charge of high treason.

years after, mingled their admiration of the great French revolution with their sympathy for the American one, and who, deluded by promises of tesistance and confraternity from the French republicans, rushed headlong into rebellion. For the present they held several adjourned meetings, and established permanent committees of correspondence. In the mean time commissioners had been appointed by the Irish parliament to confer with the British cabinet, and a plan of commercial relief had been agreed upon between Mr. Pitt and this commission The Irish Houses of Commons and Lords having concurred in this plan, Mr. Pitt introduced it in the English House of Commons. It consisted of two great provisions :- 1. To permit the importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain. 2. To establish a free trade. or mutual exchange between Great Britain and Ireland of their respective productions and manufactures upon equal terms. In return for these advantages the minister proposed that Ireland should contribute a certain annual sum out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue towards the general ex-Lenses of the empire. Mr. Pitt spoke with laudable feeling against the old jealous, exclusive, and unwisely selfish spirit which had animated the British legislature. He said, " the house would recollect that, from the Revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, until those very few years, the English system had been that of debarring Ireland from the eujoyment and use or



PITT. From a Portrait by Hoppner.

her own resources; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and explemes of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruei and abominable restraint had, however, been exploded. It was at once harsh and unjust, and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive; for, however necessary it might be to the partial benefit of districts in Britain, it promoted not the real properties

and strength of the empire. That which had been the system counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry and enterprise of man." The scheme was submitted to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who examined some of the principal merchants and manufacturers of England, and then presented to the House a long and contradictory report. Upon this the House resolved to examine those merchants and manufacturers at their own bar. These examinations were so long, and the petitions against the plan so numerous, that more than two months were occupied by them. In the end the anti-liberal feeling compelled Pitt to subjoin a variety of restrictive clauses, binding Ireland to adopt whatever navigation laws the British parliament might hereafter enact; prohibiting the importation into Ireland, or thence into Great Britain, of any West Indian commodities not the produce of our own colonies; and forbidding Ireland to trade to any country beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the straits of Magelhaen, so long as the charter of the East India Company should be continued. Great and sure as was the ministerial majority, the principles of the bill were not adopted without warm discussions in both Houses, some maintaining that they were giving too little to Ircland, and many more that they were giving a great deal too much. In Ireland strong objections were taken to all the alterations and additions to the original propositions, and numerous petitions were presented against the bill. A motion for leave to bring in a corresponding bill was carried in the Irish House of Commons, but by a majority of only nineteen, the numbers being 127 against 108. The mover, Mr. Orde, the sccretary of the lord-lieutenant, having procured the bill to be read the first time and printed, declared that he should proceed no further with it during the present session. After the rising of parliament Dublin and most of the great towns continued in a very turbulent state; the non-importation associations, which had been copied from the Americans, were renewed, and were in many instances sanctioned by the grand juries; dreadful threats were uttered against all who should dare to import any goods from England, and these menaces and the dread of the popular fury produced the same effect here as they had done at Boston. The stoppage to trade, particularly in the scaports, threw thousands of men out of employment; and the idle and the hungry sought relief or occupation in rioting. some quarters of Dublin the troops were obliged to be almost constantly under arms.

While the Irish Trade Bill was pending, Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of April, again called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject of a reform in the representation of the people. He had pledged himself "as a man and a minister" to promote this cause; but it may be doubted whether at this moment he had any anxious desire for parliamentary reform, notwithstanding his declarations to some of his private friends, then ardent reformers, that he would exert his influence to the

uttermost for this measure.* The specific proposition he made was to transfer the right of election from thirty-six rotten boroughs to the counties and the great unrepresented towns, giving a compensation in money to the owners and holders of the rotten boroughs so disfranchised; and to extend the right of voting in county elections to copyholders. In the very beginning of his speech he seemed to acknowledge the hopelessness of success to any such "The number of gentlemen," said he, "who are hostile to reform, are a phalanx which ought to give alarm to any individual upon rising to suggest such a measure. Those who, with a sort of superstitious awe, reverence the constitution so much as to be fearful of touching even its defects, have always reprobated every attempt to purify the representation. They acknowledge its inequality and corruption, but in their enthusiasm for the grand fabric they would not suffer a reformer, with unhallowed hands, to repair the injuries which it has suffered from time. Others, who, perceiving the deficiencies that have arisen from circumstances, are solicitous for their amendment, yet resist the attempt, under the argument that, when once we have presumed to touch the constitution in one point, the awe which had heretofore kept us back from the daring enterprise of innovation might abate, and there was no foreseeing to what alarming lengths we might progressively go under the mask of reformation."+ He made no use whatever of his enormous ministerial influence in bringing over converts to his scheme; some of the Whig party professed to vote against it on account of the pecuniary compensation proposed to the owners and traffickers in boroughs, the whole bill was thrown out by 248 against 174. This was Pitt's last performance as a parliamentary reformer; and we shall find him in the course of a few years the most determined opponent of all amendment or change whatsoever in the representation. It is characteristic of Pitt to observe that his friend Wilberforce, who funcied he enjoyed all his confidence. firmly believed that he was sincere in his desire to deal a death-blow to aristocratic influence, electioneering, corruption, party-spirit, and all irregu-

In the course of the session Pitt called the attention of the House to a general review of the national finances, and, after suggesting various alterations, stated that he expected that the land and malt taxes added to the product of the other taxes would leave him an overplus of nearly 1,000,000/. per annum, which sum he thought ought to go into a sinking fund, to be applied to the extinction of the national debt. He did not, however, intend to

[•] Letter from Mr. R. Smith to Wilberforce, in Life. Wilberforce himself says in his diary:—"At Pitt's all the day—it (reform) goes on weil—sat up late chatting with Pitt—has good hopes of the country, and noble, patholic heart—to town (next day)—House—Parliamentary Reform—terribly disappoint and beat. In his speech in the House Wilberforce said—"The consequence of this reform would be that, the freedom of opinion would be restored, and party connexions in a great measure vanish; for party on one side begets party on the other; and for myself I wish to give my vote not with a view to men, but measures."

† Speeches in the House of Commons.

put any such scheme into execution until the following year. Many objections were taken to the whole plan by the opposition, though even in that quarter some high notions were already entertained of the young chancellor of the exchequer's abilities as a calculator and a financier, and some of the Whigs—the extremes of the party—probably did not think the worse of the plan from its being known to have been suggested by Dr. Price (the friend of Dr. Priestley), an eminent dissenting minister, who entertained the most liberal views in general poli-Several new taxes were added to those imposed in the preceding year: among them was a tax upon female servants, calculated to produce annually 140,000l.; and an additional tax upon male servants, calculated to produce, in addition to the former one, 35,000/.* Within the last few years, or since the impulse had been given by Burke, various bills had been passed for regulating the public offices of the kingdom; and Mr. Pitt now brought one in "for appointing commissioners for inquiring into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are or lately have been received in the several public offices; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and to report such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices." The opposition to this bill was very considerable. It was not possible to deny the existence of extortion, peculation, and other abuses; but a stand was made upon the liberty of the subject, and the principles of Magna Charta were quoted against the bill, and in defence of rapacious placemen and official understrappers. Ministers defended their measure by quoting the very recent precedent of the commissioners of public accounts; and they affirmed that, although the objects of the present reform were not of so great magnitude, yet they were really important on account of their number and extent. So extensive indeed were the evil practices, that the man who went into any of the offices of government with an empty pocket or a close hand had small chance of getting his business transacted without vexatious delays. The question was finally carried in the Commons by 74 against 15. The Lords introduced several amendments, and one in particular which subjected the commissioners to the control of the board of treasury. The commissioners appointed were two of the comptrollers of army accounts and Mr. Francis Baring. Parliament adjourned, on a message from the king, on the 2nd of August, till the 27th of October; but was afterwards prorogued by proclamation to the 1st of December.

No nation on the continent had suffered so much from the American war as the Dutch. Their finances were embarrassed, their losses excessive, and their colonies, which had been taken by the English and then retaken by the French, were kept, for the most part, by the French. Their neighbours and rivals, the Belgians, were encouraged in their en-

 Pitt's tax on maid-servants encountered much opposition, and became the subject of many jokes.

deavours to make Ostend the centre of a great trade, and a place of export and import to and from the East Indies - a scheme which had for some time been earnestly entertained by their sovereign, the Emperor Joseph, who at the same moment was erecting at the head of the Venetian Gulf a great trading town and port to rival the old commercial grandeur of Venice. At the same time the anomalous government of the Dutch, which was neither a republic nor a constitutional monarchy, or indeed anything else capable of being described by a political term, was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions. The oligarchic or French party accused the Orangists, or quasi-royalists, who adhered to the Stadtholder, of having misconducted the war and of now aiming at the subversion of the national liberties and municipal rights: the Orangists accused the French party of having needlessly precipitated the country into a ruinous war with England and a most perilous and treacherous alliance with France, which ever had been and ever must be the most dangerous enemy to Holland, of provoking an anarchy, and encouraging a democratic fury which would be more insupportable than the tyranny of he completest despot. In many respects each party or faction was thoroughly in the wrong; and there was, to some extent, an excuse for both of them, as the constitutions of the United Provinces. or the precedents of former times, did not sufficiently define the respective authorities of the stadtholder or chief magistrate, and of the legislative assemblies, but had left, and seemed variously to prescribe, an unamalgamated compound of republicanism and monarchy, of democracy and oligarchy. One thing was clear and certain—the Dutch could neither preserve peace at home nor defend themselves from the attack of any one powerful neighbour. In sacrificing their old alliance with England they had committed a sort of political suicide. England had saved them from being swallowed up by Louis XIV.; but events were now in rapid progress which were to render the restored friendship of England of no avail, which were to render the appetite of the French more ravenous than under the Grand Monarque, and to leave Holland and all her liberties and rights a helpless prey to Gallic Sansculottism. Thus, in numerous ways, did the effects of the American war prepare and facilitate the events of the French revolution. But, for the present, though injuring and despoiling them, France continued to play the part of an ally to the United Provinces, and Austria was the power that threatened their peace and their very existence as an independent nation. As early as the year 1781 the Emperor Joseph had determined to do away with the Barrier Treaty, and to take possession of the numerous fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which, ever since the conclusion of the war of succession, had been deposited in the hands of the Dutch, and garrisoned by them for the mutual defence of the Netherlands and of Holland, or as a common bulwark against the inroads of the French. The scheme was that of two great men,

William III. and the Duke of Marlborough; but it was to be thrown to the winds by the chances and changes, the passions and caprices, of the present times. The Dutch had all the honour, such as it was, of keeping up these garrisons, but the House of Austria nearly all the expense. The Emperor Joseph grudged the money, and felt ashamed of having some of his principal cities and fortresses occupied by foreigners; he much doubted whether in case of a new war these Dutch garrisons would materially contribute to check the progress of an enemy; besides he was now at peace and in close alliance with France, and, as he fondly fancied, likely to remain so; and, in case of the contrary, he felt that confidence in his own vastly increased army and improved resources which left him no doubt that he should be fully able to defend the Austrian Netherlands without so many expensive places of arms, and wholly without the assistance of the Dutch and the humiliating interference of burgomasters and war commissioners deputed by the States-General-these last a class of officials who had repeatedly driven Marlborough to the very verge of distraction, and had more than once, by their self-willedness, their dulness, or their corruption, nearly defeated the best conceived and most important parts of his wonderful campaigns. Joseph forgot, or cared not for, the obligations which his house lay under to the Dutch, and the solemn engagements which bound him to recognise the Barrier He alleged that the Dutch misapplied the money; that they had shamefully surrendered many of the fortresses in the war of 1741; that they were now allowing the fortifications to fall to decay, and leaving thin and defective garrisons in them. In the beginning of the year 1781, when the Dutch had got into the war with England, the only real guardian of the Barrier Treaty, he peremp- torily demanded precise accounts of the revenues received for the barrier, and of the sums expended on the fortifications. After some correspondence, which on the part of the emperor was not unaccompanied with threats, the States-General acknowledged their weakness and submitted to necessity; towards the close of the year 1781 the Dutch garrisons were withdrawn from the barrier, and Joseph began to dismantle the fortresses and sell the mate-This work was scarcely commenced ere the States-General felt the most lively apprehensions for the frontiers of their own provinces, and adopted measures for putting their own fortresses along the Scheldt into an immediate state of defence. The ople were furiously excited, and the Orange party, now rapidly increasing, pointed to the open barrier and the rising port of Ostend as signal proofs of the mischief brought upon the country by the French party, and the rupture of the old alliance with Great The French party nevertheless attributed every new misfortune to the Orangists, and continued to labour with all the might that was in them for the total subversion of the present system or no system of government, and for the re-establishment of the commonwealth such as it had existed in the

preceding century under the De Witts. The animositics of these antagonist parties waxed so fierce that every day seemed to threaten a civil war. The return of peace with England could restore neither unanimity nor power. Prince Louis Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel was guardian and representative of the young Stadtholder, William Frederick, during his minority, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces. He had long endured with rare temper the coarse and virulent attacks of the French party, who accused him of a design to make his ward a tyrant; but at last he wrote a letter to the States-General, referring to his thirty-two years of faithful and well-meant service, to the commendations he had formerly received from them and from the Dutch people, to the changes which had taken place since the beginning of the unfortunate war with England, to the numberless attacks which had been made upon him, to the indifference to his injuries shown by the majority in the States-General themselves in refusing to grant him the opportunity which he had so frequently claimed of refuting the charges and calumnies raised against him; and finally declaring that for these and other reasons he resigned all the offices he held, and discharged himself from all obligations and engagements to the commonwealth. After this Frederick the Great of Prussia, as a near relative to the Stadtholder and as the natural opponent to the House of Austria, interfered to allay these dissensions, which must inevitably leave Holland open to the Emperor Joseph or the French king, or to both of those monarchs. Frederick remonstrated, advised, and mendad, but even his powerful voice was disregarded in the loud fury of faction. In the mean time the Emperor Joseph had advanced sundry new claims, and had assumed a tone of haughty dictation towards the States-Gene-The most important of these new claims, and the most distressing to the Dutch, were those to the possession and sovereignty of the city and country of Maestricht, and the free navigation of the Scheldt, without which that other grand scheme of Austria, to re-elevate Antwerp to her ancient commercial importance, must fall to the ground. The States-General, after some very submissive and humiliating correspondence, dispatched on the 21st of April, 1784, two plenipotentiaries to Brussels in order to treat with Joseph's agents for an amicable arrange-But the very night after the arrival of the Dutch diplomatists at the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, a detachment of Austrian troops entered the territories of the Dutch republic and took possession of the fort of Old Lillo; and in little more than a week after some squadrons of Austrian dragoons crossed the frontiers at another point and pulled down the Dutch flag from the custom-house. These transactions carried rage and dismay to the furthermost dyke and canal of Holland. Some regiments of horse and foot were dispatched to Macstricht, and other troops were ordered to reinforce the different garrisons on the Scheldt; but, though everything seemed to depend upon celerity and

unanimity, the movement of the troops was retarded by fresh disputes between the States and the Stadtholder as to the rights or limits of their respective powers. The only refuge for the Dutch seemed to be in the French, and they implored Louis XVI. to mediate between them and his wife's brother the emperor. In one thing Joseph had grossly miscalculated, and that was in counting upon the acquiescence or concurrence of Louis in his project. Louis responded kindly to the Dutch application, assuring the States-General that he readily accepted the office of mediator, and that he would act with fairness and impartiality. The pretension to the free navigation of the Scheldt had been rather hinted than expressed; but an experiment was now made upon that river calculated to bring the question to 185ue. A small vessel manned by Flemings, who had all a vital interest in the opening the river to the sea, was dispatched down the Scheldt with orders to pass the Dutch fort at New Lillo and the guard-ship stationed there, and not to lower its flag or submit to search, except upon compulsion. The Flemings passed both the fort and the ship without being noticed, though they courted observation. On the tollowing morning they returned up the river, and were then observed and hailed by the guard-ship. Obeying their orders they refused to strike their flag or come-to, and a magistrate of the Austrian Netherlands stood up in the boat and called out through his trumpet-" This is imperial territory; we do not acknowledge any Dutch or Zealand authority." The captain of the guardship, upon the suggestions of his own timidity or doubts, let the vessel pass, and the Flemings were disappointed in their expectation of violence. A day or two after the same experiment was repeated by the same boat and crew; and this time the Dutch, after some remonstrances, fired a gun over her and sent officers on board to make the search. The Flemings, as instructed, entered a formal protest and then returned quietly home. The emperor then inserted in his ultimatum his right to the absolute and independent sovereignty of the whole of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the sea, and the demand for the removal of the Dutch guard-ship at New Lillo, and the demolition of all the Dutch forts erected on that river. His minister at Brussels, Count Belgioso, further declared that the first shot fired by the Dutch upon the Scheldt would be considered as a declaration of war. Nor did the demands of the emperor end here, for he claimed a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. While the States-General and their negotiators were busied in drawing up remonstrances, and while the French were mediating without any great carnestness or alacrity, the imperialists prepared two armed vessels, to assert the right claimed in the Scheldt and to provoke an open act of hostility. One of these vessels was to proceed down from Antwerp to the sea, and the other up the river from the sea. The vessel that descended—a brig—was hailed on her passage by a Dutch armed cutter; the imperial VOL. II.

captain refused to come-to, and pursued his course in spite of entreaties and threats; and the altercation ended in a regular broadside from the Dutchman. The captain of the brig then brought-to, and, after a solemn protest, landed and left the brig to be taken possession of by the Dutch. pencd upon the 8th of October, 1784; and within another week the emperor's ambassador was recalled from the Hague, the negotiations at Brussels were broken off, and an army of 60,000 men was ordered to march from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands. The French merely made representations to the emperor, and sent the Count de Maillebois, but without any army, to assist the Dutch, who shortly after named him communder-in-chief of all their forces. With the count went a few French officers, who acquired a knowledge of the country, and an acquaintance with some of its inhabitants, that proved serviceable a few years later when Holland was to be invaded and revolutionized by the French republic. In the month of November, 1784, by order of the States-General a dyke was broken near Lillo, and all the adjacent country inundated to prevent the advance of the Austrians.* An attempt was made to break another dyke and so extend the inundation; but this failed through the unexpected arrival in the night of a strong body of imperialists. The army of 60,000 men had a long march to perform before they could reach the Scheldt, and, as they did not march more rapidly than was usual with them, the winter arrived before they did, and, instead of beginning hostilities on their arrival, they went into winter quarters. The firm ice that formed on the rivers, canals, inundations, and swamps would have rendered easy their advance into the heart of Holland; but the Austrians were a people of routine, and they left it to those great innovators in war and politics, the French republicans, to try a winter campaign in Holland, and an invasion over ice. Little or nothing was done either in war or in negotiation during the winter, and in the ensuing spring—the spring of the present year, 1785—it became known that the versatile and volatile emperor was secretly negotiating for the exchange of all the Austrian Netherlands against the Electorate of Bavaria, and that he was favoured in this project by his great ally the Czarina Catherine. It appears that the first certain knowledge of this scheme was obtained by Frederick the Great, who immediately formed a confederation among the Princes of Germany, including the King of England in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, to oppose and defeat it. On the 23rd of July a treaty was concluded for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire and the rights of the Germanic body. In spite of this hostile league Joseph for some time scemed determined to persevere, and to obtain, even at the cost of a long war, a transfer of territory which would have been exceedingly advantageous

• It was said that from 40 to 50 men, women, and children, chieffy subjects of the emperor, were drowned by the sudden bursting of this dyke.

to his house; but his attention was divided by vague schemes of aggrandizement on the side of European Turkey, and by other schemes too numerous and confused for one head; he perceived that no great reliance was to be placed upon the promised assistance of the Czarina, that the people of Bavaria were frantic at the idea of any such transfer, and he gradually gave up the project, denying that he had ever seriously entertained it. In the mean while the Dutch had concluded, or at least submitted to the conditions of, a commercial league and close alliance with France. The French diplomatists boasted that an actual conquest of Holland could not have been more advantageous to their country. The treaty indeed was founded upon principles best fitted to bind the countries together in the closest union that two distinct nations are capable of. even went beyond the well-considered and extensive treaties which formerly bound England and the United Provinces. The contracting parties agreed to do everything in their power for mutual security, and for their respective preservation of tranquillity, peace, and neutrality; they guaranteed each other in possession of all their territories, domains, franchises, and liberties, and mutually bound themselves to protect each other from all hostile attacks in every part of the world. In case of their united endeavours proving ineffectual for the preservation of peace, then they were to assist each other by sea and land, in the following proportions: -France to furnish the Dutch with 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, 12 ships of the line, and 6 frigates; and the Dutch, in case of a maritime war, to furnish the French with 6 ships of the line and 3 frigates; and, in case of an attack upon the territory of France, to furnish a contingent in money or troops to the extent of 5000 foot and 1000 horse -each power to pay and support their ships and troops, and to keep an equal number of ships armed and in constant readiness to replace such as might If the succours stipulated should be insufficient, then each was to augment them, and, in any critical need, they were to assist each other with their entire force naval and military. The principle of the armed neutrality was not forgotten, and, with a direct view to England, it was agreed that the French and Dutch should mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the seas, the exemption from search, &c., in case of a naval war in which neither of them should be directly concerned. In the event of a war in which both should be engaged, neither of them was to have power to disam or conclude truce or peace without the consented the other; both were to communicate to each other all existing engagements with other powers of Europe, and to promise not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatsoever directly or indirectly contrary to the present treaty. To complete this novel union between the United Provinces and the French monarchy, a treaty of commerce was superadded, by which the subjects on either

* Flaman, Histoire Génerale et raisonnée de la Diplomatie Frau-

side were to be treated and considered as the most favoured nation. With these treaties agreed upon. though not executed, with the consoling assurance that they had undone the system of policy of the maritime powers which had lasted nearly two centuries, the French ministers went actively to work as mediators between the Dutch and the emperor. Leopold, who, in giving up the grand scheme of territorial exchange, seemed almost to have ceased thinking about the Netherlands or their concerns and interests, presently agreed to receive at Vicnna two Dutch deputies and to accept from them an apology for the firing of the cutter upon his brig. The two Dutchmen, however, were compelled to make this apology in a very humiliating manner, and to declare that their high mightinesses had never the remotest idea of offering insult to the imperial flag. Joseph then told them that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiation under the mediation of his brother the King of France. On the 20th of September preliminary articles were agreed to at Paris, and on the 8th of November the definitive treaty was signed at Fontainebleau under the guarantee as well as mediation of his Most Christian Majesty. By these articles the States acknowledged the emperor's absolute and independent sovereignty over every part of the Scheldt, from Antwerp to the limits of Sastingen in Dutch Flanders; but the lower part of the river, with all its mouths and canals that opened on the sea, was to continue under the sovereignty of the States conformably to the treaty of Munster. [The free navigation of Antwerp was thus prevented.] The emperor also quietly gave and ill right and pretension to Macstricht; but the States agreed to pay his imperial majesty nine millions and a half of florins; and to his Netherland subjects, in compensation for the damages they had sustained by the defensive inundations, half a million of florins. The States also agreed to surrender the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek. Several mutual cessions were made of villages and districts so as to give each party a better frontier, and it was agreed that neither of them should keep or erect forts or batteries within cannon shot of the limits on either side.* As the emperor had already obtained a large sum from his Netherland subjects." who felt assured he would advance their commercial prosperity by opening to them the navigation of the Scheldt to the sea, and as the Dutal florins were punctually paid, the emperor was at least a gainer in a pecuniary sense by this time of but he was in more than an equal processing the remains and his Netherland subjects from this moment were alienated from him. Two days after the signing of this treaty, the compact between the Krench and Dutch was fully connect between the Krench and Dutch was fully connect between the Krench and Dutch was fully connected. pact between the French and Dutch was fully concluded, and it was ratified on Christmas day. all the circumstances of the case, and in the deplorable anarchic state into which Mellitid had thrown herself, it is difficult to perceive now any exertion of English diplomacy could have prevented

Id .- Ann. Register.



Litio on the Scheldt. From an Original Drawing in the Royal Collection British Museum.

all that had happened, and the perplexing union between the States and France. The anarchy, however, grew and increased, so that it soon became doubtful whether it would not speedily be the cause of overthrowing arrangements which it had been The Orange party were disthe cause of making gusted at the whole French alliance and the subversion of the ancient leagues and systems with which their name and best fame were identified. On the other hand the French party, who had gained a complete ascendency, were resolved to pursue with more v cour and acrimony than ever their scheme for abridging the power of the Stadtholder. During the late troubles, when the dykes of Holland were threatened by the imperialists, great bodies of volunteers assembled for the defence of their country, and the citizens of all classes, like those of Ireland at the end of the American war, still retained their arms and their organization, and seemed to declare more strongly than by mere words that they were determined not to disarm until they had remodelled their constitution and government. These volunteers had their party shibboleths and their party badges, which they used on all occasions. of them entered into the court-town of the Hague. which was devoted in a very remarkable manner to the House of Orange—a devotion the more remarkable as it has been generally found, as at Versailles and other places, that the seats and residences of royalty or sovereignty are distinguished by the opposition, democratic spirit of their inhabitants. Some of the people of the Hague got involved in a quarrel with these volunteers; and attempted, it was said, to deprive them of their badges and cockades. The French party in the States instantly took up the matter, and passed a vote depriving the Stadtholder of the government of the Hague and of

his body guard. That prince, who was destined to be for so long a time the victim and sport of the revolutionary spirit, withdrew indignantly to his own patrimonial city of Breda, and sent his wife and family into West Friesland. Frederick the Great interfered, remonstrated, threatened, in behalf of his young and unfortunate nephew; but not even the voice of that royal veteran could slacken the march of revolution. The aristocratic party, urged on by the Marshal de Maillebois, whom the French had sent to command the army, carried everything before them in the States of Holland, and, after transferring the military honours usually paid to the Stadtholder to their own president and pensionary, they discharged the troops from the obligation of their oath to the prince, and enjoined a new oath to the States alone. Nothing but jealousies and dissensions between the senate or aristocracy and the burghers or democratic party prevented the immediate formation of a new system of government; but these dissensions were as fierce as those which they both entertained against the Orangists, and in a brief space of time there was every prospect of a civil war between the aristocrats and the democrats. Both parties were equally desirous of totally abolishing the power vested in the Stadtholder; but they could not agree as to the division of that power and of other powers among themselves. The senators wished for a return to the old oligarchy; the burghers, who were in the babit of reading and quoting the declaration of rights and the constitutions of the United States of America, were bent upon establishing a pure democracy; or, at the least, they seemed determined to be satisfied with nothing less than a preponderating voice in the election of all magistrates, representatives, or deputies. In several of the provinces each party

made preparations for settling the question by force of arms, the Orangists looking on the while with the ordinary hope of profiting by their dissensions.

A.D. 1786.—The British Parliament reassembled on the 24th of January. The king, in his speech, informed the Houses that the disputes which had appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion; that he continued to receive friendly assurances from foreign powers; that at home his subjects were experiencing the blessings of peace, in the improvement of trade, revenue, public credit, &c. His majesty, however, recommended particular attention to our naval strength. "But above all," said he, "let me recommend to your attention the reduction of the national debt." In the debate which followed upon the address Mr. Fox denounced the whole of our recent foreign policy as disgraceful, imbecile, and dangerous. He reproached ministers for not cultivating continental alliances, and for their negligence in being perpetually behind-hand in all their foreign negotiations. He maintained that it was owing to their criminal misconduct that the House of Bourbon had been enabled to conclude their advantageous compact with Holland; and that the greatest dangers were to be apprehended from the union of three such great maritime powers as France, Spain, and Holland, in a confederacy against Great Britain. He bitterly condemned the accession of the king as Elector of Hanover to the Prussian league for preventing the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands, as thereby mortal offence had been given to the Emperor Joseph, whom it was our interest to conciliate and

captivate as the only power in Europe that awed France. He reprobated ministers for not seeking a close alliance with the Czarina some time before, and expressed his satisfaction at hearing that some such treaty was actually negotiating, though circumstances were not now so favourable to it as they had been two years before, when Catherine was settling her differences with the Ottoman Porte. Nor was Fox better pleased with a commercial treaty which Pitt's government had begun to negotiate with France. He put into eloquent language all the old national prejudices on this subject, and he appealed to the experience of former times for proof that England had grown great, prosperous, and flourishing from the moment she quitted all commercial connexions with France. Pitt replied coldly and sarcastically, and the address was carried without a division. On the 27th of February the attention of the House was called by the minister to a plan for fortifying the dockvards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, which originated with the Duke of Richmond, who had quitted his friends and his party to continue master-general of the ordnance under Pitt. The Commons had in the preceding session expressed their unwillingness to vote any money for these objects until they were made acquainted by competent persons with the merits of the plan. In consequence of this intimation the king had appointed a committee of military and naval officers, with the Duke of Richmond at their head, to investigate the plan, and to send in a report upon it, together with an estimate of the expense. The estimate, which amounted to 760,000/, had been adroitly laid before the suse by Pitt on the 10th of February, with the ordinary ordnance



THE HAQUE. From an Original Drawing.

estimates for the year—his intention being that it should be debated and decided upon, together with the other estimates, as a mere collateral question, the report of the committee of officers being kept out of sight. But General Burgoyne, one of the board of officers who had made the report, called for the report itself, or for such parts of it as could be made public with safety to the state; alleging as one reason for this call for the paper that the House might unwittingly be led to think that the report sanctioned the duke's plan of fortifications more than it really did. On the 16th of February the witty and ready-tongued Sheridan, in addition to the demand made by Burgovne, had moved " for a copy of the appointment of the board of naval and military officers, and of such parts of their instructions, and of their report, as his majustiv's discretion might deem proper to be made public, with perfect consistency to the safety of the state." Pitt found himself obliged to produce the papers; and in laying them upon the table, on the 27th of February, he introduced the Duke of Richmond's measure in the form of a general resolution, "that it appeared to the House, that to provide for securing the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth by a system of fortification founded on the most economical principles was an essential object for the safety of the state, intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom, and necessary for enabling the fleet to act with full vigour and effect for the protection of commerce, the support of our distant possessions, and the prosecution of offensive operations in any future war." He undertook to prove that the fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth was a measure of absolute necessity; that the duke's plan of fortifications was the best plan possible; and that these fortifications would not only give a greater scope and effect to the operations of our fleets, but would also tend directly to diminish the standing army. But there was certainly no unanimity of opinion in the report of the officers to justify the minister's assertion as to the duke's plan being the best plan possible. Not only General Burgoyne and Earl Percy dissented, as land officers, from some parts of the plan, but Captain Macbride, as a sea-officer, objected to another part of the proposed system of defence, and Admiral Graves questioned whether any new system of additional land fortifications for the security of Plymouth was necessary. dan pointed out these disagreements, and maintained that the report of the hoard of officers did not warrant or authorise the system. In the course of all the debates on this business this witty orator and his party treated the Duke of Richmond as a renegade, and made the whole matter a mere party question. We are as incompetent as was Sheridan and the great majority of these debaters to decide upon the scientific merits of the plan proposed, but we feel assured that, if it had been as perfect as Pitt—also without the necessary knowledge—chose to represent it, it would have encountered just the same amount of resistance. So strong was the

opposition, that upon a division on the original resolution as moved by the minister, there appeared 169 Noes against exactly the same number of Ayes. As usual in such cases, the speaker was called upon for his casting vote: he gave it on the side of opposition, and thus put an end to a project during the discussion of which the noble master of the ordnance had been most unmercifully ridiculed by Sheridan, and personally assailed by the party he In the following month some had abandoned. mild and judicious alterations were made in the mutiny bill, though not without considerable opposition in the House of Lords.

Early in the session Pitt had moved for and obtained a select committee to examine into the public income and expenditure, and to report to the House what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future; and on the 29th of March, together with the ways and means for the year, he brought under consideration the national debt and his new Sinking Fund, or scheme for discharging that debt by compound interest.* It appeared, from the report of the special committee, that the average of the public income exceeded the expenditure by about 900,000l., and that the surplus might be increased to one million without burthening the people. Hence the minister moved "that the sum of one million be annually granted to commissioners, to be by them applied to the purchase of stock, towards discharging the public debt of the country." Wrapped in a happy vision, he calculated that the accumulated compound interest of this sum, added to the annuities which would fall into the fund, would in twenty-eight years reach such an amount as would leave a surplus of four millions per annum, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. In his speech, wherein he said not a word of his arithmetical Mentor, Doctor Price, the expressed more than a sanguine hope, he affirmed his entire conviction, that this new sinking fund would rapidly reduce and eventually discharge in toto "the ence mous national debt, to pay the interest of which every nerve had been stretched, and every resource nearly drained." " Upon the deliberations of this day," said he, "do the people place all their hopes of a full return of prosperity, and that public security, which will give confidence and vigour to those exertions in trade and commerce, upon which the flourishing state of this country so much depends. And not only the public and this House but other nations look to the business of this day; for, by the establishment of what is now proposed, our rank will be decided among the powers of Europe. To behold this country emerging from a most unfortunate war, which added such an accumulation to

^{*} In the month of September of the preceding your, Pitt had thus spoken of his grand areanum, in a letter in Wilherforce:—" The produce of our revenues is glorious, and I am half mad with a project spike which will give sure supplies the effect almost of tangie in the reduction of debt. It will be at least new and coentric enough to satisfy your constant call for something out of the common way."—Wilherforce's Correspondence, edited by his Som.

† It is said that Dr. Price submitted not one but three schemes to the consideration of the minister, and afterwards complained that Pitt had selected the worst of the three.

sums before immense, that it was the belief of surrounding nations, and of many among ourselves, that our powers must fail us, and that we should not be able to bear up under it :—to behold this nation, instead of despairing at its alarming condition, looking boldly its situation in the face, and establishing upon a spirited and permanent plan the means of relieving itself from all its incumbrances, must give such an idea of our resources, and our spirit of exertion, as will astonish the nations around us, and enable us to regain that pre-eminence to which we are on many accounts so justly entitled. . . . We have nothing indeed to fear. We may lay despondent thoughts aside." pronounced the scheme to be "a firm column, upon which he was proud to flatter himself his name might be inscribed." He remarked, however, that care must be taken never to break in upon the sinking fund. "This," he continued, "has hitherto been the bane of this country: for, if the original sinking fund had been properly preserved, it is easy to be proved that our public debt at this moment would not have been very burthensome. This has hitherto been in vain endeavoured to be prevented by acts of parliament: the minister has uniformly, when it suited his convenience, gotten hold of the money, which ought to have been regarded as most sacred." As a means of preventing these inroads for the future, he proposed that the sums should be vested in certain commissioners, to be by them applied positively to buy up stock, so that no great or tempting sum would ever lie ready to be seized upon: it would be impossible to take it by stealth; and the advantage of a strict appropriation to the object would be too well felt ever to suffer a public act to pass for that purpose. "No minister," said he, "could ever have the confidence to come down to this House and desire the repeal of so beneficial a law, which tends so directly to relieve the people from their burthens." The commissioners he proposed were the speaker of the House of Commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the bank of England, and the accountant-general in chancery, which last functionary, "by virtue of his office, was already employed in the moncy of all suitors and wards in the funds, and increasing by that means the capitals by the accumulation of compound interest." Nearly the whole House entered into the fairy car with him and allowed themselves to be rolled away into a financial ely-sium on the glowing wheels of compound interst. The few who lingered behind or refused to embark were looked upon as madmen. Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Sir Grey Cooper, and one or two others, ventured, nevertheless, to object that the mode proposed was insufficient and in some instances impolitic. They endeavoured to show that the supposed excess of 900,000l. of the revenue over the expenditure did not really exist now, and that if it existed it must vanish in the event of a war, or of other casualties—that the million per annum must be raised by loan before it could be put into the

sinking fund. Few men in the House or anywhere else knew more about the effect of borrowing money, in a private way, or of the compound embarrassment produced by paying old debts by making new ones, than Charles Fox and Richard Brinsley Sheridan.* Sheridan, insisting that there was no surplus and could be no surplus, said that the only means which suggested themselves to him were a loan of a million every year-" for the right honourable gentleman might say, with the person in the comedy, 'If you won't lend me the money, how can I pay you?'" The wit then moved a long string of resolutions, fourteen or fifteen in number, which were all rejected without a division. But on the day for reconsidering the report of the committee on this memorable bill, Fox moved a clause to empower the commissioners to accept so much of any future loan as they should have cash in their hands to pay for. This, he said, would obviate one great objection he had to the present bill on account of its making the sinking fund inalienable under any circumstances whatever; it would relieve that distress the country might feel, when, in case of a war, it might be necessary to raise a new loan: but whenever that case should occur, he thought that the ministry should raise taxes sufficient both to pay the interest of the loan and to make good to the sinking fund whatever had been taken from it. If, for instance, a loan of six millions should be proposed, and there should be at that time one million in the hands of the commissioners, then the said commissioners should take a million of the loan, receiving the bonus thereupon for the public. In this way government would have to borrow my five millions

e Pitt himself, while thus devising how to pay the nation's debts, was at a loss how to pay his own. Though without wife or family, without any taste for virte, or the turf, or cards, or dice, or any other expensive vice, he had alrendy contrived to involve himself in embarrassments from which he never got free. He inherited his father's great carlesases shout money maters—a somewhat ominous sign in a chancellor of the exchequer with the finances of an empire under his control. If Fox had dissipated his fortune in gambling and revelry, Pitt was allowing himself to be plundered and eaten alive by his rapacious servants, even while his establishment was delicient in the ordinary comfort and elegancies of a plain gentleman's house. There was no domestic management on his part, and no conscience in the harpers that surrounded him. He had thus early adopted a practice in which Sheridan was a great proficient. When tradesmen became troublesome about their bills, he put them off by giving them large fresh orders, and passing over their charges without comment. But matters came to so inflammatory a state in this very year, that he was obliged to submit his affairs to the inspection of his frend, Mr. Robert Smith, who afterwards was one of his numerous creation of peers, under the title of Baron Carrington. Smith, who had been a man of business, a manufacturer, and a banker, was horrified at the amount of his debts, and at the manner in which they had been contracted. The butcher's fishmonger's, and the rost were in an equally extravagant proportion. "Indeed," says Smith, "all the bills exceed anything I could have imagined!" Every Saturday there was an entry of some three or four lundred weight of meat. In one month the quantity of butchers meat was set down at 3,900 pounds, and this too when he was entrataining no company, but frequently dining out, or going without his dinner. The embryo peer says, in one of the letters to Wilberforce, from which these housekerying items are taken—"The necessity of an immediate refir

instead of six, and great benefits would arise to the public in every way. Though at first Pitt looked grim at the notion of breaking into the sanctuary in any manner or upon any account, when he had heard Fox out, he adopted his clause with strong marks of approbation. Mr. Pulteney moved a second clause, to vest in parliament the faculty and responsibility of giving fresh instructions to the commissioners, whenever the funds should be at or above par; and to this also the minister acceded. The bill, with these additional clauses, was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the Lords, where it was passed without any material opposition. The king, in giving it his assent, felt that it would make all his financial odds even. Perhaps sufficient attention was not paid to other causes and improvements then getting into operation, but it was generally admitted, at the time, that the measure was one of excellent policy; that manufactures, trade, and public credit were immediately and immeasurably benefited by it—that it raised the funds, increased the value of land, and of everything else, and gave to every man the prosperity of a rising market.* Such were considered its effects while coupled with the advantages of peace: how it operated in war we shall see here-

Pursuing his plans for increasing the revenue so as to make up the million per annum required by his sinking fund, the minister, a few days afteron the 22nd of May-presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the customs to the excise. This, he said, he proposed, because large quantities of wine were smuggled into the country, and because a spurious liquor was made and sold at home under that name. By the bill officers of the excise were to be permitted to enter into the cellars and warehouses of such as dealt in wine, but not into the dwelling-houses even of those persons. There was a strong national feeling against any extension of the excise laws, and the interference and intrusions of excisemen; this had always been the case, and it was remembered how an excise bill had nearly shaken Sir Robert Walpole, when at the height of his power, from his scat; but Pitt saw his bill carried through the House of Commons without a division. In its passage through the Lords, however, it encountered a violent opposition from Lord Loughborough, who held up to deserved reprobation a clause which had been smuggled into it while in committee. The purport of this clause was, to prohibit juries, in case of any suit commenced against an exciseman for improper seizure, from granting the plaintiff a verdict for more than twopence damages, or any costs of suit, or inflicting a fine exceeding one shilling, if the exciseman could show a probable cause for such seizure. This, said Loughborough, would render nugatory every appeal to the laws of the land. As to the term, a probable cause, false information was a probable cause

that might constantly be assigned;—thus the rights and powers of juries would be infringed, thus jurymen would be turned into ciphers; an exciseman, placed above their jurisdiction, might laugh at them, and even at Westminster Hall. He called upon Lord Camden, whose strong patriotism had subsided to a calm courtliness, to defend, as he had done in former times, the sacred rights of juries. Thus reminded of his past performances and vehement declarations, Camden gently confessed that the clause was far from meeting his approbation; but he added, that, as any alteration would destroy the bill for the present session, he would rather swallow the clause, which might be amended hereafter. The bill was then passed without a division; and the corrective hereafter did not come in Camden's time. Shortly after Pitt again found Loughborough a thorn in his side—a thorn whose sharp and cankerous points were only to be blunted, years after, by the presentation of the great scal. In consequence of a message from his majesty to both Houses of Parliament, the minister, at the end of June, brought in a bill appointing commissioners for inquiring into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues belonging to the crown. Mr. Jolliffe strongly objected to several clauses in the bill, but more particularly to one granting what he described as "an unlimited power to the commissioners to call for and take into their keeping all titles, maps, plans, and documents which related to lands holden of the crown." He said that this was instituting a court of inquisitionthat it would leave every man concerned without anything like certainty of title or estate; and he concluded by moving amendments to protect private title-deeds, and bind the commissioners to report their proceedings to parliament. The minister readily adopted these amendments without dividing the House, and the bill was then passed nem. con. But upon the third reading in the Lords Loughborough fell furiously upon it, asserting, 1. That it did not agree with the king's message, which only authorised an inquiry into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues belonging to the crown; whereas the bill proceeded to alienate and dispose of those land revenues, contrary to the usage of parliament, and inconsistently with the dignity of the crown; 2. Because the bill repealed two old acts and created a new power for the sale of those lands, without any exception of the rents reserved in the former acts, for divers persons, and for sundry good and wholesome purposes mentioned in those acts; 3. Because the powers granted to the commissioners were dangerous to the subject and derogatory to the honour of the crown; subjecting all persons holding of the crown, or possessing estates adjoining to crown lands, to an inquisition into their ancient boundaries and title-deeds, at the mere motion of the commissioners, without any other legal or ordinary process; tending to restrain the tenants of the crown from their accustomed rights and privileges, and depriving the crown itself of the management

Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs during the Reign of George III. By John Nicholls, Esquire, Member of the House of Commons.

of its own estate, to place that management in the hands of the commissioners. There was a thin House, and, counting the votes present, Loughborough had 11 to 14; but ministers had besides fourteen proxies, and Loughborough and his friends only seven. He, Lord Carlisle, the Duke of Portland, Lord Sandwich, and the Bishop of Bristol, entered a protest against the bill, which, nevertheless, received the royal assent.*

Mr. Wilberforce, considering it hopeless, after his friend Pitt's failure, to think of carrying at present any general measure of parliamentary reform, made an attempt to introduce some practical improvement into the representation as it stood. The plan which he proposed aimed at purifying county clections by establishing a general registration of the frecholders, and by providing that the poll should be held in various places at the same time. A bill embodying these principles, which, nearly half a century later, were included in the great Reform Bill, was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Mahon; but, as his lordship during the session was called up, by the death of his father, Earl Stanhope, to the House of Lords, the conduct of the measure was left chiefly to Wilberforce. The motion for going into committee on the bill was carried by a majority of 98 to 22, on May the 15th. Wilberforce was the more eager for these reforms, as his own elections had cost him enormous sums.† The bill was afterwards defeated in the Lords by what has been designated "a coalition of the king's friends and the Whig aristocracy." Another bill, devised by the same humane mind, but scarcely of the usual character of his propositions, was introduced in the same session, and was also thrown out by the Lords, who subsequently rejected so many of his bills. The object of the present one was, that the power the judges already possessed of consigning the bodies of murderers, after execution, to surgical dissection, should be extended to the case of certain other felons. Lord Loughborough, who at this time must certainly be considered the leader of the opposition in the Upper House, treated the bill and its author with sovereign contempt, calling it "the project of an inexperienced youth unac-quainted with the laws." As it was known that Wilberforce had consulted the attorney-general, and the solicitor-general, and one of the most active judges then on the bench, it was understood that Loughborough meant only to throw discredit on the lawyers who adhered to Pitt. During the session, an attempt was made to extend the disqualification from voting at elections to persons holding places in the navy and ordnance offices, on the plea that they were as much under ministe-

Ann. Regist.

† His first return for Hull had cost him between 80001. and 90001.

" By long-established custom, the single vote of a resident elector was rewarded with a donation of two guineas; four were paid for a plumper; and the expenses of a freeman's journey from London averaged 101 apiece. The letter of the law was not broken, because the money was not paid until the last day on which election petitions could be presented. — Life, by his Sons.

‡ Wilberforce, Life and Correspondence.

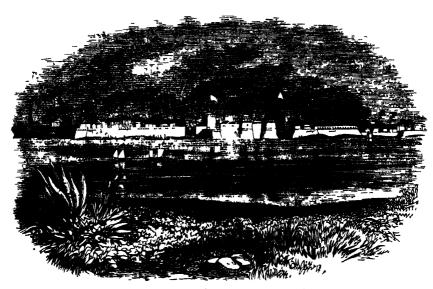
rial influence as custom-house officers or excisemen, who with others had been disqualified by Mr. Pitt opposed the measure. Crewe's bill. reason, he said, for passing Crewe's act was the necessity of reducing the influence of the crownan influence which the House had previously declared had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. But, he asked, was it to be laid down as a rule, that, because it was necessary to reduce the influence of the crown to a certain level, it would of course be an act of inconsistency to refuse to reduce it farther? Fox on the other hand contended, that, if depriving the revenue officers of the right of voting tended to reduce the influence of the crown, the depriving those other servants of the crown must necessarily reduce it still more; and in the matter of elections it was clear that it ought to be abolished altogether. The bill was negatived on the motion for the second reading by a large majority, the numbers being 117 against 41.

But the great business of the session, or that at least which excited more interest than even the minister's sinking-fund scheme, was the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, the charges against whom, after long and numerous preludes, were brought forward by Burke on the 17th of February, and occupied the House, from time to time, down to the 11th of July, when his majesty in person prorogued parliament until the 4th of September.

This appears to be the proper place to introduce a retrospective view of Indian affairs, which will include some details of the engress of our arms and policy in that part of the world—details omitted in the preceding period of our history, in order not to embarrass the narrative of the American warbut without which the protracted trial of the governor-general, and the eloquence of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, would be unintelligible.

Few great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British empire in India. In the year 1612, in the reign of James I., the English, stimulated by the efforts and successes of the Portuguese and Dutch, established their first humble factory at Surat. By degrees other petty settlements were formed along the western side of the peninsula, Surat continuing to have the control over them all, till the cession of Bombay to the company by Charles II., in 1668, when that town, from its fine harbour and central situation, rose to be the superior settlement in that part of India. At this period the nominal sovereigns and masters of the whole of India, and the real masters and tyrants of the greatest part of it, were the Mo-hammedanized Mogul Tartars, a people widely different in origin, manners, laws, and religion from the Hindus, the aboriginal or very ancient inhabitants of the country.

At the beginning of the tenth century of our era, or about seventy years before the conquest of England by the Normans, Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, who is universally regarded as the first



SURAT. From a View in the Library of the East India Company.

Mohammedan conqueror of Hindustan, acquired by the sword, and by many battles and massacres, nearly the whole of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. The dynasty of Ghizni was subvertea, in less than two hundred years, by new Mohammedan conquerors from Gaur in Khorasan, who, though at first defeated by some of the Hindu Rajahs, endeavouring to restore the independence and ancient religion of their race, conquered the grauter part of the provinces, took Delhi, and made it the seat and centre of government. This Mohammed, called the Gaurian, was assassinated in the year 1206, when the empire he had founded was split into several parts. In 1289 the Gaurian dynasty was wholly terminated by another assassination, and the partial dominion of India passed into the hands of the Afghans, who subdued the Rajpoots, a portion of the unfortunate Hindu race who had hitherto preserved their independence. The Afghans also added to their dominion the greater part of the Deccan, pitilessly slaughtering the Hindu Rajahs. But in India no dynasty long preserved the qualitics which had made them conquerors; the Afghan princes became weak and degenerate; many of the Hindu Rajahs in the Deccan and in Bengal recovered their independence; and then, in the last years of the fourteenth century, Timur the Mogul Tartar, commonly called by our writers Tamerlane, overturned the Afghan dynasty altogether. As Timur did not remain in the scene of his victories and devastations, the country became divided into a number of small independent states, some Mohammedan and some Hindu. But in 1526, Baber, a descendant of Timur, swept away by a new in-VOL. II.

vasion these petty principalities and powers, extended one compact dominion as far as the Ganges, and quietly erected the Mogul throne in Delhi. The second prince in succession from Baber, the great Akbar, who began to reign in 1556, set the Mogul dominion upon a firm basis, chiefly by consulting the interests and feelings of the Hindus, who, counting the whole of the extensive country, were a hundred-fold more numerous than their conquerors. The great Akbar had been dead only seven years when the English timidly made their first settlement at Surat.

The Portuguese, who had numerous settlements along the Malabar coast, especially at Goa and Diu, and who claimed, on the ground of prior possession, an exclusive right to the commerce of the Indian seas—a pretension they were, for a long time, enabled to make good by possessing Malacca—watched the progress of the English with great jealousy, and from the first attempted to check it. The English Company armed their trading vessels, and, though there was peace in Europe between the respective mother countries, several combats took place with the Portuguese on the Indian seas. Captain Best, in the year 1612, defeated them in two actions, and these victories not only raised the reputation of the English, but enabled them to establish in quiet their first factory at Surat. In the year 1614 King James, at the solicitation of the infant company, sent an embassy to the court of the Emperor of Delhi to settle their commerce and cultivate a friendly connexion. Sir Thomas Roe, the person selected for this mission, was an observing and clever man. He sailed from Gravescud

on the 24th of January, 1615, and arrived in September at Surat, where he landed in great pomp with eighty men-at-arms in his train. As the Mogul emperor was then residing at Ajmere, Sir Thomas, after some rest, proceeded thither through the country of the Rajpoots. He arrived at Ajmere on the 23rd of December, but was not admitted to court till the 10th of January (1616). The Emperor Jehanghire received him with unusual honour, and he was assured by the Mogul courtiers that no other ambassador, not even from their co-religionists the Mohammedans of Turkey or Persia, had ever obtained so flattering a reception. Many other interviews followed; and, as both the emperor and ambassador were of a sportive turn, they had, by means of interpreters, some jocular conversation. Sir Thomas, however, soon found that his success was thwarted by the intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, and by the suspicion or caution of the emperor's favourite son and ministers. With much perseverance and address, he at last succeeded in procuring a confirmation of former grants of territory, and an extended privilege of having resident English agents at some of the principal towns in the empire. The able ambassador then rett rned to the coast and sailed to Persia, where he succeeded in obtaining every privilege which could promote the trade of the company with the Persian Gulf, from Shah Abbas, the reigning sovereign, and the greatest that has in modern times appeared in Persia.

The Portuguese were prevented only by the inferiority of their naval power from proceeding to war against the new English settlements. The Dutch, who were more on a par with us in this respect, viewed with an equally jealous eye the successes of the company; and when the English attempted to obtain a share in the lucrative trade carried on by the Dutch with the Spice Islands, the detestable massacre of Amboyna was the immediate consequence. At the island of Amboyna, the largest of the Molucca group, and the richest in cloves, the Dutch had a strong castle with a garrison of 200 men, while the English, only 18 in number, occupied a defenceless house in the town, being secured, as they conceived, in possession of it by agreements and treaties with the Dutch. Yet the Dutch chose to suspect that this handful of English intended to dispossess them of their castle; and thereupon, inviting them all in a friendly manner to pay a visit to their governor in the castle, they put to rack and torture, until some of the weakest of them, under the agonies of those infernal machines, confessed to the words which their torturers put into their mouths. As soon as their sufferings were suspended they retracted what they had said; but the Dutch put them upon the rack again, and then the anguish and the weakness of nature repeated the confession. The end of all was that Captuin Towerson and nine others were condemned to die, by what may properly be called the verdict of

the rack; and the remaining eight were pardoned by Dutch mercy and magnanimity. With a delicate consideration for their spiritual welfare, their murderers allowed a Dutch clergyman to administer the sacrament to the ten victims; and in the act of taking it, and afterwards with their dying breath, the Englishmen protested their entire innocence. Their heads were cut off with a scymetar. Out of regard to his superior rank, a black pall was provided for Captain Towerson, the expense of which the Dutch, like regular men of business, set down to the charge of the English company! One Portuguese and nine natives of Japan, put to death at the same time as accomplices with the English, solemnly protested in dying that they knew nothing of the imputed plot.

From the occurrence of this frightful tragedy (in 1622) the English abandoned the commerce of the Spice Islands to their rivals; and for some time, owing to various causes, such as the smallness of capital held by the company, some radical defects in its constitution, the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up a naval force for protection against Dutch and Portuguese, and the way wardness of some of the native princes, the English power seemed to decline, and the company became embarrassed and in great distress. In the mean time, however, their agents from Surat had obtained permission, through the good offices of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon in great favour with the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan, son of Jehanghire, to make a new settlement at Hooghly; and the ground on which Madras, or Fort ! t. George, stands had been obtained from a native prince 640, when Mr. Francis Day began to erect a fortress, which was 640, when Mr. gradually surrounded by a thriving and still increasing town, to which the natives flocked as to the best place for pursuing trade and putting in security the wealth they derived from it-wealth which had few safeguards under the dominion or in the territories of their own princes and chiefs. In the same interval the Mogul empire had been shaken by several revolutions and changes in its interior or upon its frontiers: the Hindus of Rajpoot had recommenced their struggles for independence; the Afghans had revolted in the north, the Usbeks had taken possession of Cabul, and the Persians of Candahar. In all places remote from the centre of government the Mohammedan chiefs paid but an imperfect obedience to the Great Mogul; and wherever favoured by local situation, or defended by mountains, forests, or rivers, the Hindus bade defiance to the entperer and his lieutenants. Then came on the great civil war in England between the parliament and Charles I., during which nearly all foreign trade was suspended, and the company sunk to such a state of insignificance that its existence as a body corporate was scarcely Indeed, from the year 1652 to 1657 discernible. the trade to India was thrown open to every English merchant that chose to empark in it. But, at

the end of that period, Oliver Cromwell renewed



KORT St. GEORGE, MADRAS. From an early View published by Carey, in 1787.

or re-confirmed the privileges of the old company. Shortly after the restoration of monarchy, Charles II. granted the company a new charter, dated April, 1651, in which not only were all the old privileges confirmed, but new and important ones added to them. The company new vested with a right of exercising civil jurisdiction and military authority; and with the power of making war and of concluding peace with the "Infilels of India," the state reserving to itself the prerogatives of peace and war with regard to Christian or European governments. In 1663 Charles II. obtained, as a part of the dower of his wife, the Infanta of Portugal, the island of Bombay, and, finding it expensive rather than profitable, he coded the island to the company in the year 1668. Soon after he made a similar grant of that convenient inidway restingplace the island of St. Helena; and in other important matters the aid of his government was cordially given to the company—the more cordially, no doubt, because some of his ministers and favourites were shareholders and speculators, and personally interested with the merchants-not yet merchant-princes-of Leadenhall-street. In 1687 the company transferred from Surat to Bombay the presidency over all their settlements, and from that moment the town began to spread and increase very rapidly. The English were anxious to have possession of the neighbouring island of Salsette, and maintained that it was included in the dower with Bombay; but the Portuguese took a different reading of the marriage treaty, and kept Salsette.*

Bruce, Annals of the East India Company.—Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

Trade was now carried on with a great part of the Indian empire through establishments both on the eastern and western coast; but the intercourse was liable to interruptions, and the forts and factories were not unfrequently threatened with hostile attack by the native powers, urged on in most cases by the Portuguese or by the Dutch. The weakness, the dissensions, and not unfrequent wars among the natives, encouraged the English settlers to abandon the merely defensive, and act on the offensive. The factors in Bengal transmitted to the company a list of wrongs and injuries sustained from the petty native rulers, and warmly recommended an active campaign against them beyond the limits of the company's settlements, which must become untenable or useless if allowed to be beleaguered and blocked up by the Indians. As the company had the power of war or peace with the Infidels, they sent out, in 1686, a Captain Nicholson with ten armed vessels and six companies of soldiers to levy war against the Great Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal. This force, the first employed in the intent of establishing political and military power, was diminutive indeed; but the unwarlike habits and the undesciplined condition of the natives were taken into account.* The ships composing the little armament arrived separately, and did not act with proper concert. The object of the campaign was to seize and fortify Chittagong. The fleet sailed up the Hooghly and commenced a cannonade, but they were repulsed and obliged to seek shelter near Calcutta, where they lay till some agreement with the Nabob, or additional forces

* Sir John Mulcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.

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from England, should enable them to resume their stations. A hollow truce was agreed to by the Nabob, who employed the time thus gained in making warlike preparations As soon as he was ready the English were attacked by an immense host; but, under the direction of Charnock, the company's agent, they made a gallant defence, repulsed repeated assaults, stormed the fort of Tanna, seized the island of Ingellee, in which they for tified themselves, and burnt the town of Ballasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet But on the other hand the Nabob took and plundered the English factories at Patna and Cossimbuzar And the campaign ended, not in any great conquest, but in an accommodation neither very honourable nor very reliable for the company The court of directors, disappointed and irritated, sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to take the command over the head of Charnock, with instructions to re-establish, if possible, the factories at Patna and Cossimbuzar. Some of the company's servants were carrying on pacific negotiations with the natives, when

Captain Heath arrived from England with a large ship and a frigate, and, without the necessary forms, commenced hostilities by plundering one or two native towns After this work he proceeded to Chittagong, and was there foiled and defeated, as Captain Nicholson had been before him. Heath then, taking the company's servants and effects on board, sailed away for Madras, and Bengal, upon which large sums had been spent, was abandoned The emperor now reigning was the celebrated Aurengzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, who had dethroned his father, and triumphed over his brothers who contested the empire with him * Aurengzebe, though previously well disposed towards the English, was indignant at their last proceedings, and issued orders for expelling

*Aurengache had revived and extended the Mogul power, which seemed failing to ruin under his father Shah Jehan. He had taken the cities of Hyderatual Bej pore, and Golconda, and had extended his dominions nearly to the limits of the Carnatic. But it was during his brill ant reign that a new enemy took the field. This was Seva jie, the founder of the Mahratta empire who with the most wrikke of the Hindus overran and permanently occupied the far greater part of the Decean.



BOMBAY. From a View in the Library of the last India Company.

them from his dominions. The factory at Surat was seized, the island of Bombay was suranded by a fleet, and the English governor cooped up in the town and castle. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as was also the factory at Visigapatam, where the company's agent and several of their servants were put to death. But the Mogul treasury soon felt the want of the copious streams that flowed into it through the English factories, and Aurengzebe and his ministers, flattered, by the recent display of weakness, into the belief that the company would never be strong enough to be danger-

ous, made a return towards their old friendly feeling, and listened to negotiations which were proposed in a most humble, if not abject tone. After some time the English obtained an order for the restoration of Bombay and their factory at Surat But during these premature contests with the natives, the most able and powerful of their European enemies had contrived to get a footing in India the French had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, and were now employing themselves in fortifying that place and in establishing a close connexion with such of the natives as were most un-

friendly to the English. These proceedings quickened the desire of obtaining an extension of territory and a real dominion by treaty, by purchase, or by force of arms, but to be at all events independent of the Great Mogul, nabobs, and all other powers. "The truth is," says one of the greatest authorities in Indian affairs, "that, from the day on which the company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt-measures for improving their strength; which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could evert the occurrence of similar danger." In 1609 the directors broadly laid down the principle that independence was to be established and dominion acquired in India. "The increase of our revenue," said they, "is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India." + And just at this time their policy was to some extent gratified, for Tegnapatam, a town and port a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the native powers. The servants of the company forthwith erected walls and bulwarks, and changed 'be name of the place to Fort St. David. After this acquisition the company pursued their plan of domizion with increased confidence, and soon after they may be said to have commenced a system of political ascendency. About nine years after the purchase of Tegnapatam they were enabled to make a more important acquisition. Aurengzebe had appointed his son Azim Ooshaun to be viceroy of Bengal, and this Azim aspired to dethrone his father, as Aurengzebe had dethroned his; or, if he were content to leave his sire on the throne until his natural death, Azim was anxious to secure the succession to it, which was sure to be disputed, in the oriental fashion, by a number of brothers, of whom some were younger and some older than himself. His grand scheme required money and arms, and the company could promise both for valuable considerations. For a large sum, Azim Ooshaun sold to the company the Zemindarships of Chutanutty, Govindpore, and Calcutta. At the last-named place the English began, but not without some timidity and circumspection, to erect Fort William. Nine years after this, in 1707, when the fort was strong and considerable, and a town had risen under its protecting shadow, the company made Calcutta the seat of a presidency, and the place gradually began to rise to the dignity of a capital to the British empire in the East. In the mean while many merchants and traders at home had become jealous of the strict monopoly of the

Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India.

chartered company, and various attempts were made by men called "interlopers" to carry on a trade with India in despite of the company and its local agents. Some interlopers there had always been, and, as early as the year 1600, the court of directors had ordered that they should be seized and treated as smugglers, or, in some cases, as In 1691 the court of directors granted commissions to all their captains proceeding to India to seize interlopers of every description and bring them to trial before the Admiralty Court at Bombay-" explaining that, as they attributed all the differences between the company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or king of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as pirates, and sentence of death passed; but execution stayed till the king's pleasure should be known." "This proceeding of the court," says a warm advocate, " rested upon the opinion of the twelve judges, which was that the company had a right to the trade to the East Indies, according to their charter."* But the authority of parliament had never confirmed the kingly grant by charter of such extensive powers of judicature; and the principles thus avowed, having in many instances been vigorously and barbarously acted upon by the company's agents and lawgivers in India, had greatly increased the prevailing jealousy. House of Commons in 1693 adopted the resolution that parliament should determine whatever regulations might be deemed necessary for the Indian trade. Nevertheless, a new charter was that year granted by Queen Mary, in the absence of her husband William III., by letters patent from the crown, and the interlopers were subjected to the same rigorous treatment as formerly. The House of Commons then resolved "That it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of partiament." William III. deferred to this decision, which had been brought about by a temporary union between the discontented Whigs and the Jacobites. In 1695 the House of Commons ordered the books of the company to be examined, and detected several flagrant abuses in the conduct of their affairs. and many palpable proofs of their having bribed some ministers of William in order to obtain their charter and the connivance of government. It was found for example that since the Revolution of 1688 the home expenses of the company had increased. from 1200/. per annum to 90,000/. Much of this money had been paid at various times to members of the House of Commons, who appeared to have kept part for themselves and to have paid part to ministers. Thus Danby, Duke of Leeds and Lord President of William's council, had received 5000 guiness; and other sums, including 10,000/. to the king himself, had been paid in various directions, for assurances of support against interlopers, the establishment of a rival company, &c. The Duke of Leeds was impeached by the Commons, but the

's Bruce, Aunals of the East Ind. Comp.

king quashed proceedings by a sudden prorogation of parliament.* The interlopers, including many men who had abundance of money, and who were quite as ready to use it in bribing the representatives and ministers of the country as were the chartered directors in Leadenhall-street, continued their earnest endeavours, which were now directed not merely to obtain a share in the benefits of the India trade, but a strict monopoly of it to their own sole advantage and to the exclusion of the old company and all others, whether individual traders or bodies corporate. And they gained so much strength by bribing and out-bidding that, in 1698, they were enabled to bring the company's charter under the cognizance of parliament and to get it set aside for one in their own favour. The charter was in fact knocked down to the highest bidder; and, in consideration of an advance of 2,000,000l. sterling, at 81. per cent., these interlopers obtained, not by royal charter, but by parliamentary bill, the exclusive right of trade with the East Indies, in spite of the protests of the old company, that the infringement of charters was contrary to good faith, contrary to justice, and as imprudent as immoral; that they had property of which they could not be deprived without the violation of the very foundation on which all civil society rests; that they were the lords proprietors by royal grant of Bombay and St. Helena; that they had acquired in India, at their own expense and by their own exertions, much immoveable property in lands, houses, forts, factories, &c.; that they had purchased privileges of the natives, and had, in fact, established a system through which alone England could hope to preserve the India trade; that justice to individuals as well as to the public required the continuance of their charter, inasmuch as the property and even subsistence of many families, widows, and orphans were entirely dependent on the fate of the com-So much attention was paid to these strong representations, that the Old or London Company obtained a confirmation of their charter in the following season, and the nation had thus two East, India companies instead of one-the Old by charter and royal prerogative, the New by bill and authority of parliament. " Nothing," says Malcolm, " could be more violent than the contests of these companies during the short period that they continued separate. The great efforts of both were directed to the object of gaining power in the House of Commons; and in the general elections of the year 1700 each was detected imbribery and corruption. The Old Company corrupted members and purchased votes; the New Company purchased scats. Thus the one bribed the representatives, the other the constituents. But, tired out at length with a struggle which threatened ruin to both, they united their stock under the charter granted to the Old Company, and bearing date the 5th of September, 1698, and assumed that name under which they have ever since been incorporated

-" THE UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY." It however required some time to remove their rooted animosities and establish a feeling of common interest. But at length, in the year 1708, a new and more favourable bill was obtained from parliament, and their privileges were both extended and consolidated in return for a fresh loan to government. Some of the leaders and servants of the Old Company had never lowered their tone in all their For example, their governor at Leadenhall-street, writing to an officer who had been appointed judge of civil affairs in India, had thus expressed himself even in a season of depression and discomfiture-" I expect my will and orders shall be your rule, and not the laws of England, which are a heap of nonscnse, compiled by a number of country-gentlemen, who hardly know how to govern their own families, much less how to regulate compapies and foreign commerce. Having now the power of condemning the company's enemies, or such as shall be deemed so, particularly those that shall question the company's power over all the British subjects in India, I expect my orders from time to time shall be obeyed and received as statute laws."t

The union of the clashing interests of the two companies, the gradual accordance of their principles and of the views of their servants abroad, the tranquillity and commercial prosperity which the peace of Utrecht, dishonourable as it was to the Tory government of Queen Anne, indisputably brought to England, and to the greater part of Europe, all contributed to raise the value of the British settlements in the East, and encourage the company in seeking an extension of dominion; for still all that was really occupied in sovereignty was a strip of land on the coast and an island here and there. The disseverance of the Mogul empire, which began with the death of Aurengzebe in 1707, seemed to offer an opening to their ambition. After a very short reign of Shah Alum the four sons of that emperor contended for the throne, and during this horrible family war the Mahrattas extended their conquests in the south, the Rajpoots virtually established their independence, and the Sikhs, a remarkable sect who professed a pure theism and attempted to reconcile the religion of the Mussulmans with that of the Hindus, ravaged the provinces of Delhi and Lahore. Moez-eddin, who triumphed over his brothers, was dethroned at the end of a few months by his nephew Farrukhsir or Feroksir, who did not occupy the throne quite seven years. Under his successor, Mohammed Shah, the empire of the Moguls was wasted to a shadow: the Deccan was alienated under the rule of the Nizamal-Mulk, by name a viceroy, but in fact an independent sovereign, more powerful than the Great Mogul; the Rohillas, a fierce predatory people of the Afghan race, seized on the northern provinces; and (in 1739) the Persians under Nadir Shah penetrated to Delhi and massacred alike Moham-

medans and Hindus. The company were signally indebted in various stages of their progress to humble practitioners in medicine. It was in consequence of a cure effected on the favourite daughter of one emperor that they had been first allowed a footing in Bengal; and in the year 1715 a medical man named Hamilton, who accompanied a commercial mission to Delhi, obtained for the company a grant of three villages near Madras, with permission to purchase thirty-seven additional townships in Bengal, as a reward for curing the reigning emperor Feroksir of a dangerous and painful illness, which was beyond the reach of the skill of the native physicians or conjurers. By the hostility of the nabob the company were for a long time prevented from purchasing the villages and townships; but they were allowed to enjoy another grant obtained through Hamilton from the grateful emperor - namely, the privilege of introducing and conveying their goods from Calcutta through Bengal without duty or search. In a very short time the trade of the company was wonderfully benefited by this privilege. But the French East India Company, who had made Pondicherry their stronghold, now began to thwart some of their plans, and to excite their jealousy by an increasing trade. In 1742, when a war between England and France appeared to be imminent in spite of the pacific temper of the great English minister Sir Robert Walpole, the French company, who were still in their infancy, and very anxious for the preservation of their profitable or promising trade, proposed to the English company. that, whatever might happen in Europe, there should be peace between them in India. The English court of directors at first accepted and then rejected this proposed neutrality, instructing their officers in India to watch, and, if possible, to circumvent the treaties and intrigues of the French company with the natives. In 1744 Walpole was driven from the helm, and the war, which broke out between the French and English, rapidly spread to Hindustan, and some few of the best officers in the French service repaired thither in the hope of attacking the English settlements before they should be prepared for defence. Labourdonnais, who had risen from a subordinate rank in the navy to be governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, by forcibly detaining all the French vessels that touched at those islands, and by training the merchant sailors to the use of the gun, got together a warlike squadron, and with all possible accrecy stretched across the Indian Ocean. He was well acquainted with the coasts, and with most of the European settlements, having previously made three or four voyages to that part of the world. His bravery was equal to his skill, and he resolved to begin his operations with an attack on Madras. He had with him a most motley crew and army of Frenchmen, Caffres, blacks from Madagascar, and negro slaves from the Mauritius, to which he had added, at Pondicherry, about 400 sepoys. The total amount was about 3600. The English in the colony of Madras did

not exceed 300 men, of whom about 200 were soldiers: the town and the adjoining territory belonging to the company had already a population of about 250,000, counting Armenians, Mohammedans, Hindus, Parsees, and Indian Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese; but none of these classes could be depended upon in war. The 300 English occupied Fort St. George, which was surrounded with a weak wall, and defended by bastions and four batteries weak and badly constructed. About the middle of September Labourdonnais appeared off the town, and immediately commenced a The inhabitants endeavoured to bombardment. save the place by offering him a ransom; but he was anxious for the glory of planting the French colours on Fort St. George, and continued to bombard for five days, at the end of which the inhabitants, and the English garrison as well, capitulated. Labourdonnais had not lost a man, and the English had lost no more than four or five. By the terms of the capitulation he pledged himself upon his honour to restore Madras to the English company on payment of a fixed ransom. On entering the place he protected the persons, houses, and property of the inhabitants; but he took possession of the magazines and warehouses of the company, all situated within Fort St. George, as public property. In his instructions from the French court, Labourdonnais was expressly prohibited from occupying any establishment or factory of the enemy; whence it has been argued that the French government and French East India Company shrunk at this time from all idea of conquest in India. But if this was the case, and it seems to us extremely doubtful, M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was resolved not to abide by any such plan, having pre-viously formed in his own mind a system of universal conquest in that great peninsula; and the first object, and that which he had most at heart, was to drive the last remnant of the English from the coast of Coromandel. Dupleix, who had wished for the sole conduct of the war, considered Labourdonnais as an intruder and rival. Now, however, he insisted that Labourdonnais should break the conditions of the treaty of capitulation and keep possession of Madras. The brave sailor was averse to a proceeding which would have been both a breach of faith and honour, and a breach of orders; but he was compelled by the storms of the monsoon, which drove his ships out to sea and sank two of them with their crews, to demand from the English that the articles should be so far altered as to allow him longer time to remove the company's goods; and the period of evacuation was changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January. This was what Dupleix desired, for he proposed, upon the departure of Labourdonnais, to take possession of Madras himself without any attention to the articles of the capitulation. Leaving. part of his force in Fort St. George, Labourdonnais repaired to Pondicherry as soon as the weather would permit, and proposed several plans, to none



GENERAL VIEW OF MAPRAS. From a Drawing by Thomas Daniell.

of which his rival would agree. After many quarrels he took his departure for France, to answer the accusations of his enemies, and to procure a patronage in the French cabinet and East India Company that should enable him to return with credit and power to India. On his voyage he was taken prisoner by a British ship-of-war, which brought him to England. As it was considered that he had behaved like a man of honour and humanity, in the capture of Madras, he was received with favour and distinction by all ranks, and a director of the East India Company offered to become security for him with his person and property. But he British government, then presided over by the Duke of Newcastle, desired no security beyond the word of Labourdonnais, and permitted his immediate return to France. It would have been better for him if they had kept him in England, for, upon the representations of Dupleix, he was arrested without process and thrown into the Bastille, where he pined for three long years.

Labourdonnais had scarcely quitted Madras, when the nabob of Arcot sent his son with a numerous army to drive the French out of that place. The force which Labourdonnais had left behing an in Fort St. George exceeded 1200 men, nearly all native French, and well trained and disciplined. The Indians were astonished and panic-strucken by the rapidity of their artillery; and after a very short struggle the nabobs son fled with all his host.

Dupleix, backed by a remonstrance and prayer signed by all the French in Pondicherry, declared Labourdonnais's treaty of ransom annulled, and ordered the officers at Madras to seize every article of property there, private or public, native or English, except clothes, furniture, and the jewels and trinkets of the women. These orders were executed without compunction; the English governor and some of the principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and exhibited there in a kind of triumph. Dupleix then turned his attention to Fort St. David, situated only twelve miles south from Pondicherry, and having in its immediate neighbourhood the Indian town of Cuddalore and two or three populous villages, all under the dominion of the English company. On the night of the 19th of December (1746) the Frenchman quitted Pondicherry with 1700 men, Europeans, natives, and Caffres, and he arrived next morning under Fort St. David, wherein there were only about 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The French had already begun to train the native scpoys to European discipline, but the English had delayed following the example,* and had no disciplined troops of that sort. They had, however, hired about 2000 of the undisciplined bands of the country, most irregularly armed with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes and lances, old matchlocks or new English muskets; and they had placed about half of this force in Cuddalore, which was partly surrounded by water and partly by walls flanked by bastions. As for Fort St. David, it was

Mill., Hist. of Brit. Ind., and the French and other dominents quoted therein. Labourdounais died shortly after his literation from the Bastille.

small, but much stronger than Fort St. George. The French, however, took up an advantageous post, and were making sure of the capture and plunder of both places, when a large native army appeared on their right flank and induced them to make a sudden and rather disastrous retreat, leaving (without counting their Indians or Africans) above 100 in killed and wounded behind them. This relieving army had been sent by the nabob of Arcot, instigated by wrath against the French for the defeat of his son at Madras, and captivated with the liberality of the English, who had promised him large sums. But the nearness of the place to Pondicherry tempted he French to make fresh efforts. On the night of the 10th of January, 1747, Dupleix embarked 500 men in boats to take Cuddalore by surprise. But the wind and the surf compelled the Frenchman to return to Pondicherry without doing anything. Dupleix then sent a strong detachment from Madras to ravage the nabob's territory. The French troops acted in a barbarous manner, and caused still more terror than mischief. Shortly after four French ships arrived at Pondicherry, and Dupleix artfully represented that he was speedily to be reinforced to an immense ex-The nabob began to waver; he saw that the English were but a handful of men, and he decided, with eastern facility, to change sides and join the stronger: he concluded peace with the French, recalled the army he had sent to the English, and dispatched his son on a visit to Pondicherry, where Dupleix got up a fresh show and triumph. About the middle of March of the same year, 1747, Dupleix again sent his forces to capture Cuddalore and Fort St. David; but the Frenchmen had scarcely taken up their position when an English squadron, under Admiral Griffin, approached the road and scared them back to Pondicherry. While they were retreating precipitately to Pondicherry the admiral landed 100 Englishmen, 200 Topasses, and 500 natives, from Bombay and Tellicherry.* Dupleix now apprehended an attack by the English on his own head-quarters; and, to save his ships, he sent them away to Mauritius to wait there till they should be joined by a fresh squadron from France. In the month of January, 1748, Major Laurence, an officer of great merit, arrived at Fort St. David with a commission to command the whole of the company's forces in India. He had not been there long ere Dupleix attempted another night attack on Cuddalore. Laurence allowed the French to approach the very walls of the town, and even to apply their scaling ladders; but then, as they were fancying the garrison had been withdrawn, he met them in the teeth with artillery and musketry, and drove them away in disorder. Though England had then upon her hands a war with Spain, France, and Holland, and had only recently recovered from the civil war in

the northern part of the island caused by the invasion of the Young Pretender, she dispatched nine ships of war under Admiral Boscawen, to co-operate with eleven ships of the company, carrying stores and troops. Boscawen arrived at Fort St. David on the 9th of August, and, joining Admiral Griffin, found himself at the head of the largest European force that any one power had as yet possessed in India. The land troops brought from England amounted to 1400 men. It was confidently hoped that the loss of Madras would speedily be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry; but the siege of the French Indian capital was undertaken without a sufficient knowledge of the localities, was conducted with little ability or spirit, and was raised when the trenches had been opened for thirty-one days. Dupleix, who was no hero—who always carefully kept himself at a distance from shot, alleging "that the noise of arms interrupted his reflections,"*made a loud boast of the event, and represented it as one of the most brilliant victories upon record. He wrote letters in this strain to the Indian princes and to the Great Mogul himself, and he received in return the compliments of those who would have changed sides again if the English had been successful. The French were regarded by the natives as a superior people; but before they could avail themselves of their prestige, peace was concluded in Europe between England and France and hos-

tilities were suspended in India.

During the war the native viceroy of Bengal had maintained peace between the French and English settled in his dominions; but the trade of the English company was much injured by the incursions of the Mahrattas, who interrupted communications, and on one occasion carried off 300 bales of raw silk, the property of the company. The still growing dissensions, the wretched weakness and anarchy of the whole country, soon encouraged the English to persevere in their old scheme of territorial aggrandisement. a Hindu prince, who, in the rapid revolutions of that country, had gained and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David and entreated the assistance of the English in a war against his brother, Pretaupa Sing, who had dethroned him. As the price of this assistance Sahujee offered the fort and country of Devi-Cottah, advantageously situated by the banks of the Coleroon on the coast of Coromandel. In the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Englishmen and about 1000 sepoys marched from Fort St. David into Tanjore, and, as a natural beginning to the war, directed their first attacks against the fortress, which was to be ceded to the company. But Devi-Cottah was stronger than was expected; the small train of artillery they carried with them proved insufficient; they were disappointed in the co-operation of an English squadron and of the people of the country, which had both been promised them; and they marched back to Fort St. David foiled and humiliated. The impa

^{*} The Topasses, whose name frequently occurs in the history of our early Indian wars, were native Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese.

Mémoire pour M. Dupleix, as cited in Mill's Hist. Brit. India. But, though no hero himself, Dupleix had heroes under him.

tience of Sahujee to recover his throne, and their own eager appetite for territory and dominion, soon induced the English to renew their attempt. new expedition was fitted out at Fort St. David, the troops were landed, a breach was made in the walls of Devi-Cottah, the deep river Coleroon was crossed by means of a raft, and the place was stormed. After some hard fighting in the breach and on the ramparts behind it a truce was concluded, the reigning king of Tanjore, Pretaupa Sing, agreeing to yield to the English the town, fort, and harbour, together with a territory adjoining; and the English on their part agreeing, not merely to renounce the support of Sahujec, for whom and with whom they had entered on this war, but also to secure his person in order to prevent his giving any further molestation to his brother.* It is even said, that, but for the rough yet humane sailor, Boscawen, the English would have delivered up their ally to Pretaupa Sing, who, according to the practice of the country, would have quieted his rivalry for ever by steel or poison. Thus, in profiting by the vices of the natives, the officers of the company did not hesitate in imitating those vices, and profiting by bad faith. At the siege of Devi-Cottah, Robert Clive, who was eventually to be the real founder of the British empire in India, greatly distinguished himself; but in heading the storming party he narrowly escaped being cut down by the sabre of a Tanjore horseman, one of a large party of cavalry who issued from a projecting tower and attacked the assailants in the rear. Clive, who had attracted some attention in the preceding year at the siege of Pondicherry, had entered the company's service in a civil capacity, but he had very soon thrown down the pen of a writer to take up an ensign's sword. By this time he had attained the rank of lieutenant, and was esteemed by the whole army as the most enterprising and daring of their officers. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, poor, and, comparatively, friendless and illiterate, and his chances of patronage, fame, and fortune all lay in his sword.† However foully obtained, the possession of Devi-Cottah was of vast importance to the company: the channel of the river Colcroon under that town was capable of receiving ships of the largest burthen, and this was the more important, as all along that coast from Masulipatam to Cape Comorin there was not a single port that could receive a vessel of 300 tons: moreover the neighbouring country was rich and fertile, and the strip of territory ceded by the treaty one of the most fertile spots on the coast.

But while these events were in progress the French, whose policy and operations continued to be guided by Dupleix, were engaged in thansactions of the highest moment, and taking part in a great revolution in the Carnatic, a large tract

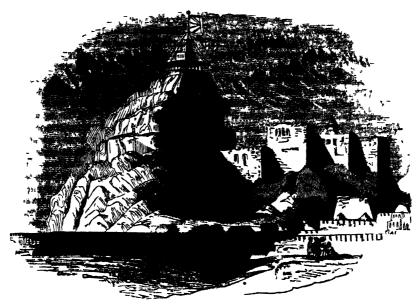
of country extending from the river Kistna to the northern branch of the Cauvery. The succession to the Carnatic was disputed by a number of princes, and Dupleix conceived that by siding with the strongest of the claimants, Chunda Saheb, who had collected a large army, and was eagerly courting French assistance, he might obtain not only vast cessions of territory, but by degrees a complete ascendency in the whole of southern India. In addition to the armed disputes for the great succession, there were contentions equally fierce among the minor princes for the possession of other dominions, some bordering on the Carnatic, and some included in it. A body of 400 French soldiers and 2000 sepoys were sent by Dupleix from Pondicherry; and in the first battle fought with these allies Chunda Saheb saw the most powerful of his rivals killed by a ball fired by a Caffre soldier in the service of France. Mohammed Ali, son to the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, a strong city, and the conquerors marched to Arcot, which surrendered at the first summons. From Trichinopoly Mohammed Ali dispatched envoys to the English to solicit their succour, and to promise the highest of prices for their alliance; but the British officers in command had received no orders from home that could justify their embarking upon a scene of such extensive operations; they were few in number, and their whole European force only a few companies; and, moreover, they were occupied at the time in taking possession anew of Madras, which had been given up by the French, in compliance with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Dupleix recommended his Indian allies to proceed immediately to Trichinopoly in order to reduce that place and kill or capture Mohammed Ali before the English should take up arms for him; but Chunda Saheb preferred going to learn ribute from the sovereign of Tanjore, who has so recently surrendered Devi-Cottah to the English. The rajah of Tanjore was compelled to give to the French two lacs of rupees and cighty-one villages belonging to Karical, which place the French had seized in 1736, and built a fort there.* In the neighbouring regions of the Deccan—the great and populous country which had formerly held dominion over the whole of the Carnatic-the succession on the death of Nizam-al-Mulk, in 1748, had been disputed between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzusser Jung; but the senior prince had prevailed over the jumor, had taken Muzuffer Jung prisoner, and now kept him in irons, carrying him in his train wherever he went. Nazir Jung and Anwar-ud-Dien, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnatic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service nearly all the troops the Great Mogul had on foot, advanced to the Carnatic frontier with an enormous army, including 30,000 Mahrattas who had been engaged to act as light cavalry. At the approach of this host Chunda Saheb and his French allies retreated hastily to Pondicherry.

· Sir John Malcolm, Life of Lord Clive.

Orme, History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India.—Mill, Hist. of British India.

† Sir John Malcolm, Life of Robert Lord Cive; collected from the family papers, communicated by the Earl of Powis.

† Thore was a sand bank or har near the mouth of the river; but it was calculated that this could easily be removed.



ROCK OF TRICKINOPOLY. From an Original Drawing.

Dupleix by extraordinary exertions increased the French contingent to 2000 men, and added a large body of well-disciplined sepoys, together with a well-served train of artillery. In the mean time the English had managed to send some very small detachments to Trichmopoly to sustain Mohammed Ali, and had thrown a few companies into the army of the rajah of Tanjore. Major Laurence advanced from Fort St. David with reinforcements, and collecting the companies in Tanjore he was enabled to join the army of Nazir Jung with about 600 Englishmen. But Laurence had with difficulty obtained the consent of his civil superiors to this active co-operation, and he was for some time disturbed by a doubt whether he should be justified in fighting the French without orders from the British government. He however determined to imitate the French in representing the English as mere auxiliaries and not principals in the war. As Laurence advanced with Nazir Jung's host, the French and their allies strongly entrenched themselves, and waited the attack with full confidence of success. Their position was so excellent, that Laurence advised Nazir Jung igainst an attack; but the Indian said that it did not become the son of Nizam-al-Mulk to retreat before such an enemy A cannonade was therefore begun and the troops were put in motion for a closer attack. At this crisis the French corps was completely disorganized by the sudden resignation of thirteen commissioned officers, who were enraged at not having shared in the booty and spoils made in Tanjore. As the defection seemed growing general, M d'Auteurl, who commanded for Dupleix, deemed it expedient to quit the field and hasten back to Pondicherry. Chunda Saheb, whose own troops began to desert, saw nothing better to do than to march after d'Auteuil. The whole excellent position was soon abandoned without a blow, or a shot fired from it; and for a moment the triumph of the allies of the English appeared to be fully secured. But Nazir Jung, the real head of this confederacy, had little ability and still less energy, and, by refusing to grant to his English allies a territory near Madras which had been promised as the reward of their co-operation, he provoked Major Laurence to return to Fort St. David with the 600 men. Nor had Dupleix lost heart by his most unexpected misfortune: by various arts he pacified the mutinous French officers, and put a new spirit into their little army; and he opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs, the leaders of the Patan troops, in the army of his enemy Nazir Jung. These Patans were unprincipled and ferocious mercenaries, ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, or to betray their trust for money. Responding to the overtures of Dupleix, the Patan chiefs engaged to perform various important services, and if necessary to murder then present employer Nazir Jung. D'Auteurl again took the field, and one of his officers with only 300 men was allowed to penetrate by night into the very heart of the enemy's camp, and to kill upwards of a thousand without losing more than two or three of his own people. Moreover, another small body of French troops sailed to Masulipatam, attacked it by surprise in the night, and carried it with a trifling loss; and another detachment seized the pagoda of Travadi, only fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. Continuing this career, M. Bussy, the Clive of the French, captured by storm the hill fort of Gingee, which had been deemed im-The event struck pregnable and maccessible awe into the natives of India, and was viewed with astonishment even by Europeans. "It had not yet been discovered," says Malcolm, "as it has since been by frequent similar successes in India, that where men rely upon steep and high mountains and rugged or scarped rocks as defences other means and advantages are neglected; and if the assailants overcome those natural obstacles which have been deemed insuperable the spirit of the defenders is gone, and they seldom if ever offer that bold and determined resistance which the same troops have been found to do in half-walled towns or villages, where, from the first, they could confide in nothing but their own firmness and courage." Soon after the storming of Gingee, Nazir Jung opened, or renewed, a correspondence with Dupleix. The wily Frenchman replied to his letters in a friendly manner, and drew up a treaty of pacification which he professed would satisfy himself and his allies and restore the blessings of peace to the

Carnatic, the unfortunate inhabitants of which country had suffered nearly every extremity of misery from this and preceding wars. But at the same time Dupleix had fully arranged a revolt in Nazir Jung's camp, and had collected a force of 4000 men, French or well-disciplined sepoys, under the high hill of Gingee, who were to obey the summons of the Patan traitors, and to co-operate with them. The doomed Subahdar signed the treaty as sent to him by Dupleix, and returned it to the head-quarters of the French; but at the same moment, or shortly before the arrival of the peace-restoring document, there arrived in the same camp the concerted summons of the Patan conspirators; and the French force under the command of M. Delatouche silently moved off to attack under cover of night the betrayed army of Nazir Jung. Delatouche encountered some resistance from the rest of the army, but the Patan mercenaries remained passive spectators. Nazir Jung mounted his war elephant and hastened to the lines of the Patan chiefs, ignorant of their treachery and hoping to excite them to exertion; but as he raised himself on the seat of his elephant to salute those ferocious chiefs, two cira-



GINGER I rom a Poriting by In a count to 1 iv a

bine balls were fired at his heart, and he fell dead at the feet of the traitors, who forthwith cat this head, stuck it upon a spear, and exhibited it to the army. This was quite enough to effect an instantaneous revolution: Muzuffer Jung, the ally of the French and of Chunda Saheb, was released from his confinement in the camp and installed as Subahdar of the Deccan, although there were four brothers

of the murdered Nazir Jung on the spot.* Muzuffer Jung, who had so rapidly passed from a prison to a throne, hastened to Pondicherry to express

Colonel Wilkes. Duplers, to cast off the infamy of treachery, ameris in his Memours, that, on receiving the treaty signed by Nazir Jung, he wrote off immediately to Delatouche to prevent further hos tillities, but that his letter arrived too late. There may be some doubt as to these assertions, but we believe there is none as to the fact of M Delatouche being ignorant of the conclusion of the treaty when he obeyed the summons of the Petan chiefs.

his gratitude for the friendship and his admiration of the policy and decision of Dupleix. As substantial proofs of his thankfulness, he lavished upon the Frenchman a great part of the treasures of Nazir Jung, and nominated him governor of all the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin; appointing his close ally Chunda Saheb his deputy in the government of Arcot. But the new Subahdar and Dupleix failed in satisfying the cupidity of the Patan chiefs, who departed for the interior full of rancour and revenge. Mohammed Ali, late the ally of the English, sustained himself within the strong walls of Trichinopoly till the assassination of Nazir Jung and the union of the Great Mogul's army with the French; but now he fled and offered to resign all claim to the Carnatic, provided Dupleix would obtain for him from the new Subahdar of his own making a separate command in some other part of the Deccan. In the beginning of the year 1751 it was found necessary to attend to insurrections which had broken out—not without encouragement from the English or the native friends of the company—in various parts of the Carnatic; and the new Subahdar took the field accompanied by the French contingent, again under the command of the brave and skilful Bussy. On their march into the interior a revolt broke out in part of their own army; and it was discovered that a mountain-pass in their front was occupied by the fierce Patan chiefs with their hardy tribes. Bussy gave instant orders for clearing the pass, and this was soon done by the French artillery and grape shot. But in pursuing the fugitive Patans the new Subahdar received a Patan arrow in his brain, which proved as instantaneously fatal to him as the carabines had been to his predecessor. The native army hereupon would have packed up their rice-kettles to disband and to return to their homes; but Bussy instantly proclaimed a new Subahdar in the person of Salabut Jung, who happened to be in the camp. There was also with the army at the same time a son of the arrow-slain Muzuffer Jung; but he was a mere child, and no attention was ever paid in India or in any other of the eastern despotisms to hereditary right, or to any other fixed rule of succession. The native army received Salabut Jung with acclamations of great joy; and he forthwith confirmed to the French the splendid grants made by his predecessor. The army then continued its march to Hyderabad, one of the French officers informing Dupleix by letter that in a very short time the Mogul would tremble on his throne at the name of the French. The council of the company were thrown into consternation, and almost into despair, by the sudden ascendency acquired by Dupleix, and they endeavoured to encourage Mohammed Ali, and induce him to break off his negotiations by which Trichinopoly was to have been surrendered to the French. Mohammed Ali had courage enough left to return to Trichinopoly and to declare that he would hold that important place to the last extremity; and hereupon the English pledged them-

selves to support and assist him with ships, troops, and money. But small was the force that the government of Fort St. David could collect for this purpose; and, as Major Laurence had taken his departure for England, they were at a loss to know what officer they should appoint to the command of it. As Lieutenant Clive seemed too young and too low in rank, they at last gave the chief command to one Captain Cope, who might have been uf the same stock as Sir John Cope the hero of Prestonpans. With 600 men in all, including sepoys, Captain Cope advanced to Madura, which still adhered to Mohammed Ali; but he marched back again without striking a blow for his ally, who thereupen was speedily besieged in Trichinopoly by the French and the forces under Chunda Saheb. As Trichinopoly, on the south bank of the great river Cauvery, was a place of vital importance—the only place that remained of all the Carnatic in the hands of their ally—and as the French were proving to them what they might expect in their ill-defended factories and settlements on the coast, by planting white flags in almost every field around their boundaries, and in some instances even within their limits, the presidency of Fort St. David were roused to greater exertious, and they collected 500 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1000 sepoys to march to the relief of the besieged city. This time the command was given not to Captain Cope, but to a Captain Gingen, who appears to have been as in competent an officer, as weak and undecided, as Cope. Clive went with the expedition, but unfortunately merely as commissary of provisions. According to the absent Major Laurence, who afterwards wrote an account of these early and not very honourable operations, "a fatal spirit of division had crept in among our officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of our military conduct." Gingen, about the beginning of April, 1751, started from Fort St. David, and at nearly the same time Chunda Saheb, leaving part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, began to march to meet him. The opposing armies met near the fort of Volconda, and the English behaved in such a manner as English troops have seldom been guilty of-they fled almost at the first shot, leaving their Caffres and their sepoys on the field engaged in an unequal struggle, which these mercenaries maintained for some time with considerable spirit. Gingen, who was calling councils of war and debating and wavering when he ought to have been fighting, retreated from position to position; but then changing his line of march he contrived eventually to reach Trichinopoly and throw himself and his forces, considerably reduced, within its walls. Chunda Saheb was close at his heels, and the siege was renewed. Clive, after the disgraceful affair at Volconda, had returned straight to Fort St, David to atorn, and swear at the misconduct of our officers, and to solicit employment more suited to his disposition and abilities. In a

· Narrative in Cambridge's War in India.

hinder stoor the council promoted him to the rank of cartain, adopted a plan which his daring genius braned, and entrusted him with the execution This was nothing less than to Trichinopoly by making a sudden attack upon the capital of the Carnatic. Fort St. David Madras were emptied of their troops and left the weakest garrisons, and yet Clive's detachment when completed did not exceed 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoys. His whole staff of officers counted no more than eight, six of whom had never been in action, and four of these six being young men in the mercantile service of the company, who, inflamed by Clive's example, took up the sword to follow him. The artillery attached to this force consisted of three light field pieces. But Clive had learnt something while acting as commissary, and had taken good care to provide supplies of provisions and abundant ammunition. He had already the forethought of a great commander. On the 26th of August, 1751, he started from Madras with a confidence of success. On the 29th he reached a pagoda about forty miles inland, and there received intelligence that the fort of Arcot had not been drained of its troops for the siege of Trichinopoly, but was actually garrisoned by 1100 men. Nothing daunted, he wrote to Madras for two eighteen-pounders to be sent after him without delay; and continuing his march he halted on the 31st within ten miles of Arcot. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, reported with consternation that they had seen the English marching without concern through a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This was considered as a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort. A few hours after their departure Clive and his men entered the city, which had no walls or defences, and, marching through the streets in the midst of tens of thousands of timid spectators, they took possession of the fort, where they found eight pieces of cannon from four to eight pounders, a great heap of lead for shot, and abundance of gunpowder. merchants of Arcot had for security deposited their goods in the fort: Chive scrupulously respected this property, and allowed some three or four thousand persons to remain in their houses or dwellings which were situated within the fort. All this procured hm many friends among the natives, who cared little for either of the parties contending for dominion over them; and it enabled him to obtain provisions and such materials as might be wanted to sustain a siege—for he could scarcely hope to be left with such a scanty force in undisturbed possession of his enemy's capital. But before the besiegers should gather around him from afaithis precocious and self-taught general replyed to scatter the ex-garrison of the fort, who lingered in the neighbourhood, and who might recover from their panic. On the 4th of September he marched out with the greater part of his men and four fieldpieces; and he soon discovered 600 horse and 500 foot drawn up in battle array. They had a fieldpiece managed by two or three Europeans, from which they fired at a great distance. They killed a camel and wounded a sepoy; but as soon as the English got within musket-shot they fled to the hills in their rear. Clive then returned to the fort of Arcot.

On the 6th he made another excursion into the country, and found the enemy nearly at the same spot where he had found them before; but their number now appeared to be nearly doubled, and they had two field-pieces with them instead of one. Moreover, they had chosen their ground with some skill, in a grove enclosed with a bank and a ditch, and having in front an old tank almost dry and choked up. They fired their field-pieces smartly as Clive advanced, and killed three English soldiers. But the line with Clive at its head advanced more briskly. upon which the enemy, not thinking themselves safe in the grove, ran into the old tank, the banks of which were strong and high. Well under cover, they could scarcely be touched by the fire of the English line, and they were enabled to wound several of Clive's people. He therefore withdrew his troops to the rear of some buildings, and then detached a platoon to attack the tank on one of its sides, and threw forward another platoon in its front. Both gained the ridge of the bank and gave their fire at the same instant amongst numbers crowded together in the tank. The next minute there was no one in that enclosure except the killed -the enemy were in headlong flight. Close to the scene of action stood a village and the Indian fort of Timery. Clive took possession of the village and summoned the fort; but the governor knew he had no battering cannon, and refused to surrender; and, after throwing a few shells into the fort from a cohorn mortar, Clive marched back to Arcot and employed his men in repairing the works of that crazy fortress. The my, seeing that he made no more sallies, conceived that he was begunning to be afraid of them; and, having raised their force to 3000 fighting men, they encamped within three miles of the town. On the night of the 14th of September, when they were buried in sleep, Clive burst into their camp, committed a great slaughter, and put them all to flight, without losing a single man. At this time the two eighteenpounders which he had demanded were on their way from Madras, escorted only by a few sepoys. Knowing that the enemy had occupied part of the road and taken possession of a strong pagoda, in the intention of intercepting this escort. Clive sent out thirty Englishmen and fifty sepoys with a fieldpiece to dislodge them from the pagoda. The detachment found that the pagoda was abandoned, but that the enemy had retreated to a fort on the road, where they were continually reinforced. Upon this intelligence Clive sent on nearly his whole force, remaining in the fortress with only thirty Europeans and fifty sepoys, while there were from 3000 to 4000 natives within the same walls. enemy hereupon changed their design, and, quitting all the positions they had occupied on the road,



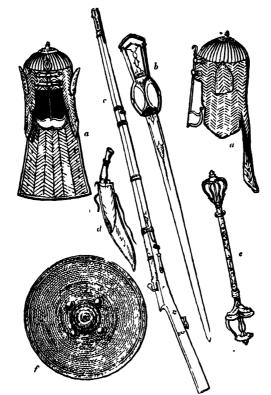
they returned hastily to Arcot, hoping to carry the fort by assault. During the night they completely surrounded the fort with horse and foot; and on the following morning they opened a fire of musketry upon the ramparts from some adjacent houses which overlooked them. As this attack produced no effect, a large body of horse and foot, mixed and in disorder, advanced to the outer gate of the fort, with a terrific din of voices and warlike music; but a few hand-grenades thrown amongst them frightened the horses, which knocked down and galloped over the foot; and cavalry and infantry soon disappeared. About an hour after a similar attack was followed by an equally quick repulse; and between night and morning the mass of Clive's little force, with the sepoys and the two precious battering cannon from Madras, appeared on the skirts of the town. The enemy then packed up and fled, and Clive quietly opened his gates to receive his people. During the attack the natives in the fort, well satisfied with his kind treatment, remained perfectly quiet. As had been expected, Chunda withdrew the greater part of his forces from Trichinopoly: he did not march with them himself, but sent his son, Rajah Saheb, who entered the town of Arcot with 4000 horse and foot and 150 French from Pondicherry, and fixed his headquarters in the palace of the Nabob. Being joined by the forces previously collected in the neighbourhood Chunda found himself at the head of 10,000 men, and with these he prosecuted a siege against a contemptable fort defended by Clave's little band. Yet on the 24th the English commander made a sally with the view of driving Rajah Saheb from the palace and the town, or, if he failed in that, of striking terror into the native troops by the excess of his audacity. But after a fight in the streets he was compelled by the artillery of the French to fall back into the fort. Had there been none but native troops both palace and town would have been cleared. In this day's sortie Clive lost fifteen of his English soldiers, and one of his best officers. who sacrificed his own life in protecting that of his commander.* Moreover, Lieutenant Revel, his only artillery officer, was disabled. He was now cooped up within the walls of the fortress, which were in many places falling to ruin. These walls were more than a mile in circumference; the rampart too narrow to admit the firing of artillery; the parapet was low and weak; the towers were only capable of receiving one cannon each; and the ditch was fordable in most places, and perfeetly dry and choked up in others. The houses already mentioned as overlooking the ramparts were soon filled with troops, and good French marksmen picked off several of the English garrison. At midnight, when the enemy had retired from their advanced positions, an attempt was made to blow up these houses, but it failed, and was the cause of depriving Clive of the services of

This was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, seeing a sepoy from a window taking aim at Citve, pulled him on one side, upon which the sepoy, changing his aim, shot Trenwith through the body.

another of his officers. He had now only force officers fit for duty. In order to husband the provisions within the fort, he sent away all the natives except a few artificers. For fourteen days the enemy prosecuted the siege with musketry from the house and a bombardment from four mortars. Several of the English were killed, and more were wounded on the ramparts, though they only showed their heads above the parapet. Clive himself had several hair-breadth escapes: three sergeants, who at different times singly attended him in visiting the works, were killed at his side. On the 24th of October the French, who had hitherto had no battering cannon, received from Pondicherry two eighteen-pounders and seven pieces of smaller calibre. A well-served battery was then opened, and at their very first shot the French dismounted one of Chive's eighteen-pounders, and at the next entirely disabled it. The English mounted their other eighteen-pounder, but this too was soon dismounted, and was employed afterwards only in those parts of the fort where it was not exposed to the French artillery. In six days the French beat down all the wall between two of the towers, and made a practicable breach fifty feet wide. But, while they were making this breach, Clive, with remarkable ingenuity, was making a deep trench and erecting palisades and a strong parapet behind it; and he planted one of his field-pieces on one of the towers which flanked the breach, and two small pieces of cannon on the flat roof of a house within the fort, and just opposite to the entrance which the French guns had made. The besiegers, aware of these preparations, would not venture into the breach until they should effect another in an op-posite direction. They had burst one of their eighteen-pounders, but they carried the remaining one, with a nine-pounder, to a new battery which they had erected at the opposite side of the fort. Within that precinct Clive had found one of those enormous cannons which Turks, Persians, and other Orientals have always so much admired. According to the local tradition, this monster gun had been sent from Delhi by the Emperor Aurungzebe. and had been drawn by 1000 yoke of oxen. Clive raised a mound of earth to such a height as commanded the nabob's palace over the roofs of the houses that lay between: he hoisted the great gun on this mound, and, having found some iron ball which had been cast for the gun, he loaded and fired. The ponderous ball went right through the palace, to the terror of Rajah Saheb and his principal officers there assembled. But, as every charge took thuty pounds of powder, Clive ordered that the gun should be fired only once a-day. On the fourth day the monster burst. Both in imitation and retaliation the enemy raised a mound opposite one of the gates, and put two pieces of cannon upon it; but before they could well begin their fire Chira brought his reserved eighteen-pounder to bear upon it, and in less than an hour the mound gave way and tumbled with the fifty men perched upon it. The company's agents at Madras and Fost St.

David, informed of the desperate contest in which Clive was engaged, determined to make an effort to relieve him; but so limited were their means, that all they could do was to send 100 English soldiers and 200 sepoys, under the command of Lieutenant Innis. This party, who had no cannon, were attacked on the road between Madras and Arcot by 2000 native troops, who had with them two field-pieces served by Europeans; and Innis, after a sharp contest in which he lost twenty Enghish soldiers and two officers, thought it prudent to face about and return to Madras. Clive and his reduced garrison thus seemed left alone to their fate; but the gallant defence they had made had produced a deep impression far and near, and the fickle nature of Indian alliances and compacts soon gave him more than a gleam of hope. At the distance of about thirty miles from Arcot there lay

encamped a body of 6000 Mahrattas, under the command of Morari Row, a chief of more energy than conscience. Clive, surrounded as he was, found means to send a messenger to this chief; and the messenger soon returned safe to the fort with a letter in which Morari Row stated that he would not delay a moment to send a detachment to the assistance of such brave men as the defenders of Arcot, whose behaviour had now, for the first time, convinced him that the English knew how to fight. Yet all that these Mahrattas did when they came was to plunder and set fire to some houses in the outskirts of the town, for they would not venture to attack the barricades which had been erected in every street and in every avenue leading to the besieged fort. In their advance or in their retreat they, however, intercepted some ammunition destined for the besiegers.



GROUP OF MARRATTA ARMS. From the Collection of Sir S. Meyrick:—a a, Helmet; b, Sword; c, Mucket;
d, Kuife and Sheath; c, Mace, f, Shield.

in the meanwhile the French guns had made a second breach, and Clive had counterworked it as he had done the first. This second that was nearly thirty yards wide; but the ditch there was deep and full of water. On the 14th of November, the great festival in commemoration of the murder of the holy brothers Hassan and Hussein, when the Mohammedans of India quicken their fanaticism with opium and with bang, Rajah Saheb

and his French allies resolved to storm the fort through its two opposite breaches. Elephants with large plates of iron fixed on their foreheads were driven up to the gates as if they could have battered them down, and in the rear of these enormous animals marched or scrambled a multitude of men on foot. This first essay was signally unfortunate, for the elephants, being wounded by the men on the ramparts, rushed madly round, threw

down the rabble rout, trampled a good many of them to death, and then went off with their probosces in the air. The work in the breaches was more serious. In front of the first (to the northwest) the ditch was fordable, and there hundreds upon hundreds, drunk and furious with their wild devotion and the drugs working on their stomachs and brains, rushed across and entered the mortal Some of these aspirants after the higher paradise even got across the trench which Clive had dug behind the breach. He let them come on almost to the palisade before he gave fire; but then he opened upon them with two pieces of cannon and with his musketry, and every shot and bullet told on their confused mass. They went back shricking; but others crowded through the breach, and when these were driven off they were still succeeded by others. The fire of small arms from the palisade and parapet never slackened for a moment, for Clive's men who were behind kept loading the muskets and handing them to the front rank as fast as they could discharge them. The musketry, the two cannon, and some bombs which Clive had prepared with short fusees, at length drove back the bravest or muddest of the assailants, and strewed nearly every foot of ground with their dead or wounded. But in the mean time they were attempting the other breach. To cross the deep water of the ditch they had prepared a raft, which they launched with seventy men upon it. This breach, launched with seventy men upon it. like the other, was flanked on either side by a tower, and in each of the towers there was one field-piece. Observing that his men were firing with bad aim, and that the raft was drawing near without injury, Clive ran into one of the towers, took the management of the field-piece into his own hands, and fired with such precision that in three or four discharges the raft was broken to pieces and the seventy men tumbled into the ditch-of whom some were drowned, some killed by shot in the water, and some enabled to escape by swimming. All further attempts at storming were abandoned. The enemy had lost 400 in killed and wounded, few of whom were Europeans, for during the storm most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance. As for Clive, he had only four English killed and two scroys wounded. So many of his garrison being disabled by wounds or sickness, the number which repulsed the storm was no more than eighty English, officers included, and 120 sepoys, and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack. The enemy, after a pause of two hours, renewed their fire upon the fort with musketry from the houses and with their cannon; but this was a mere waste of powder and shot, and at two o'clock in the afternoon they requested leave to carry off and bury their dead. Clive allowed them two hours. At four o'clock they once more opened their fire, nor did they again cease till two hours after midnight, when of a sudden a dead silence ensued. When day broke Clive learned that the whole army had abandoned

Arcot in haste and confusion. He instantly threw open a gate and marched into their deserted quarters, where he found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition. Thus ended the siege of the fort of Arcot, which had lasted fifty days, and which, in a military point of view, had been highly honourable to all engaged in the defence. It established Clive's character as a soldier, and it raised the reputation of English arms in India from the lowest to the very highest pitch.* It has been said by a competent judge that Clive, who at this time had neither read military books nor conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the art of war, had employed all the resources which are dictated by the



LORD CLIVE. From a Portrait in the Government House, Calcutta.

best masters—that he acted like an experienced general from the beginning—that he was born a soldier.+

On the evening of the day on which the enemy fled from Arcot a detachment from Madras, consisting of 150 English with four field-pieces, under the command of Captain Kilpatrick, arrived safely at Arcot. Leaving a small garrison in the fort, Clive set out on the 19th of November to pursue the enemy, with 200

*Ormc.—The English troops engaged had never been under fire before this campaign. The sepoys acting with them behaved with great gallantry and testified a warm affection for their white comrades. When protisions were becoming scarce in the fort the sepoya proposed that Clive should limit them to canjee, the water in which the rice is bolled, and which resembles very thin gruel. "It is," said they, "sufficient for our support: the Europeans require the grain,"—Ser John Medeolm, Life of Lord Clive.

† Major Laurence, Narrative. We suspect, however, that since his arrival in India Clive had assisted his natural genius with some careful study of a few books. It is mentioned, indeed, that in the governor's house at Fort St. George there was a good library open at all times to the young writer; and that Clive, during the first year or two of his residence in India, through poverty and prode, shyness and a sense of his deficient education, led a very seduced life,

English, 700 sepoys, and three field-pieces. Being joined by a small body of Mahratta horse sent to him by Morari Row, he gave the enemy battle at a place called Arnec, and, though they were 300 French and more than 2000 natives, horse and foot, with four field-pieces, he completely routed them, and the French were only saved from destruction by the darkness of the night. The valour of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the booty they made, for they took 400 horses and Chunda Saheb's military chest, containing 100,000 rupees. Six hundred sepoys, who had been serving the French, immediately deserted with their arms and accoutrements, and joined Clive; and the killadar or governor of Arnee abandoned the cause of Chunda Saheb and the French, and declared for Mohammed Ali and the English. With admirable rapidity Clive next proceeded to Conjeveram, made a breach in that strong pagoda, and forced the French to fly from it by night. After destroying the defences of this place, and strengthening the garrison that he had left at Arcot, Clive returned to Fort St. David to report his successes and to suggest bolder and wider operations. Mohammed Ali, instead of being besieged in Trichinopoly, saw the country open to him and a great part of the Carnatic submissive to his will. He was joined by some of Morari Row's Mahrattas, eager for fighting, or rather for plunder, who were incensed at Captain Gingen, for refusing to take the field with his small English force. "These," said they, "are not the same kind of men we saw fight so gallantly at Arcot." But Clive had not been long at Fort St. David when the enemy reassembled, and with 4500 natives, horse and foot, 400 French, and a train of artillery, began to ravage the company's territory and the districts which had declared for Mohammed Ali. Early in February (1752) Clive, having been reinforced from Bengal, went out to meet them with 380 English, 1300 scroys, and six field-pieces. Such was the terror of his name that they retreated before him, abandoning one strong position after another. Lengthening and quickening his marches, he, however, came up with them at the village of Covrepauk, defeated them after a hard-fought battle, and took nine pieces of cannon and sixty Frenchmen. Fifty Frenchmen and 300 sepoys were found dead upon the field. Clive's loss included forty English and thirty sepoys killed, and a much greater number were wounded. Chunda Saheb's troops dispersed and fled to their homes, and the French made all the haste they could to the protecting walls of Pondicherry.

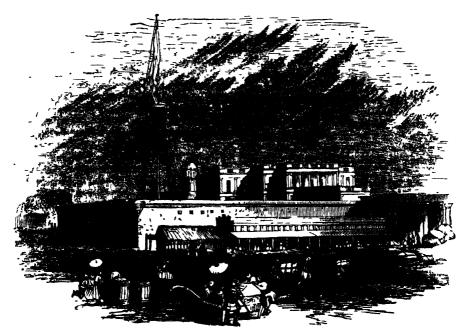
Clive, the conqueror, returned to Fort St. David, where the presidency determined to distant him to Trichinopoly. But just at this juncture Major Laurence returned from England and took the command as superior officer. Laurence, however, who was wholly devoid of professional jealousy, and who had the warmest admiration for the daring self-taught soldier, took Clive with him when he set out for Trichinopoly, with 400 English. 1100

sepoys, and eight field-pieces. As 20,000 Hindus from the kingdom of Mysore and 6000 Mahrattas were ready to co-operate with the English, the troops of Chunda Saheb and the French, who had again gathered in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, broke up in dismay, the French retreating to a strong pagoda in Seringham, an island formed by the rivers Coleroon and Cauvery, and burning part of their baggage and provisions which they could not transport with them. By the advice of Clive Major Laurence divided his small force, and sent a detachment across the Coleroon to intercept the enemy's supplies. Clive had the command of this detachment, and performed his duty so effectually that the French soon began to feel the horrible approaches of famine. Dupleix from Pondicherry sent M. d'Auteuil to supply and reinforce the French on the island; but d'Auteuil was driven back by some of the troops of Major Laurence, forced into an old fort, and there compelled to surrender with all his convoy. A few days after the French at Seringham capitulated and became prisoners of war; and their ally Chunda Saheb, who had so recently been lord of the Carnatic, finding himself deserted by the last of his troops, fled to the camp of his enemies and surrendered to the general of the Tanjore forces, a wily Hindu, who had promised him protection and who now put him in irons. Forthwith a violent dispute arose between Mohammed Ali, the Mahratta chiefs, the Rajah of Mysore, and the Tanjorines, who each and all claimed the person of the prisoner. To put an end to this quarrel, Major Laurence proposed that the fallen potentate should for the present be delivered up to the English; but the disputants separated without coming to any agreement, and before the discussion could be renewed the Tanjorines cut off the head of Chunda Saheb and sent it to his now fortunate rival Mohammed Ali, who exhibited it as a trophy to his army. Laurence and Clive have both been blamed for suffering this foul assassination, but it will appear on a candid examination of the facts that neither they nor any of their allies had any foreknowledge or anticipation of the deed, which sprung from the jealousy and ferocity of the Tanjore chief, over whom they had no control.

The English were now eager to advance against the fortress Gingee, the only place in the Carnatic which remained to their enemies; but fresh and far more violent disputes broke out among their allies and retarded their march. In the hour of his greatest weakness and distress Mohammed Ali, to obtain the assistance of the Regent of Mysore, had solemnly promised him the city and territory of Trichinopoly, and the Mysorean now claimed immediate possession of that important city. When Laurence spoke with Mohammed Ali, that nabob treated the whole matter in a truly Indian manner, saying that the Regent of Mysore could not but know that when he made such a promise he never intended to fulfil it. After some time lost in altercation the Nabob consented that the fort of Trichi-

nopoly should be delivered up to the Regent of Mysore in two months; but, having no reliance on his faith, the Mysorean troops refused to quit the place, and induced some of the Mahrattas to remain with them. As the troops of Tanjore and other auxiliaries had marched to their homes, the English had few or none to advance with them to Gingee, except the sepoys in their own pay. They marched nevertheless to that strong place, which was held by a brave and well-trained French garrison, sustained a repulse, and were obliged to retreat with some loss. This gave new encouragement to Dupleix, whose schemes were still as extensive as ever, and who resolved to leave no art, no force, no means, foul or fair, untried, to establish the supremacy of the French all over the Carnatic. Well acquainted with the dissensions prevailing between Mohammed Alı and the Regent of Mysore, he opened a secret correspondence with the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas, hoping to break the confederacy into pieces by force of intrigue and the vehemence of their own passions. In these labours it is said he derived wonderful assistance from his wife, who was born in India and perfectly under-

stood not only the languages but also the character of the natives. In his union with this lady, who is described as being even more ambitious than himself, we may probably find the cause of the essentially oriental spirit of most of his proceedings. In a very short time Major Laurence was recalled to the neighbourhood of Fort St. David by intelligence that Dupleix had another considerable army on foot. With 400 English, 1700 sepoys, 4000 troops in the pay of Mohammed Ali, and nine fieldpieces, he encountered this French army near Hahoor, only two miles from Fort St. David, and obtained a victory which would have been far more complete if the Nabob's troops had not thought more of plundering than fighting. Laurence was now enabled to detach Clive to Covelong, an important fort in the Carnatic, about twenty miles south of Madras. The force which Clive took with him consisted of 200 recruits who had just been landed at Madras, and who are represented as being the very refuse of the jails of London, and of 500 newly raised sepoys. But, as Clive had become a general as if by inspiration, so had he the faculty of making soldiers in a week out of vaga-



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, MADRAS. From a Drawing by Thomas Daniell.

bonds and cutpurses. With this force and with four 24-pounders he attacked Covelong, which mounted 30 pieces of cannon, and was garrisoned by 50 French and 300 sepoys. At first the jail-birds showed some trepidation, but Clive shamed them out of their fears by exposing himself to the

hottest of the fire, and by the time the fort surrendered they were heroes. The morning after the surrender of Covelong, Ensign Joseph Smith discovered a large body of troops advancing, and correctly judged that this must be a detachment from Chingliput intended to relieve Covelong. Clive instantly took every precaution to conceal from this corps that the fort had fallen; and then he laid an ambuscade in their route. The French fell into the trap, and the very first volley fired by the concealed English killed or wounded 100 men. rest threw down their arms and fled or surrendered. The French officer commanding, 25 Europeans and 250 sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, were taken. Clive next proceeded with all possible rapidity to Chingliput, which was about 40 miles to the southwest of Covelong, the fort being completely defended on one side by a lake, and on another by a swamp; it was moreover surrounded by a broad and deep ditch. Clive presently erccted a battery within 200 yards of the outer wall, made a breach, and prepared to storm; but the French commandant called a parley and surrendered the place on condition of being allowed the honours of war. The French garrison evacuated Chingliput on the 31st of October (1752) and marched to Pondicherry; Clive returned to Madras, and, finding his health, which had never been very robust, greatly impaired by the incessant fatigues he had undergone, he pro-

ceeded to England by the first ship. His back was scarcely turned when Dupleix's diplomacy and intrigue obtained the most signal The Regent of Mysore, perceiving triumphs. that Mohammed Ali had not the remotest intention of gratifying him with the possession of Trichinopoly, abruptly broke his alleance and joined the French, and his example was followed by Morari Row, the chief of the Mahrattas, who considered that they had not been allowed their fair share of booty. Still further to increase this defection, Dupleix opened negotiations with the Mohammedan governor of Vellore, and he gained this chief by flattering him with the nabobship of the Carnatic. Joined by the troops of these recent allies of the English, the French advanced once more to Trichinopoly, and laid close siege to that place. Major Laurenc soon discovered the defection of the Mahrattas, and he ordered an attack upon a part of their forces which yet remained within his reach. This attack was led under cover of the night by Captain Dalton, who penetrated their camp and committed some slaughter. But shortly after the Mahrattas made an attack upon an advanced post of the British, and cut to pieces 70 English and about 300 sepoys. Captain Dalton turned out of the city a large body of Mysoreans who were still pretending to be friends. Neither Mahrattas nor Mysoreans had any inclination to attempt the reduction of the fort by storm; but they hoped to be able to reduce it by famine. They watched every avenue to the place as closely as they could, they kept parties of horter constantly scouring the country to intercept the supplies, they prohibited the introduction of any kind of provisions, and they cut off the noses of those whom they caught attempting to infringe their orders. The magazines in Trichinopoly had been intrusted to the care of a brother of Mohammed Ali; yet, when Captain Dalton found it necessary to inspect the stores,

he found that this man had taken advantage of the scarcity in the city to sell at a high price a considerable part of the rice and other provisions, and that what remained would suffice only for the consumption of a few days. Captain Dalton made his situation known to Major Laurence, who had retired to Madras, but who immediately took the field and marched to his relief. Laurence arrived at Trichinopoly on the 6th of May (1753), but the hurried march and the heat of the weather had proved fatal to several of his English troops, who had died upon the roud, and above a hundred more were sick and helpless and only fit for the hospital. No attempt was however made to intercept him or to prevent his entrance into the place. When his forces were joined to those of Captain Dalton they did not exceed 500 English and 2000 sepoys: there was indeed quartered in the town a body of Mohammed Ali's force, but these fellows were ill paid and mutinous. Provisions now found their way into the town; but Dupleix and his allies made such exertions that in a short time nearly 30,000 men, including about 500 French, were gathered round the place. Major Laurence made several sorties, and even attempted to drive the enemy from the strong pagoda of Seringham, which they had again occupied; but he failed and was compelled The French drew nearer to retire with some loss. and made an attack upon a post called the Golden Rock, which Laurence had established in order to keep open his communications with the country. The post was defended by sepoys, who gave way before the impetuous attack of M. Astruc; and the French flag was hoisted on the rock. Laurence sent his grenadiers to recover the important position, and it was soon recovered at the point of the bayonet; but, as the whole French force came up to support their comrade energl action ensued, in which the Mysore army and the Mahratta cavalry took part. The Mahrattas occasionally made a charge and did some mischief, but the Mysoreans kept themselves at a respectful distance in the rear: the stern contest was only between the British and the French; but the British bayonet finished the day, and the French fled from the field, leaving three field-pieces behind them. Laurence returned triumphantly to the walls of Trichinopoly; but his loss, considering the small number of his troops, was considerable, and forced him to confess that one or two more victories of the same kind would have ruined him. The Indian Rajah of Tanjore professed to remain steady to the English interest, but he sent little or no assistance to Trichinopoly. It was now resolved that Major Laurence should proceed with Mohammed Ali to the Tanjore frontier, in order to obtain from the Rajah the fulfilment of some of his promises. At the hour of departure Mohammed Ali's own troop assembled in the court of the palace, declaring that they would not allow him to depart until he had paid their arrears. English bayonets opened a path through these mutinous natives; but as soon as the Nabob was gone they went over in a body to the

enemy. The journey to the Tanjore frontier was however very successful, for the Rajah sent 3000 horse and 2000 foot under the command of Monackgee, the general who had assassinated Chunda Suheb, to co-operate with the English and the forces of Mohammed Ali. Moreover, Laurence was now joined by 170 British soldiers who had just arrived from England, and by 300 natives who enrolled as sepoys. Thus reinforced, with his carts well loaded with provisions, and with some thousands of bullocks in his train, Laurence returned towards Trichinopoly. The French made a spirited attempt to cut off his convoy and impede his entrance into the town, but they were again repelled by the bayonets of the English grenadiers, and Laurence and the Nabob got to their old quarters without loss or damage. The French and their allies made no progress in reducing Trichmopoly, and the English and their allies had not sufficient force to compel them to raise the blockade. The French employed all their efforts in cutting off the supplies, and the English all theirs to keep the place sufficiently victualled. Many encounters took place, in one of which M. Astruc and several French officers were taken prisoners. Months were passed in this manner in foraging and skirmishing. In the autumn a party of Laurence's troops took Weyconda, a post of some strength, and the French and their allies then retired from the vicinity of Trichinopoly, apparently with the intention of giving up the blockade. But on the 20th of November, when Laurence was 15 miles from the town, and when the Tanjore troops had quitted him to return to their homes, he was startled by news of an attack made by the French on Trichinopoly. Before he reached that town he was, however, gladdened by the intelligence that the few English and the sepoys within it had repulsed the French with a terrible loss. For two or three months there was a complete suspension of arms in this part of the Carnatic.

But in the mean time M. Bussy, who took his departure for Hyderabad in 1752 to establish Salabut Jung in the sovereignty of the Deccan, had gone through a series of brilliant and romantic adventures, and penetrated farther into the country than any European army had hitherto gone, and had to all appearance consolidated the authority of his ally. Bussy had been living with all the pomp and splendour of a vizier or a sultan at Golconda, and directing all the measures of Salabut Jung's government. To expel the French and their allies, and to place upon the throne of the Deccan Ud-Dien, the prince of the Mogul's choice, every exertion was made that the reduced means of the emperor would allow; an army of Mahrattas, who were ever ready to sell their services to any party, or to embark on either side in any war that offered a prospect of abundant booty, were engaged by the Mogul, and placed with other native troops under

• These fellows gave notice to Captain Dalton of their intention, and requested, as a last favour, that he would not fire upon them. Dalton, glad to be rid of them, told them that they might go without any fear.

the command of Ud-Dien. But this unfortunate claimant was carried off by poison, or by his own excesses, as he was entering the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse. Upon this event many of his host took their departure, but the Mahrattas, eager for the spoil of a rich province, continued their advance and encountered the French and the troops of Salabut Jung in several places. Bussy, who had the genius of Clive, defeated them repeatedly, and once or twice with so much slaughter that the Mahrattas became anxious for peace. Salabut Jung then purchased their retreat by ceding to them some districts near Berar and Burhanpour; and they gladly withdrew from the murderous execution of Bussy's quick musketry and artillery. The bold Frenchman had, however, soon to experience how slightly the ties of gratitude attached Indian princes and politicians. Disgusted at seeing Salabut Jung completely ruled by a handful of foreigners, and forgetting that those foreigners alone had gained and could defend the Deccan, the courtiers advised their master to reduce the pride and power of the French, who did not enjoy or exercise it with much moderation. Taking advantage of the temporary absence of Bussy, Salabut Jung withheld the pay of the French troops, and then began to detach them in small parties to distant quarters. But some of the Mahratta tribes, continually on the watch, discovered this dispersion of the only force they feared, and instantly began to prepare for a new war in the Deccan. Quickened by the prayers of Salabut Jung, Bussy hurried back to his post, and was instantly allowed to reunite his scattered forces and to dictate his own terms to that trembling court. The courtiers and ministers who had intrigued against him were forthwith exiled; and, as security for vast arrears already accumulated and for future pay, he obtained at the end of the year 1753 the cession of the five important provinces of Ellore, Rajamundry, Cicacolc, Condapilly, and Guntoor, called the Northern Circars, which made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, for an uninterrupted line of 600 miles; and which not only afforded a vast revenue, but also furnished the convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius, thus enabling Bussy to extend his views to the indirect or absolute empire of the Deccan and the south. But neither the court of Versailles nor the French India Company at home had embraced the grand projects of Bussy and Dupleix; the court questioned the propriety of these wars with the English in a time of peace, and the company doubted whether these territorial acquisitions could be maintained profitably to themselves. The French directors or managers were all for trade and peace, and were quite incapable of the exertions which the joint-stock English company could make with little inconvenience. Dupleix too had had his day, and, considering the mutations and intrigues of the old French cabinet, it had been a long one: his

It is to be understood, however, that the English company also was at this moment desirous of peace.

protectors and admirers were now out of office; his recall to France was procured, and a M. Godheu was sent out to supersede him as governor of Pondicherry, with instructions to negotiate immediately a peace with the English and their allies. M. Godheu arrived at Pondicherry in the beginning of August, 1754; and with the return ship that carried away Dupleix the grand schemes of French empire and dominion in the East seemed to vanish into thin air. On his arrival in Europe this ambitious and able man found himself obliged to dispute the miserable remains of his fortune with the French East India Company, to dance humble attendance on ministers and their understrappers, and to solicit audiences in the ante-chambers of his judges. His vexation was as great as what Labourdonnais had suffered through his means; and he was soon dead and forgotten in France. The only anxiety of M. Godheu seemed to be to conclude peace and get back to Paris as soon as possible. Mr. Saunders, the president of Madras, who was as well acquainted with the complicated affairs of India as Godheu was ignorant of them, readily entered into negotiations, but with the full determination of making no one important sacrifice or concession. On the 11th of October a suspension of arms was agreed to for three months; and on the 26th of December of the same year (1754) a provisional treaty was signed at Pondicherry. The French stipulated to withdraw their troops from the Carnatic and to interfere no more in the affairs of the native princes there, thus leaving Mohammed Ali, the ally or creature of the English, undisputed nabob of the Carnatic. They also agreed that the territorial possessions of the French and English should be settled and defined on the principle of equality, thus virtually resigning nearly all that Bussy and Dupleix had acquired by their wars and policy. This treaty was to be confirmed or altered in Europe, but, until the decision of the French and English companies should be known, no hostilities direct or indirect were to be allowed.

M. Bussy, however, left undisturbed at Golconda, continued his control over the Deccan; and the Mysoreans, alleging that the French had no authority to bind them by their paper agreements, seemed disposed to continue the blockade of Trichinopoly, and remained in that neighbourhood until they were scared away by the report that a Mahratta army was marching to attack them. Their departure finished a siege and blockade which had lasted altogether more than a year, and which had brought out on the part of the English troops uncommon bravery, steadiness, and no inconsiderable skill. Yet the pacification was scarcely settled when the two rival European nations were invested in fresh differences: the French complained that the English continued to keep their troops with Mohammed Ali to assist him in collecting his revenues and reducing his refractory subjects; and the English justified their conduct by showing that M. Bussy and the French troops with him in the interior continued to render the same services, and on a more

extensive scale, to Salabut Jung. It soon became evident that no peace or truce could be of long duration. As there was no work to employ an English squadron which had arrived under the command of Admiral Watson, it was resolved to send some of the ships to destroy the nests of some powerful pirates who for fifty years had been committing depredations on the Malabar coast. The chiefs of these corsairs were a family of the Mahratta race, and bore the name of Angria, who had established on the coast a power closely resembling that of the Algerines, and who nominally acknowledged the Peishwa, of the supreme head of the Mahrattas, as the Algerines nominally professed allegiance to the Ottoman Porte. But the Angrica had recently given such offence to the Peishwa that he determined upon their destruction and consented to join his fleet to the English squadron. In 1755 the English ships under the command of Commodore James drove the pirates from two of their strongholds and took possession of them, the Mahratta fleet of the Peishwa never coming within reach of cannon-shot till the fighting was over. But the chief nest of the pirates—the fort and port of Gherish—was not attacked until the following year, when the adventurous Clive had returned from England with improved health and enlarged hopes. Clive accompanied Admiral Watson on this expedition, which was not without difficulty and danger, nor without that prospect of booty and prize-money which tempts men to defy peril. The Peishwa's Mahrattas also joined, not to fight, but to appropriate all the booty as their right when the place should be taken by the English. On the 11th of February the English fleet, consisting of eight ships, a grab, and five bomb-ketches, having on board 800 Europeans and 1000 sepoys, commanded by Clive, arrived off Gheriah; while a Mahratta army approaches on the land side. The pirates' nest stood on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and crowned by a fort of extraordinary strength. The English sailors soon succeeded in burning the fleet, though under the guns of the fort, and Clive then landed his troops and interposed them between the walls of the town and the Mahratta army, who, if they had entered, would have left little but bare walls to the English. The pirates, in whom ferocity had been mistaken for courage, made but a feeble and foolish resistance; they quailed under the hot shower of shot and shells; Angria, their chief, fled from the fort to seek refuge in the Mahratta camp; and on the 13th the place fell. Booty to the value of about ten lacs of rupees was divided between the royal navy and the company's land-troops: the Mahrattas were excluded from any share, and the English disagreed as to their own proper proportions. The officers of the navy, as bearing the king's commission, claimed the larger share, and they decreed that Clive, though he commanded the entire land force, should only share with a post-captain in the navy. Some warm correspondence took place on this delicate matter. Admiral Wat-

son, who said that he was only anxious to defend the rights of the service to which he belonged, offered to make up from his own share the difference between Clive's share and the share of his second in command, Rear-Admiral Pococke; but Clive replied that his own anxiety was only to satisfy his troops, and that he could not enrich himself with money taken from Watson's personal share of the capture.* Disputes of this nature arose almost every time that the king's ships or land troops co-operated with those of the company, although it appears to have been usual to adjust the relative claims to the booty to be made before entering upon the expedition. The present disagreement was, however, productive of no evil consequence, and, apparently, of no interruption to the mutual regard existing between Clive and Wat-

Preceded by glowing reports of his remarkable achievements at Arcot and in other parts of the Carnatic, Clive had been received in England with enthusiasm. Young as he was, he was hailed as the best of living English generals; the great men in Leadenhall-street proposed his health at public dinners as the saviour of their establishments in India; the court of directors voted him a sword set with diamonds as a token of their esteem and of their sense of his singular services to the company on the coast of Coromandel; fresh banquets were given to celebrate his deeds, and in society at large and wherever he went Clive received the tribute due to a daring and successful soldier, who had worked out great ends with most disproportionate means. With laudable delicacy and gratitude he refused to accept the diamond-hilted sword until the court of directors had voted a similar present to his superior in command, Major Laurence. The greater part of the money he had brought with him from India he gave to his impoverished family; and, merely upon pecuniary grounds, it soon seemed expedient to him that he should return to the land of rupees. To the company his presence there was no less desirable, and it was resolved in sending him back to appoint him governor of Fort St. David, with a provisional commission to succeed to the government of Madras. George II., who loved a soldier, gave him the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army, which it was hoped would obviate the quarrels about rank which so frequently occurred between the king's and the company's officers. After the reduction of the pirates' nest at Gheriah, Colonel Clive proceeded to Fort St. David, and assumed the government of that place on the 20th of June, 1756, the very day on which the nabob of Bengal took Calcutta from the English, and disgraced his success with detestable cruelties.

The company's settlement at Calcutta had risen rapidly under the pacific rule of Aliverdy Khan, the Mussulman viceroy of the Great Mogul, but who had become virtually the independent and

Clive's evidence in reports of the committee of the House of Commons,—Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.

absolute sovereign of all the rich kingdom or territory of Bengal-the richest country in all India. with the most pusillanimous Hindu population. Aliverdy was, for India, a prince of rare virtues: while his neighbours and brother potentates consumed their time and their strength in multitudinous harems, and, in defiance of the Koran, stupified their intellects with excessive drinking, he adhered most scrupulously to the law of the Prophet which prohibits the use of wine and strong drinks; and he neglected at the same time to avail himself of the Prophet's licence for indulging in a plurality of wives and an ad libitum number of concubines. To the amazement of Hindus and Mohammedans, Aliverdy rested satisfied with one faithful and beloved wife. He was orderly, prudent, just, and averse to all violence; he encouraged the trade of the English settled in his dominions, and derived a fair and growing profit from their prosperity. Their factors and their various agents travelled without interruption through every part of his dominions, finding everywhere protection for their property and safety and respect for their persons. But Aliverdy Khan died early in the month of April of this year, 1756, and his grandson and successor, Suraj-u-Dowlah, a cruel, luxurious, and effemmate youth, proved altogether unworthy of him. As in these Oriental despotisms nearly everything depends upon the personal character of the ruler, it was evident, from the first day of Suraj-u-Dowlah's accession, that everything in Bengal would undergo a rapid and thorough change. He was known to entertain very hostile feelings towards the English, so that everybody at Calcutta ought to have been prepared for his hostile attacks; and the stories related of his violence and cruelty-of his delighting in seeing torture inflicted under his own eye-might have warned them of the fate that awaited them if they ever fell into his power. He had seen the coffers of his grandfather filled directly or indirectly by the trade of the English; he had been led to believe that the wealth and treasures these foreign merchants had accumulated within the walls of Calcutta were enormous in extent, and always ready and tangible; and, like the fool in the fable, he resolved to kill the goose that laid these golden eggs. It was very easy to find pretexts for quarrel. Alarmed by reports from England that a new war with France was inevitable, and would be prosecuted in all parts of the world, the English had begun to fortify Calcutta, so as to prevent any attack by the French on the side of the river. Moreover, they had granted refuge in their fort to a very wealthy Hindu native called Kissendass, whom Suraj-u-Dowlah wished to plunder, and they had refused to give him up to his officers. Other facilities were afforded by a Hindu merchant, called Omichund, a man of intrigue and of enormous wealth, which he was constantly seeking to increase without any scruples as to the means he employed. Omichund had lived long in Calcutta, and had been permitted to engross much more

of the company's investment than was allowed to any other contractor. The presidency, moreover, had almost constantly employed him to transact their political business with the nabob and the minor potentates in the neighbourhood, and had paid him lavishly for all these services. The influence this intriguing Hindu had acquired was immense, and his power was altogether so great that it was dangerous to offend him. Yet the presidency, disgusted by some dishonest practices, had deprived him of all his contracts, and given him the most mortal offence Omichund retired to Muxadabad, or Moorshedabad, with 4,000,000 of fupees; but he left his harem and a considerable part of his household property at Calcutta. It was believed that the vindictive Hindu put himself in close communication with the French at Chandernagore, and advised Suraj-u-Dowlah to annihilate the English settlement After a short stay at Moorshedabad, Omichund returned to Calcutta to facilitate the scheme of destruction he recommended, and to act as a spy for the nabob.* Suraju-Dowlah dispatched a peremptory letter to Mr. Drake, the governor, ordering him instantly to destroy all the works which had been added to the fortifications of Calcutta. Mr. Drake replied that the nabob had been misinformed by those who reported that the English were building a wall round the town; that they had dug no ditch since the invasion of the Mahrattas, at which time such a work had been executed at the request of the Indian inhabitants, and with the full approbation of Aliverdy Khan, the late nabob; that in the late war between England and France the French had attacked and taken the town of Madras, contrary to the neutrality which it was expected would have been preserved in the Mogul's dominions; and that, there being at present great appearance of another war, the English were under apprehensions that the French would act in the same manner in Bengal; to prevent which they were repair-

• Orma



BAJ-U-DOWLAH AND HIS TEN NOWS. From a Painting "taken by His Excellency's permission at Pyzabad," by Mr. Kettle drawn by Mr. B. Sly, from a Fine Copy in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society

ing their line of guns on the bank of the river.* When this letter was presented, Suraj-u-Dowlah gave way to a paroxysm of rage, and threatened to behead or impale Mr. Watts, the English resident. A few days after he collected his whole army at Moorshedabad, and sent a detachment of 3000 men to invest the small English fort and factory at Cossimbuzar. This investment was begun on the 22nd of May, but no hostilities were committed until the 1st of June, when the nabob arrived with the rest of his forces. The fort of Cossimbuzar had neither ditch nor palisade; its walls were contemptibly weak, the largest of its guns were but nine-pounders, and those were honeycombed or shaking upon rotted carriages: the garrison consisted of twenty-two Europeans and twenty Topasses, and of the Europeans the majority were Dutchmen. The nabob summoned Mr. Watts to come forth to him. Mr. Watts waited upon the savage in his tent, and was again threatened with impalement. He was compelled to sign a paper importing that the presidency of Calcutta should level whatever works they had raised; that they should instantly deliver up all subjects or tenants of the nabob who had taken protection in their settlement; and that, if it should be proved that the company's dustucks or passports for trade had ever been given to such persons as were not entitled to them, whatever the nabob's government had been defrauded of by such practices should be refunded by the presidency of Calcutta. Watts was next required to sign an order for the surrender of Cossimbuzar; but this he refused to do. But that fort was utterly incapable of resisting a vast army; and on the 4th of June the crumbling old gates were thrown open to the nabob. The soldiery that had room to enter its narrow precincts stole everything they found instead of sealing it up for the use of their master; and then they insulted and triumphed over the little garrison, as if instead of forty-three men they had conquered an army of thousands. Their conduct was so brutal, that, to escape from it, the English commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains. On the 9th of June Suraj-u-Dowlah struck his tents and began his march upon Calcutta. None of his officers attempted to restrain his rash and violent resolution, for they believed themselves sure of the plunder of one of the most opulent cities in all India. Some Hindu bankers, who had derived great wealth from the European trade, and who better understood the means and sources of wealth, ventured to represent the English as a colony of inoffensive and useful merchants, who, if left to pursue their traffic, would every year enrich the country and the government; but their representations and prayers made no impression on the nabob, who continued his march. In the mean time the terrified and stupified presidency at Calcutta lost days and nights in doubts and deliberations: vainly hoping to avert the storm, they en-

* Mr. Drake's letter, in Orme's History.

gaged to obey the nabob's orders, and to demolish whatever he might require, if he would only withdraw his army; and they never seriously applied themselves to the defence of the place until Suraju-Dowlah was within a few days' march with a still increasing army. They then implored the Dutch at Chinchura and the French at Chandernagore, for the sake of humanity and for the common cause of Europeans in India, to afford them some assistance against the nabob, who, if allowed to exterminate the English, would not long respect the weaker settlements of the other European nations. The Dutch coldly and positively refused any aid or succour, and the French insulted their distress by advising the English to repair with their goods and chattels to Chandernagore. Letters had been dispatched to Madras and to Bombay requesting reinforcements; but the sea was shut by the south monsoon, and months must have passed before any force could arrive from either of those quarters. Nothing, therefore, was left to do but to defend Calcutta with the force actually within it. This consisted of a regular garrison of 264 men, of a militia raised among the inhabitants of 250 men, and of 1500 bucksaries, or native Indian matchlock-men, whose arms and discipline were of the worst kind. Of the regular garrison and of the militia only 170 were English, the rest being Portuguese, Topasses, and Armenians, on whose valour and faith there was little dependence: and, to make the case still more hopeless, not ten of the English had ever seen any other service than that of the parade.* The genius and the all-ascendant spirit of a Clive might, even with this defective force, have made good the place against the disorderly, unwarlike host advancing against it; but there was no Clive in Calcutta, and too many of the English there whose voices were most potential were cursed with the selfish minds and narrow views of pedlers and trucksters. When all was at stake these men wanted to preserve their dwellinghouses, their magazines, their gardens, and their outhouses, from injury; and buildings which ought to have been blown into the air, because they commanded the ramparts of the fort, or covered the approaches, were left standing till Suraj-u-Dowlah should avail himself of them. On the 13th of June a detachment was sent down the river in two ships of 300 tons and two brigantines to take possession of the fort of Taunah, which lay about five miles below Calcutta, and commanded the narrowest part of the river. The Mohammedan garrison fled at their approach, but, being speedily reinforced by 2000 men, they returned, drove the English out of the fort, and compelled the ships to retire to Calcutta. On the same day a letter was intercepted, written to Omichund by Suraj-u-Dowlah's head spy, advising him to send the effects he had in Calcutta out of the reach of danger as soon as possible. This confirmed the suspicions already entertained of that great Hindu: Omichund was immediately apprehended and carried a prisomer into the fort; and a guard was placed in his house to prevent the clandestine removal of his property. His brother-in-law, who had the chief Agement of his affairs, and who had made himself equally obnoxious to the presidency, concouled himself in the harem. Orders were sent to the guard to secure him; but the guard was resisted by the whole body of Omichund's peons, domestics, and armed retainers, who amounted to 500 men: a scuffle ensued, and ended in a combat, in which several were wounded on both sides. And while the guard and the peons were contending in the outer apartments, the chief of the peons, Hindu of high caste, set fire to the house, rushed into the harem, and, in order to save the women from the dishonour of being exposed to the gaze of strangers, stabbed them one by one, and then stabbed himself. It is said that thirteen females were thus sacrificed; but the dagger of the peon was used less effectually against his own person, for he survived the wound.* On the 15th of June. two days after the bloody tragedy in Omichund's house, Suraj-u-Dowlah reached Hooghly, about twenty miles above Calcutta, and prepared to cross the river in an immense fleet of boats. What the English ships were doing we know not; but it should appear that the fire of two brigantines alone ought to have sunk and scattered these frail embarkations, and have effectually defended the passage of the river. On the morning of the 16th the nabob with nearly his whole force was on the Calcutta side of the river; the Indian inhabitants of the town were flying in all directions with their rice on their heads; and the Englishwomen, the Armenians, the Portuguese, and all who claimed to be Christians, were abandoning their houses in the city to take refuge within the fort, which was crowded and embarrassed in every part by women and children, and men as helpless or as timid. At the hour of noon the van of the nabob's army advancing from the northward was seen close on the company's bounds, and shortly after a firing commenced across the Mahratta ditch, and a natural rivulet which supplied the place of the ditch near the river, and which was defended by a badly constructed redoubt called Perring's Redoubt. The assailants kept themselves carefully under cover of some thickets and groves, firing with matchlocks from a great distance, and doing little or no mischief. As night set in they boiled their rice, took their supper, and went all to sleep. They were awakened about midnight by a young English ensign who had served in Clive's war in the Carnatic, and who now issued out of the redoubt, crossed the rivulet with a handful of men, crept silently into the groves and thickets, beat up and drombefore him all the troops there, spiked four pieces of cannon, and then returned to his station without the loss of a single man. In the course of the night the chief of Omichund's peons and the slayer of his women escaped out of the town and showed Suraju-Dowlah the best way to enter it. On the fol-

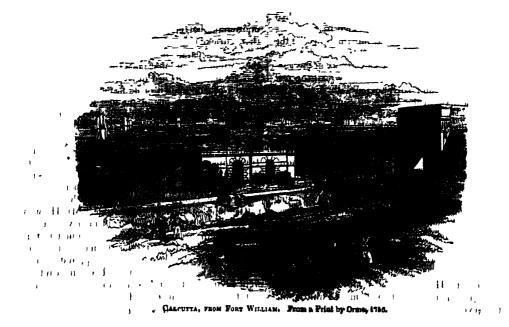
lowing day the attack from the north was abandoned, and some thousands of the besiegers were led into the town on the east side where there were They set fire to the great bazaar or no defences. market, and they took possession of the quarter inhabited by the principal Indian merchants. A sortie from the fort drove some of these intruders back again and took some of them prisoners; but the report was spread that the nabob intended a general attack on the morrow. As the fort of Calcutta, called Fort William, was only strong towards the river, and weak everywhere else, as the ramparts were commanded by the English houses and by the English church, it was deemed incapable of defence, and it was, therefore, resolved to make the defence outside by opposing the enemy in the streets and avenues that led to the fort. But scarcely a barricade had been erected, and not a ditch had been dug anywhere. Now, with precipitation and confusion, three batteries, each mounting two 18-pounders and two field-pieces, were thrown up in the streets at the distance of 300 or more yards from the gates of the fort, and some trenches were dug and breastworks raised to bar the progress of the enemy. Still, however, no care was taken to demolish a number of houses which overlooked these defences, or a series of banks and garden-walls that might serve to cover the foe. Early on the morning of the 18th the whole of the nabob's army was in motion, and at about eight o'clock one strong division advanced towards the street-battery that lay to the south of the town, and, taking possession of some of the houses on each side of the street, and resting their matchlocks on the sills of the windows, they took deliberate aim at the men in the battery. The other two streetbatteries were attacked at nearly the same time and in the like manner; but in that to the north there were several advantages favourable to the English: the street leading to it was very narrow, it was not overlooked by any very near building, and the houses closest at hand were all previously occupied by Englishmen. As the assailants entered the narrow street they were saluted with a fire in front from the two 18-pounders and the two field-pieces of the battery, and by a fire of musketry from the house windows. They presently recoiled: they advanced again, but only to retreat more rapidly than before, and then they lay out of harm's way in the cross-streets till the hour of noon, when they joined those who were employed But it was now riceagainst the eastern battery. time, and the kettles were boiled, and there was no more fighting till after two o'clock. however, the refreshed Indians commenced a most furious fire upon the eastern battery, crowding all the houses with their best marksmen. The Englishmen serving the guns could scarcely show themselves without being hit, and the number of killed or wounded constantly carried to the rear discouraged those who had not been over valiant before. At five o'clock in the afternoon Captain Clayton, the officer in command, sent to inform

Mr. Drake, the governor, that it was impossible to maintain the post any longer unless it was immediately reinforced with cannon and men sufficient to drive the enemy out of the houses. But before an answer could be received from the governor matters were brought to such a crisis that Captain Clayton thought it necessary to spike his two 18-pounders and one of his field-pieces, and to retreat with all that remained of his detachment into Fort William. The nabob's people, scarcely crediting their good fortune, took possession of the battery, and raised a shout of triumph from ten thousand throats. The fall of this battery was fatal to the whole scheme of defence; but the English troops in the northern battery and in the houses near it continued a desperate resistance. A small party under the command of two young volunteers -Smith and Wilkinson-were completely surrounded in a detached building; they bravely resolved to cut their way through, and some of them succeeded; but Smith, intercepted and refusing to surrender, killed five Indians before he fell; and Wilkinson, who surrendered, was cut to Towards evening the detachments were recalled into the fort, and all three batteries abandoned. The front of each of them was strewed with the dead; and, if only tolerable precautions had been adopted, they would certainly have sufficed to repel Suraj-u-Dowlah and his unwarlike rabble, or to have kept them at bay for weeks or even months. The abandonment of all the batteries on the very first day they were attacked created a general consternation: the Indian matchlock-men who had been engaged by the presidency all disappeared; the Lascars who had been helping to serve the guns all deserted; and the peace-loving Armenians and the Portuguese half-castes, who formed a considerable part of the militia, gave themselves up to grief and despair, declaring on every hand that further resistance was useless. Instead of the firm word of command and the rattle of arms, nothing was heard in Fort William but despondent murmurs, lamentations, and womanly wailings. The governor, however, contrived to throw four detachments into the English church, the government-house, and two houses belonging to English merchants, all which buildings commanded the ramparts of the fort. In the mean time the enemy had drilled the three English guns which had been spiked and abandoned in the eastern battery, and they now turned these guns on the fort, and threw forward a swarm of sombatants who sheltered themselves binind garden-walls and outhouses, and kept up an irregular but neverceasing fire with matchlocks and muskets. ship and seven smaller vessels were now lying before the fort, and shoals of native boats were in readiness to carry off persons and property. As it grew dark the European women were conveyed out of the fort and safely embarked. When this was done, or while it was doing, the detachment which had been sent to occupy the governmenthouse, and which had been severely galled by the

enemy's fire, was recalled to the fort. This retreat exposed the very weakest part of the fort, where it was unflanked by any bastions; and about midnight the enemy, availing themselves of their advantage, approached to escalade the walls. Mr. Drake, who heard their approach, ordered the drums to beat the seneral alarm; but, although this summons was thrice repeated, not a man came up to the walls except those who were already on duty. The roll of the drums, however, proved enough for the Indians, who ran back from the foot of the walls into their own quarters, believing that the whole garrison was collected at one point to oppose them. No further attempt was made during the night, for the Indians, as usual, betook themselves to their suppers and their rest. In that precious interval of time a sortie from the fort made with rapidity and spirit might have thrown half of the nabob's army into irretrievable confusion; or, without that bold measure, a wonderful amount of human wisery might have been spared if the English had removed quietly out of the untenable fortress and gone on board their ships. The latter project was, indeed, entertained; for, two hours after midnight, a general council of war was held, to which all the English, except the common soldiers, were admitted; and it was debated whether they should immediately escape to their ships, or defer their retreat until the next night. These deliberations lasted for two hours, when it was too late to go, and therefore they stayed where they were. As the day broke Suraj-u-Dowlah's people again swarmed to the fort, bringing more artillery with them, and occupying the houses and the garden enclosures near it. They did not, however, venture to take possession of the government-house, and a fresh detachment was sent out from the fort to re-occupy that building. These men, under Ensign Pischard, behaved with the greatest gallantry, occupying the house and killing a great number of those who attempted to dislodge them; but, unfortunately, the ensign was badly wounded and carried to the fort, and his departure was soon followed by the flight of his men. The party who had held the English church now gave way also, and all the other houses and every foot of ground outside Fort William were abandoned to the enemy, whose courage and activity seemed to increase prodigiously. From the water-gate of the fort there now arose a lond and same try for boats; but the greater part of the native boatmen, tired with waiting, had taken their departure, and the general embarkation, which would have been easy a few hours be-fore, became very difficult. This difficulty was made the greater by the madness of fear and the total want of all order or arrangement. Men, wamen, and children rushed to the water's edge, presents every one to be first embarked; the boats were crowded with more than they could carry, and several of them were overset or swamped. Most of those who had crowded into them were drowned, and the few that swam or floated to the shore were either made prisoners or massacred;

for the mebolis people had now taken possession tif the sister-side, and were even discharging firemannews at the English shipping in the view of dechroring that last hope of escape. Of the parties from the gentison who had escorted the European dedice on board, none returned to the fort, and, their fright being increased by the fire-arrows, ishe ship from her station off the fort to Govind--nore, three miles lower down the river; on which hall, the other vessels weighed their anchors like-, wise, and began to fell down to Govindpore. Several of the English militia now lost all heart and all care except for their own personal safety; and, seizing by force some government-boats, they pat off after the shipping. The governor himself (Mr. Drake) was not long in following them: he was told that nearly all the gunpowder remaining in the fort was damp and unfit for use; he was convinced in his own mind that the savage nabob intended to impale him; and, without giving any warning to the garrison, he ran out by the water-gate and leaped into a remaining The military commanding officer (Cuptain Minchin) and several other Englishmen, who chanced to have their eyes upon him, followed his example, scrambled into the boat after him, and escaped with him to the ship, in spite of the Indian fire-arrows and bullets. Those who were left behind, including many who would have escaped if they had been able, raised a cry of indignation and execution at the conduct of the governor and the companions of his flight. They next elected Mr. Holwell, one of the members of the council, to the command of the hopeless fort. The entire number of regulars and militia remaining within the walls did not exceed 190, and many of these

were looking for the first opportunity to escape. As he saw two or three boats returning to the wharf, Mr. Holwell locked up the water-gate and carried off the keys, in order to prevent further desertion. There was still a ship lying off the mouth of the creek on which Perring's Redoubt stood. An officer was dispatched in a hoat with orders to the captain to bring this ship down immediately to the fort, in order that the whole garrison might at a proper moment get on board; but the ship in coming slows struck upon a sandbank, and was instantly abandoned by her crew. who hastened in their boats to Govindpore. As this hope was frustrated the garrison saw, themselves attacked with renewed vigour; and so active were the Indiana, that they continued their efforts not only all that day, but nearly all the succeeding night. By the direction of Mr. Holwell, signals were constantly thrown out, flags by day and fires by night, to call the shipping at Govindpore back to the fort; but no attention whatever was paid to these strong appeals to valour and generosity: the ships remained where they were, and merely sent a native boat down the river from time to time to see what was passing. Nothing but imhecility on the part of the commanders can account for this conduct in British seamen. On the following morning the assailants crowded round the fort in still greater numbers. Some of the English who had seen how easy it was to scatter thousands with the well-directed fire of a single gun recommended steadmess and perseverance in the defence; but others recommended with equal carnestness an immediate capitulation. without reflecting that Suraj-u-Dowlah was the last man upon earth likely to observe any treaty, or to put any bounds to his wrath. Mr. Holwell at last



consented to make his prisoner Omichand write a letter to one of the nabob's generals, stating that the English were ready to obey the nabob's commands, and were only defending the fort to preserve their lives and honours. This letter was carried into the Indian general's quarters, but it seemed to produce no effect, as the attack was continued and preparation made to escalade the walls. Advancing under cover of a strong fire from one of the neighbouring houses, a large party actually began to escalade the northern cartain of the fortress; but after persevering for half an hour they were hurled back and totally repulsed with great loss. But in this stern contest twenty-five of the garrison had been killed or desperately wounded, and more than twice that number had received slighter wounds. In this state, when the place was filled with mouns and groans and shricks of anguish, some of the remaining English soldiery broke open the arrack storehouse, swallowed that ardent spirit as if it had been water, and became mad or stupid. About two o'clock in the afternoon, after a very faint renewal of the attack, the Indians sent a flag of truce towards the fort; but while Mr. Holwell was parleying with the messenger, and the garrison suspending their fire, hosts of the nabob's people flocked to the gutes of the fort, to the palisades, and to the weakest parts of the works, where they applied their scaling ladders and began again to ascend, firing at every one they saw. A gentleman was wounded at the side of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon broke off the conference and endeavoured to collect his men on the ramparts. But the men who were sober could not be brought up in time, and those who were mad drunk were breaking open the water-gate to escape by the river. As this gate was forced, a mass of Indians who had climbed over the palisade beyond it, and were lurking under the walls, rushed in, and at the very same moment the curtain which had been attempted before was escaladed by hundreds after hundreds, who advanced into the centre of the works and there met their comrades who had entered by the water-gate. About twenty of the garrison threw themselves over the walls; all the rest piled their arms and surrendered with prayers for mercy. At five in the afternoon Suraj-u-Dowlah, who had kept at a distance so long as there was any resistance or the mightest chance of danger, entered the fort in triumph, accompanied by Meer Jaffier, his treasurer and commander in chief, and by most of his principal officer, which could himself with all his pomp for the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Howelf to be brought before him. He abused the English with oriental richness of language for their presumption in daring to oppose his will and defend the fort, and he bitterly complained of the small sums of money he had found in their treasury—a sum which in reality fell below 50,000 rupees, while his ravenous imagination had anticipated many millions. dismissed Mr. Holwell, recalled him to ask If there was no more money, and then dismissed him again. Before seven o'clock he summoned the Englishman

to his presence once more, and this time, in dismissing him, pledged his word as a soldier that he should suffer no hasm." Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in misfortune, whom he found surrounded by a strong guard and gazing upon a terrible sonflagration which by accident or by design had been kindled in the houses outside the fort. Asking where they were to be ledged for the night, they were ordered to march to a versada or open gallery near the eastern gate of the fort, where they remained for some time without any suspicion of their impending fate. But about eight o'clock at night the principal officer who had charge of them commanded them all to go into a room behind the gallery. This room was the common dungaba of the garrison, and called the Black Hole. Many of the prisoners, knowing the narrowness of the place, imagined at first that the officer was joking, and, being in good spirits on account of the nabob's promise that no harm should be offered to them, they laughed at the absurdity of the notion; but when they perceived in the savage looks of the Indians that they were in earnest they began to expostulate and implore; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated; and the captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword. The space was so thronged that the last could hardly find room to enter. The savages without then locked the door upon them; confining 146 persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and those obstructed and deprived of air by the projecting veranta. It was the very hottest season of the year, and the night unusually sultry even for that season, for the atmosphere was heated by the burning houses and charged with the smoke that proceeded from the configra-As soon as the dismal door was closed upon them the prisoners, crowded and wedged together in one living, desperate mass, began to feel all the unutterable horrors or their situation. They cried, they shrieked for mercy—they prayed to be removed to separate rooms, to any place but that they attempted to burst open the door, but the door was strong and opened inward, and no impression could be made upon it or its fastenings. Mr. Holwell, having been one of the first to enter that infernal hole, had secured himself a place near one of the windows, and through the grating he addressed an old Hindu, " who bare some marks of humanity in his countenance, and promised him 1000 rupees, in the morning if he would separate the captions into two chambers. This old man said he would go and endeavour to positive permission; but he seen returned, saying that alls thing could not be done—that it was impossible. Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum—the old man went again -and again he acon returned, pronouncing, this time, the inevitable doom—for the nabob, he said, had refired to rest and was fast asleep, and no man dared to wake or disturb him. Then the captives went raving mad with despair and a hell-like heat and thirst; they shrieked for water! water! and

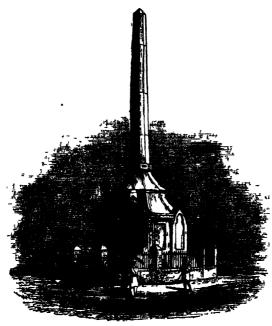
· Holwell's Tracts.

they fought with each other with maniac hands, feet, and teeth, for possession of the ground nearest the windows. The old Hindu, at the prayer of Mr. Holwell, brought some skins of water to the grating, but the sufferers were too far gone in madness to wait their turn to drink; they battled with one another like demons for the first draught, and they spilt and wasted more than was drunk. But the contents of the largest and coolest water-tank in Hindustan could not have quenched the inward fire that consumed them, or have cooled or sweetened the infernal air of their dungeon. They went madder and madder. To shorten their horrors and to provoke the Indians outside in the veranda to fire upon them, they made use of every kind of invective and abuse; but the blacks kept up their torture, and, staring through the windows, shouted with laughter at the frantic tricks of the white men. By this time many of the captives had been squeezed or trodden to death, or had died for want of air. At two o'clock in the morning not more than fifty remained alive; but even this reduced number could not long live in that close and poisoned air, which was rendered every moment more louthsome by the almost instantaneous decomposition of the dead bodies. As the light of day glimmered through the narrow apertures the sight was too horrible to be borne; but the sun was allowed to rise high in the heavens before the tyrant quitted his soft and perfumed couch and inquired after his prisoners. At eight o'clock in the morning, after ascertaining that Mr. Holwell, whom he wished to question about money, was among the survivors, he sent an order to enlarge the captives row space was so blocked up with the dead lying one upon the other, and those who yet lived were so weak and faint, that it was with the greatest difficulty the door was opened and a passage made for egress. At length, however, twenty-three ghastly figures were brought out of that truly black hole figures that would not have been recognised by the mothers that had borne them, or by the bosom friends that had seen them but a few hours before on the eve of their terrific incarceration. The dead, amounting to 123, were then dragged out and thrown promiscuously into a great pit outside the fort, and there covered in with earth and rubbish. Mr. Holwell, unable to stand, was carried to the presenge of Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, so far from showing any compassion for his pitiable condition, or any remorse for the dreadful death of his companions, talked of nothing but the treasures which, he said, the English had buried; and he threatened further severities if the concealed money were not instantly delivered up. Mr. Holwell, who knew of no hidden treasures, was consigned over to some officers of the nabob, who put his sinking and emaciated frame into irons and fetters. Messrs. Court and Walcot underwent the same treatment, as they were suspected of knowing something of the hidden treasures which haunted the young tyrant's imagination, and which only existed there. Cooke, the secretary to the council, and Captain

Mills were told they might go wherever they chose; but an Englishwoman, the only one of her sex among the sufferers, was reserved for the harem of the Buckshee, or chief general, Meer Jaffler, who sent her off in a palanquin to his palace at Moorshedabad. Little or no attention was paid to the obscurer part of the survivors, who were allowed to quit the fort and descend the bank of the river towards Govindpore, where the English shipping still lay at anchor. But when they reached the point where they hoped to embark they found themselves obstructed by some of the nabob's troops, and they were fain to take shelter in some mud huts behind Govindpore, where some of the poor natives who had served the English in more prosperous times shed tears at their misfortunes and administered to their wants, in so far as their limited means permitted. Some three or four of the fugitives got, however, on board the ships, where the tale they told, confirmed by their own wretched appearance, filled every mind with horror and rage. In those moments of excitement vows of revenge were made that were afterwards but too faithfully executed: but for the present the stupid indecision and inactivity continued, and nothing was done or attempted by that naval force, which, small as it was, might have sufficed, under the direction of clear heads and brave hearts, to have saved all that were in Fort William.*

Meanwhile the nabob's army were plundering all the warehouses and dwelling-houses in the town of Calcutta, making no distinction as to persons, faiths, or nations, but robbing alike Hindus, Mohammedans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English. Their booty in merchandise and in household property was very considerable; but, like their nabob, they too had visions of hidden treasures, to realize which they in many instances tortured or barbarously maltreated their was. If the intriguing Omichund had contributed to bring down the fury of the nabob on the settlement, he was nevertheless in a pecuniary sense one of the greatest sufferers from the invasion, for, as he had been prevented by the English from removing his effects, 400,000 rupecs were found in his treasury, and vast quantities of merchandise in his stores; and all this wealth became the prey of the conquerors. Enraged at what he considered their wilful obstinacy in still refusing to tell where the great treasures in the fortress were hidden, Suraj-u-Dowlah ordered Mr. Holwell and his two companions in chains to be sent to Moorshedabad; and they were accordingly put into an open boat, without any shelter from the intense heat of the sun or the heavy rains of the season. They were fed only with thin rice and water, and were treated in all respects with excessive barbarity. To perpetuate the memory of his victory, which his courtiers represented as the greatest and most glorious that had been achieved

^{* &}quot;Never, perhaps," says Orme, " was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected; for a single stoop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, is spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort have carried away all who suffered in the dungeon."



OBSIT'S BULLT ON THE SITE OF THE BIAGE HOLE, CALCUTTA, TO COMMEMORATE THE MURDER OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE ESCLISHMEN. From a Drawing in the India House.

since the days of Tamerlane, the nabobordered the name of Calcutta to be changed to that of Alinagore, or the Port of God; and then, writing pompous letters to the Great Mogul at Delhi, and collecting his army on the 2nd of July, he proceeded up the river to fall upon his neighbour and near kinsman, the ruler of Purneah. His departure from Calcutta was made in triumphal style. His boats were decorated with flags and streamers, and the air was filled with military music. He left behind him in Fort William and in the town of Calcutta about 3000 men. As he passed by the French settlement at Chandernagore, and the Dutch settlement at Chinchura, which places lie close together on the right bank of the Hooghly, about thirty miles above Calcutta, he demanded tributes, and spoke at one moment as if he intended to complete his glorious career of victory by expelling both French and Dutch as he had expelled the English. The money demanded from the settlement at Chinchura, and promptly paid by the terrified Dutchmen, amounted to 450,000 rupees, but the French at Chandernagore he let off for 350,000 rupees, in consideration, it is said, of their having furnished him with 200 chests of gunpowder when he was advancing against the English at Calcutta.* On the 11th of July he arrived at Moorshedabad, where he gave a feast, and ordered that all kinds of property belonging to the English anywhere in Bengal or its dependencies should be seized and confiscated to his

use; a few days after, finding that no information could be obtained from them respecting the supposed hidden treasures, he liberated Mr. Holwell and his two companions, who, since their arrival in his capital, had been confined in a cow-shed. These gentlemen were scarcely enlarged ere they discovered that the greatest discontents prevailed both among the soldiery and the people; that many persons of the greatest wealth and influence, more especially the Scits or Hindu bankers, were convinced that the subversion of Calcutta and the ruin of the English would be destructive to the commercial prosperity of the country; that the arrogant nabob was detested even by those who most fawned upon him, and that many nearest to his person and highest in command of the troops were ready to plot and to combine for his overthrow and death.

The rainy season, which began before the nabob left Calcutta, and other circumstances, delayed the expedition into Purneah till the month of October. The nabob then marched with a large army, which was in reality commanded by Meer Jaffier, who gained a complete victory over the rash young ruler of that country. This prince, the relative of Straju-Dowlah, was slain in the battle; the whole of Purneah then submitted to the conqueror, who once returned triumphantly to Moorshedabad, swollen with pride and elated by the conviction that nothing could resist him, and that the scattered and humbled English would never venture to renew

hastilities in his dominions. But these dreams were soon to be dissipated, for Clive the avenger, Clive "the Daring in War," was now preparing to come against him. At Madras and Bombay, at every place in India in which there was an Englishman, exertions were made in order to recover Calcutta and take vengeance for the cruelties which had been committed; but the mighty monsoons would not yield nor change to suit the impatience of man; materials had to be collected from various parts of the coast, and ships to be waited for that were crossing the Indian Ocean from Europe. Thus it was not until the 16th of October that Clive and Admiral Watson could sail from Madras for the Hooghly. The force consisted of five of his majesty's ships and five of the company's, having on board 900 European infantry and 1500 sepoys. Five hundred more sepoys were expected from Bombay. All the fleet, with the exception of two vessels, the 'Cumberland' and 'Marlborough,' on board of which were a considerable proportion of the troops and stores, had reached Fulta, a village on the left bank of the Hooghly, twenty miles in a straight direction below Calcutta, but more than double that distance by water, by the 22d of December, where they found the fugitives from Calcutta. Major Kilpatrick was found at Fulta, where he had arrived some weeks after the capture of Fort William; but, having only a handful of men with him, he had not been able to undertake any enterprise, nor had he even succeeded in procuring draught oxen for the artillery or proper information as to the nature and the state of defence of the neighbouring country. Although 250 of his small European force, 430 of his sepoys, and almost all his artillery and military stores were on board the missing ships, Clive resolved to advance immediately towards Calcutta, and to capture on his way the fort of Budge-Budge, a place on the left bank of the river. The road to this fort lay through a low swampy country, covered with jungle and underwood and intersected with gullies and ditches. It appears from Clive's letters that he had expected Admiral Watson would have landed him near to the fort; but this was not done, the troops being landed at Moidapore and thence marched through the wretched country. "The men," says Clive, " suffered hardships not to be described." They were obliged to draw their two field-pieces and their tumbrel loaded with ammunition through that dismal bog and across the ditches; and during their slow progress they were watched by spies, so that, instead of taking Budge-Budge by surprise, when they reached a dry hollow near that fort and laid themselves down after a night's march to take a little rest, they were suddenly attacked by the nabob's general Monichund, who had from Calcutta with 3000 horse and follows. ne down after sustaining some loss, Clive beat off his assailants, and Monichund, having witnessed the death

of four of his principal officers and of a fine war elephant, and having received a bullet in his own turban, fled back to Calcutta and left Budge-Budge to its fate. The garrison fled out of the place by night, leaving their artillery and stores behind them. Monichund was so terror-stricken that he remained only a few hours at Calcutta, and then continued his flight to Moorshedabad, to assure the nabob, who had no more courage than himself, that "The Daring in War" was irresistible. Monichund, however, left a large garrison behind him in Fort William, and he had conjured them to defend the place against the English. On the 2d of January (1757) Admiral Watson brought his ships to anchor off the fort, and a very few shot were sufficient to send the garrison scampering off after their general. Without the loss of a single life, apparently without a wound or a scratch, the English regained possession of the fort and town. Clive, who had come up with his troops, and who took possession of the fortress, recommended an instant attack upon Hooghly, where Suraj-u-Dowlah had stationed a considerable army; but hot disputes broke out between Clive and Watson, and generally between the officers in the company's service and the officers who commanded the king's troops, and who, inferior as was their force, seem to have assumed on all occasions the rights of precedence and superiority. The success of the whole expedition and the fortunes of the English would more than once have been irretrievably committed but for the iron will and daring, unflinching spirit of Clive, who was ever ready to take upon himself all responsibility, and to answer for every conse quence. At length, on the 10th of January, a part of the fleet, and a detachment of the land troops under the command of Major Coote, arrived off Hooghly, which bristled with batteries mounting heavy guns, and garriemed by 3000 men—who all fled after a very mast cannonade, and left the place with everything in it to the English. So perfect was the panic of the nabob's troops, that Coote, with only fifty Europeans and one hundred sepoys, scoured the country for several miles, destroying or capturing a vast quantity of rice and other provisions. The sepoys were left to garrison Hooghly, and the Europeans returned to Calcutta on the 19th of January, with a booty estimated at a lac and a half of rupees. Suraj-u-Dowlah had by this time collected an enormous army in Moorshedabad, and, believing Clive's force to be even smaller than it was, he began to march down to Calcutta with terrible menaces. The English had not neglected to prepare for his reception, and determining not to be cooped up in the crazy fortress, Clive had fortified a camp with several good posts around it, about a mile to the north of the town and half a mile from the bank of the river. The camp was almost surrounded by a lake, a marsh, and artificial ditches, and no army coming from the northward could get into the town without passing close to it. Fortunately the arrival of the 'Marlborough' at the end of the month fur-

^{*} The name of "Sabut Jung," or "The Daring in War," was given to Clive by the natives, and was applied to him by Suraj-u-Dowiah himself

nished Clive with the artillery and stores that were wanting. On the 30th of January the nabob crossed the river about ten miles above Hooghly, and, as he continued his march, the country people, who had hitherto supplied the English camp and city with provisions, hid their stores and fled. The bullockdrivers also disappeared, and Clive was left without oxen, and with only one horse, which had been brought from Madras. The want of a small body of cavalry was sensibly felt on many occasions. In the course of the 30th, Clive wrote a conciliatory letter to the nabob, proposing peace; Suraj-u-Dowlah returned a courteous answer, but continued his march. The French at Chandernagore had, however, declined joining the native army, and had even made proposals to the English for a constant truce between them in Bengal notwithstanding any war between the two crowns in Europe and other parts of the world. On the 3rd of February all the villages to the north-east were seen in flames, and the van of the nabob's army appeared in full march towards Calcutta. They passed along a causeway, or elevated road, in full view of Clive's camp, and about noon some of their plunderers penetrated into a suburb of Calcutta occupied by poor natives; but a sally from Perring's Redoubt drove back these marauders with loss, and nothing more on the offensive was done during the rest of the day by the nabob's army, who intrenched themselves in a large garden, about a mile to the south-east of the English camp. About an hour before dark Clive advanced with the greatest part of his troops and six field-pieces, and attempted to drive them from the garden with a hot cannonade; but they answered his fire with nine heavy guns, they threw out cavalry to harass his flanks, and as it grew dark he retired to his camp, having lost three scpoys and two artillery-men. The nabob, who was still several miles off, continued his attempt to amuse Clive with negotiations, and on the following morning a letter was delivered from him requesting the attendance of some English deputies at a village six miles from Calcutta, in order to arrange the conditions of peace. Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton forthwith set out for the place designated; but when they got there they found that the nabob was gone. He had in fact traversed his far-extending army, and had now lodged himself, with some of the best of his troops, in a house and walled garden belonging to Omichund, situated in the north-east part of the company's territory, and within the Mahratta ditch. Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton followed him to this place, and, after some violent altercation about delivering up their swords, which they resolutely refused to do, they were admitted to an audience. Suraj-u-Dowlah, stern and stately, was seated on the musnud, and was surrounded by the principal of his officers and the tallest and grimmest of his attendants, who, to impress awe, and to look more stout and truculent, had dressed themselves in wadded garments and put enormous turbans on their heads. During the conference these fellows sat scowling at the two

Englishmen, as if they only waited the nabob's nod to murder them. Nevertheless, the Englishmen remonstrated with the nabob upon his thus entering the company's territory, and delivered to him a paper containing the conditions upon which Clive would make peace with him. Without replying, Suraj-u-Dowlah broke up the assembly. As Walsh and Scrafton were leaving the hall, Omichund, that wily and inexplicable Hindu, whispered them in the ear to have a care of their lives; adding, with a significant look, that the nabob's cannon had not yet been brought up to that position. Instead of going as ordered to the tent of the nabob's minister, the two Englishmen ordered their attendants to extinguish the torches; and then they fled through the darkness and confusion to Perring's Redoubt, whence they easily found their way to the camp. Clive instantly determined to attack the nabob the following morning. At midnight 600 sailors, armed with firelocks, were landed from the ships of war; the battalion of Europeans were 650, the artillery-men 100, the sepoys 800, the field-pieces six 6-pounders.* "About three o'clock in the morning," says Clive himself, "I marched out nearly my whole force, leaving only a few Europeans, with 200 new-raised bucksarees, to guard our camp. About six we entered the enemy's camp in a thick fog, and crossed it in about two hours, with considerable execution. Had the fog cleared up, as it usually does, about eight o'clock, when we were entire masters of the camp without the ditch, the action must have been decisive; instead of which, it thickened and occasioned our mistaking the way." + When this fog cleared up, Clive, with a portion of his small army, found himself wholly separated and at a considerable distance from the rest; and in this state he had to sustain the attack of a great portion of the nabob's forces, horse, foot, and artillery - and among the horse were some well-mounted and well-accoutred Persians, who did unusual execution before they wheeled and fled. In this conflict Clive lost altogether, two field-pieces, 120 Europeans, and 100 sepoys—a great proportion of his small force. But the carnage committed by the English, who were mad for revenge on the perpetrators of the black-hole murders, was terrible; the panic in the Indian army was universal, and Clive was not disappointed as to the effects likely to be produced on the feeble mind of the nabob by the battle. On the next day Suraj-u-Dowlah quitted the town and the territory of the company, and encamped on a plain six miles off. Clive was preparing to give him battle again, when he received a humble note in which the nabob proposed or prayed for peace. Admiral Watson, insisting that no reliance was to be placed on his good faith, recommended another attack without loss of time; but Clive thought it more prudent to treat and to secure the extensive advantages which had already been

^{*} Orms. † Cliva's latter to the Secret Committee, in Sir John Malcolm's Life.

obtained. He had no more reliance on the good faith of the Indian prince than had the admiral; but he was fully prepared to play off deception against deception, to watch events, and to finish the ruin of Suraj-u-Dowlah, whose name inspired every Englishman with horror, whenever the conjuncture should be favourable. He was the more eager to treat as he knew that the French at Chandernagore were now fully informed of the commencement of hostilities in Europe between France and England, and as he apprehended that, in spite of their recent professions, they might be induced to take the field for the nabob, who, if driven to extremities, would be sure to tempt them with the most splendid offers Even 40,000 Hindus and Mohammedans, under ignorant native officers and a coward like Suraj u-Dowlah, might be despised, but Clive felt that the case would be different if they should be joined by 400 or 500 brave and expert I renchmen therefore responded with alaciity to the nabob's pacific proposals; and in a day or two a treaty was concluded as favourable to the English as if they had dictated all its clauses Suraj-u-Dowlah restored to the English at Calcutta all the villages he had seized, permitted their merchandize to pass custonifree, agreed to their fortifying Calcutta, allowed them to establish a mint, and engaged that all goods taken from their factorics should be restored, and that money compensation should be given for such as had been damaged, destroyed, or lost * This treaty was concluded on the 9th of Tebruary, and three days after the nabob, who now wished, or pretended to wish, for an alliance offensive and defensive with the English, whom he had so recently vowed to exterminate, entered into another agreement with Clive, by which the English engaged to look upon the nabob's enemies as their own, and to grant him any aid in their power † Yet the nabob had scarcely signed these papers and

* Su John Malcolm s Life of Clive - Orme
† This peace severely censured by many of the English in India,
was thus justified by Clive himself in a private letter written at the
time - If I hid only consulted the interest and requision of solider, the conclusion of this peace might casily have been suspended.
I know at the same time, there are many who think I have been too
precipitate a the conclusion of it but sirely those who are of this
opinion never knew that the delay of a day or two might his runned
the company's affairs by the junctim of the French with the male h
which was on the point of being curied into execution. They never
considered the situation of affairs on the coast and the positive orders
sent me by the Actali men there to return with the major part of the
forces at all events, they never considered that with a war upon the
coast and in the province of Bringal at the same time, a trading, com
pany could'not subsist without age at assistance from it; government
and lest of all they never considered that a long wer attended
through the whole course of it with success and many get at action,
ended at lest with the expense of more than fifty lace of rupees to the
company. Believe m sir, I have constantly had thus consideration
in view, and my co diet has been always regulated agreeably to it.
I can farther say I never undertook an expedition intended with half
so many disagree able circumstances as this the natural real may subsisting between the sea and land service hus, iven me much uneasi
ness. I have suffered many mort deations the independent power
given me by the gentlemen of the commany in pragation attended with half so private individuals has in t passed by unreflect d upper from the properties of the company is interest was not immediately concerned, to induce him to con der the unhappy sepole at Cliquita, and he has often promised me to do it. Nothing harsh ungenerous or uncharitable shall fall from my pen at the same time in justice to the company I cannot would expressing my concern

gotten back in safety to his capital, when he opened a fresh correspondence with the French at Chandernagore, and even sent emissaries to Golconda to invite M. Bussy into Bengal, where he promised him and his troops higher rewards than any they could now hope for in the Deccan. He said that there would be no limits to his gratitude, or to the prosperity and grandeur of the French, if they would only lend him a helping hand to crush the insolent English once and for ever. These secret correspondences were betrayed by the nabob's own ministers and agents, and Clive, who was supposed to know nothing of them, was fully informed of every particular It appears that Omichund, who had been a great loser by the sacking of Calcutta and the entire interruption to trade, and who had not yet been able to recover the compensation which the nabob had promised him, was now as hostile to Suraj-u-Dowlah as he had been to the English presidency; and that by himself, or by his numerous friends and dependents, he acted as a spy at Moorshedabad, as he had formerly done at Calcutta. But his views and plans shifted and varied with circumstances, and it was impossible to judge, by his conduct on one day, what that conduct would be on the morrow Like an expert juggler, he puzzled or deceived all parties at once, and bewildered the judgment of those whom he was actually serving for the time

The Luglish felt that there would be no permanent security for Calcutta or any other place on the Hooghly so long as the French were left in possession of Chandernagore, and the presidency of Madras had recommended the capture of that place to Clive, who turned his attention in that direction as soon as he had concluded his treaty He thought it, however, with Suraj-u-Dowlah necessary to ask the nabob's permission for the attack, and this served and est of Suraj-u-Dow-lah's good faith Receiving evasive answers, Clive hurried on the preparations for the assault. The French now repeated their desire for a truce with him "But," wrote Clive, "I have given it as my opinion to proceed and invest the place, and, if it should happen at last that the nabob is really against taking it, to accept the neutrality, and make merit of doing it at his request and in obedience to his order, by which means he will be convinced of our friendship and power at the same time "* On the 1st of March he instructed Mr Watts, who was again residing at Moorshedabad, to inform the nabob that he felt the greatest reluctance to attack the French without his consent, but that he hoped that this permission might be obtained from one who was now his friend and ally. Admiral Watson joined in representing to the nabob that it was essential to his own interest, as much as to the safety of the English, that the French should be rooted out of Chandernagore. The admiral further stated that the French on the Hooghly could not engage for their countrymen on the coast of Coromandel; that the governor of

Letter to Mr. Payne, in Sir John Malcolm's Life of Clive

Pondicherry might at any time break any truce between them and the English at Calcutta; that, if a superior French force arrived at Chandernagore, Calcutta would be assuredly attacked; and, finally, that the French were not only talking of such reinforcements by sea, but also reporting that M. Bussy was marching from the Deccan into Bengal.* "Is it," wrote the English seaman, "to attack you? Is it to attack us? You are going to Patna. You ask our assistance. Can we, with the least degree of prudence, march with you, and leave our enemies behind us? You will then be too far off to support us, and we shall be unable to defend ourselves. Think what can be done in this situation. I see but one way. Let us take Chandernagore, and secure ourselves from any apprehensions from that quarter; and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Delhi, if you will. Have we not sworn reciprocally that the friends and enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? And will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us if we do not fulfil our oaths? can I say more? Let me request the favour of your speedy answer."† But the answer was a fresh evasion, and the nabob even ventured to detach some troops to the neighbourhood of Chandernagore as if to assist the French. Losing all patience, Watson wrote again to the equivocator, telling him that Clive had received more men, that more troops and ships were expected, and that, if he, the nabob, failed to act up to his engagements, he would kindle such a fire in his dominions that all the water in the Ganges should not be able to "Farewell!" added the sailor: extinguish it. "remember that he who promises you this never yet broke his word with you or with any man whatsoever." This concise rhetoric terrified Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, by a note dated the 10th of March, gave, though in general and vague terms, the required assent to the attack upon Chandernagore. "You have understanding and generosity," wrote the nabob to the admiral: " if your enemy, with an upright heart, claims your protection, you will give him his life; but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatsoever you think right, that do." Yet, all the while, he was making advances of money to the French, and urging the advance of M. Bussy. A day or two after he gave to Mr. Watts, in words plainer than those used to the admiral, a verbal assent; but he told the same resident that the attack must not be thought of, as M. Bussy was on his road and marching through Cuttack. But the information respecting Bussy, which after-wards proved not to be true, made Watson and Clive hasten their blow. On the 14th of March the English fleet was anchored near Chandernagore, and Clive began the attack by land with all his characteristic spirit and intelligence.

* The distance of the northern part of the country ceded to Bussy as only about 200 miles from Calcutta.

† From a letter given by Sir John Malcolm in Life of Clive.

place was not unprepared. As soon as the French knew that war was certain they blew up all the houses that overlooked their works, and made out of the materials a glacis. The fort, about thirty yards from the river, was a square, with four bastions, each mounting ten guns; several more guns were mounted in different parts of the ramparts, and eight upon a ravelin towards the river: all these were heavy pieces, from 24 to 32pounders; and six of smaller calibre were planted on the terrace of a church within the fort, which Beyond the glacis the overlooked the walls. French had erected several batteries to sweep the approaches to the fort by land, and one battery of superior strength to command the river. Moreover, to prevent the near approach of the English menof-war, they had sunk several ships in the river. The garrison was 900 strong, 300 being French regulars, 300 French inhabitants well trained as militia, and the rest French sailors and sepoys. They expected to be assisted by the detachment from the nabob's army which lay within or upon the skirts of their little territory; but Nuncomar, who commanded those troops, had a private understanding with Omichund and the English, and withdrew before the siege began. In one short day's work Clive drove in all the French outposts and forced them to abandon and spike the guns of one of the best of their outer batteries. On the morning of the 15th the French abandoned all their other outer batteries except the one on the river. On the 16th Clive brought into position his own heavy artillery and began to cannonade: on the 17th and 18th he threw some shells from a cohorn and a mortar; and on the 19th the ' Kent,' 'Tiger,' and 'Salisbury' came to anchor within a mile of the fort, and began to remove the obstructions from the bed of the river. With great skill and industry a way was opened through the sunken ships; and on the 23rd the three menof-war presented their formidable broadsides to the fort. On the following morning a terrible battering was begun both by land and water; but the French responded with so much celerity that they seemed to have the better until about sunset, when the 'Tiger' came opposite the ravelin and knocked it to pieces with one broadside. The 'Salisbury' hardly came into action at all, but the 'Kent,' Admiral Watson's ship, fought closer to the bastions than was intended, so that several of her people were killed or wounded as she was shifting her ground, and she was allowed to run out her cable and fall into a very disadvantageous position. Watson, however, instead of hauling off, determined to decide the contest at those close quarters, and he thundered at one of the bastions. On both sides every shot told, and the 'Kent' suffered severely. But at the same time Clive's land-batteries kept up a cross fire on the bastion, and the 'Tiger' continued to pour in her broadsides. At nine o'clock in the morning, when nearly all their guns were silenced, the French hoisted a flag of truce, and proposed a surrender to Admiral Wat-

Captain Coote was sent on shore to arrange the terms. Fifty of the best French soldiers, with twenty Topasses and several officers, stole out of the fort before anything was settled, and marched away to the northward. At three o'clock the rest capitulated and remained prisoners of war. acquisition of this important place had not been obtained without serious loss: in the 'Tiger' the master and 14 others were killed and 56 wounded; the 'Kent' had received six shot in her masts and 142 in her hull; the first licutenant, Mr. Perrot, and 18 of the crew, were killed, and 72 wounded. In the last decisive attack Clive had only 1 man killed and 10 wounded; but before the ships came into action he had lost between 20 and 30 in killed and wounded. During the siege the nabob had addressed several letters to the English, commanding them in imperious language to desist; and he had even dispatched another division of his army under Roydullub to make them raise the siege. But when within twenty miles of Chandernagore Roydullub was met by Nuncomar, who assured him that his advance was useless, for that Chandernagore must fall before he could reach it.

All intentions and schemes on the part of the nabob were more changeable than an April sky or the hues of the chamelcon. Just as he received the news of the capture of the French settlement, intelligence was brought him that the Patans, in conjunction with a Mahratta army, were about to invade Behar and Bengal. He had already requested the aid of the English against these much redoubted warriors from the north; but, as they had delayed their invasion, he had been indulging in the hope that the danger was blown over, and that he might be able not only to maintain himself without the assistance of the English, but also to curb their encroachments. Even now the information respecting the Patans was incorrect; but, believing it to be true, and his own danger imminent, he wrote letters of congratulation to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, expressing the strongest desire to remain in friendship and alliance with them, and offering the territory of Chandernagore to the English on the same terms as those on which it had been held by the French company; but he ordered the division of his army which had marched with Roydullub to continue at Plassey, on the island of Cossimbuzar, thirty miles to the south of Moorshedabad.* Clive, whose suspicions never slumbered, and whose secret agents were constantly conveying to him fresh doubts of Suraj-u-Dowlah's sincerity, was disquieted by the position taken up by his army, and was greatly offended at the nabob's giving refuge and protection to the French soldiers and Topasses who had escaped from Chandernagore, and who must have been captured by English detachment sent after them, if the nabob's troops had not prevented it. Clive demanded peremptorily that these fugitives, who were now under the command of M. Law, an officer of some ability, +

should be given up to him as prisoners of war, and that all the settlements and factories that remained to the French in Bengal should be surrendered to the English. Suraj-u-Dowlah returned a civil but evasive answer to these demands; but, to dissipate the ill will of the English, he chose this moment for fulfilling part of his treaty, and paid over 450,000 rupees as an instalment to Calcutta. Leaving a good garrison in Chandernagore, and the greater part of the army cantoned in the neighbourhood, Clive and Watson returned to Calcutta with a booty estimated at 100,000/. The presidency of Madras, apprchensive of an attack by the French from Pondicherry and from Europe, wrote pressing letters to recall Clive to the Coromandel coast; but he, being fully convinced that the work was not yet finished in Bengal, determined to remain where he was. Not only with Clive, but with every Englishman at Calcutta who had witnessed or suffered the nabob's perfidy and cruelty, it was a confirmed belief that there could be no permanent security in Bengal until Suraj-u-Dowlah was driven from the musnud, and made as quiet as his sacrifices of the black-hole, that were sleeping in the great pit under the walls of Fort William. Clive had all along insisted that there should be no rest or pause until the French were destroyed root and branch, and he had also foreseen that this operation would be opposed to the utmost by the nabob: he had written to the committee at Calcutta-" If you attack Chandernagore, you cannot stop there; you must go further. Having established yourself by force, and not by the consent of the nabob, he, by force, will endeavour to drive you out again."

The invasion of the Patans was stayed by the payment of large sums of money by Suraj-u Dow-lah, who, after the full of the dernagore, as before the commencement and during the progress of the siege, continued to call upon M. Bussy, whose reported march into Cuttack proved a mere fable. Several of his letters to the French general were intercepted at the time they were written, and copies of others were found upon his person afterwards, when he was dethroned and a prisoner at Moorshedabad. In fact, no proof was wanting of his treachery and double dealing. In one of these letters to Bussy he said that he hoped he would come with 2000 brave men well supplied with muskets to free him from "The Daring in War" (Clive), for whose destruction he fervently prayed. In another epistle, written after the fall of Chandernagore, and nearly on the same day on which he pretended to congratulate the English commanders on that event, he said to Bussy—"I am advised that you have arrived at Echapore. This news gives me pleasure; the sooner you come here, the greater satisfaction I shall have in meeting you. What can I write of the perfidy of the

against Clive and Laurence, was a son or nephew of the celebrated Scotch financier, Law, who had driven all France mad with the framous Mississippi scheme, the parent of the South Sea scheme, which had produced an equal madness in England.

[†] This Law, who had previously been serving in the Carnatic

English? They have, without ground, picked a quarrel with M. Renault, and taken by force his factory. They want now to quarrel with M. Law, your chief at Cossimbuzar; but I will take care to oppose and overthrow all their proceedings. When you come to Ballasore, I will then send M. Law to your assistance, unless you forbid his setting out. Rest assured of my good will towards you and your company." In the same letter he added that he had issued his mandates to the governors of his provinces through which Bussy was to march to supply him with everything he needed, and to co-operate with him to the extent of their power. It was also known that he had sent servants with an elephant and jewels through Ballasore to meet M. Bussy, and that he was actually keeping in his pay M. Law, whose force had been raised to above a hundred French, through broken paroles and flights from the English camp. presidency of Calcutta were long kept in ignorance as to Bussy's movements, not knowing with any accuracy whether he was advancing into Bengal or was still in Golconda, or was quartered in the Northern Circars; but no doubt was entertained that his junction with the nabob would be fatal to the English interest. Explanations were demanded over and over again by Mr. Watts, the resident at Moorshedabad, by Colonel Clive, and by Admiral Watson; but the only answers were subterfuges and equivocations, and Suraj-u-Dowlah's behaviour gave every day some fresh cause for disgust. When he knew for certain that the Patans had retired beyond Delhi, and when he fancied that the French must surely be coming, he again threatened Mr. Watts with impalement, withheld the money which he was bound to pay to Calcutta, broke the treaty in other respects, interdicted the carrying of ammunition and provisions into the English fort and factory at Cossimbuzar, and threatened to cut off the ears and nose of every subject that dared to contravene his orders. He also kept his army on foot at Plassey, reinforcing it from time to time, until nearly every man, horse, elephant, musket, firelock, and cannon he possessed was collected at that commanding point. Mr. Watts, soon after his return to Moorshedabad, had discovered that the nabob was loved as little there as he was at Calcutta, and that a large portion of his ministers, officers, and courtiers were ripe for conspiracy and These discoveries had been communicated in detail, by Watts, to Clive, to Watson, and to the members of the council, who all, without any hesitation, agreed with him that the conspirators should he encouraged and assisted, and that no means, however dark, or however contrary to the more honourable tenor of modern European policy, should be neglected to destroy that prince. What there was of iniquity in this scheme was certainly not wholly attributable to Clive, but shared with him by Watts and Watson and a dozen others. It seems, indeed, that not an Englishman in India

necessarily involved other iniquities : and Clive was afterwards made to bear more than his due share of the blame, because he was the most forward and energetic in working out the scheme, which all the rest had agreed upon and approved. In a private letter he vividly described the conduct of the nabob, and repeated what he had often said before, that, if the English power were to be preserved in India, no terms must be kept with him. "One day," says he, " he tears my letters and turns out my vakeel, and orders his army to march; he next countermands it, sends for the vakeel, and begs his pardon for what he has done. Twice a week he threatened to impale Mr. Watts; in short, he is a compound of everything that is bad, keeps company with none but his menial servants, and is universally hated and despised by the great men. This induces me to acquaint you there is a conspiracy going on against him by several of the great men, at the head of whom is Jugget Seit himself, as also Cojah Wazeed. I have been applied to for assistance, and every advantage promised the company can wish. The committee are of opinion it should be given as soon as the nabob is secured. For my own part, I am persuaded there can be neither peace nor security while such a monster reigns. Mr. Watts and Omichund are at Moorshedabad, and have many meetings with the great The last letter I received from Mr. Watts he desires that our proposals may be sent, and that they only wait for them to put everything into execution; so that you may shortly expect to hear of a revolution which will put an end to all French expectations of ever settling in this country again. The Patans, who were coming this way, have been pacified by a sum of money, and are returning to their own country. Had they approached near, everything would have been overset in this country, from three-fourths of the nabob's army being against him. It is a most disagreeable circumstance to find that the troubles are likely to commence again: but the opinion here is universal that there can be neither peace nor trade without a change of government." Jugget Seit, named by Clive as being at the head of the plot, was the greatest banker in Bengal, and he possessed immense influence in the neighbouring kingdom of Oude, and even in the Mogul's court at Delhi, by means of his wealth and his connexions with the other great Hindu Seits, or bankers, who, under the Mohammedan conquerors, as under their native princes, monopolised the bu siness of revenue and finance in every part of India. Other Hindus, both civil and military, in the service of Suraj-u-Dowlah, were leagued with Jugget Seit,—as Monichund, the late governor of Calcutta, who had fought Clive in the hollow near Budge-Budge; Ramnarrain, the governor of the province of Patna; Rajaram, the manager of Midnapore; and Roydullub, the dewan, or minister of finance. But the real chief of the conspiracy, or he who was to gain the most by it, was Meer Jaffier . Letter from Clive to Pigot.

was averse to the scheme, which, in its execution.

[•] The nabob's letters, as given by Orme.

Khan, a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, who had been raised to the highest dignities by the late nabob Aliverdy Khan, whose daughter he had married. Meer Jaffier was at this moment commander-inchief of the army assembled at Plassey, and it was calculated that half of that force would implicitly obey his orders. His object was nothing short of the throne and dominions of his master. adept in intrigue, Omichund, was admitted into the secret at an early stage, and was employed both by the Hindus and the English to forward the conspiracy and to bargain with Meer Jaffier. Though suspicious, like all Eastern despots, Suraj-u-Dowlah entertained so little doubt of the fidelity of 'Meer Jaffier that he was offering him ten lacs of rupees if he would go down to Calcutta and exterminate the English. On the other hand, Clive wrote to recommend firmness and perseverance to Meer Jaffier, telling him that when all was ready he would march to his assistance with 5000 men who never turned their backs. To lull the nabob into security the English troops were all sent into quarters, and the artillery and tumbrils were warehoused in Calcutta as if the war were considered at an end for that season. But Clive then demanded from the nabob that he should break up his camp at Plassey, remit another instalment of the money owing, and fulfil other articles of the treaty. As was foreseen, Suraj-u-Dowlah replied to these demands, sometimes by equivocations, and at others by menaces or a haughty defiance; and the plot against him went on with additional vigour: -Mr. Watts was fully authorised to conclude a treaty with the aspirant to the musnud; and Admiral Watson, though entertaining serious doubts as to the success of the daring enterprise, agreed to send 200 of his scamen to act with the land troops at Plassey, or Moorshedabad, or wherever the star of Clive might lead them. Everything on the part of the English was ready for taking the field, when the conspiracy was nearly broken up by a sudden and violent quarrel between Meer Jaffier and the nabob; but Meer Jaffier, who only a few days before had solemnly sworn on the Koran, and by God and the Prophet of God, to keep his engagements with Mr. Watts, took the same solemn oaths to be faithful to his prince, and Suraj-u-Dowlah received him back into his confidence and continued him in the command at Plassey. But this alarm was scarcely over when a new one was created by the perplexing conduct and excessive cupidity of Omichund. Meer Jaffier very soon regretted that the wily Hindu had been admitted into all the secrets of the plot; and Mr. Watts agreed with him in the opinion that Omichund would make everything subscrient to his own avarice, and would be ready to sacrific every member of the confederacy if he should see a prospect of greater gain with security to himself. The Hindu, who was in body and soul one mass of intrigue and deception, would not be satisfied with following the directions of others, but was always inventing manœuvres of his own, some of which

were quite unintelligible to the other less imaginative conspirators. One day he waited upon the nabob and told him that he had an important secret to communicate which might cost him his life: the nabob promised him secrecy; on which he told him the English had sent two gentlemen to Ganjam to consult with M. Bussy; that the French and English had made peace together; and that M. Bussy was coming here to join Clive. The motive for this lie was seen through, for it gained him favour with Suraj-u-Dowlah, who was fool enough to believe it, and who gave Omichund an order for a considerable sum of money which he owed to him. At the same time Cojah Wazeed reported other particulars to Mr. Watts of Omichund's conduct, which were calculated to astonish, if not to alarm, all the members of the confederacy. But when all was ready the complex traitor took a bolder step, which was at least clear and intelligible to every capacity. With his demure face and supple form he waited upon Mr. Watts, and told him that he would discover the whole plot to the nabob unless it was settled that he should receive thirty lacs of rupees, to reimburse him for past losses, and to reward him for his present services. Watts, who had become familiar with treachery and baseness of all kinds, concealed his emotions, flattered the Hindu that his wishes would be complied with, and then wrote to Clive to denounce the villain and to consult as to the best mode of proceeding with him. Clive was of opinion that the treachery ought to be met and defeated by treachery; that Omichand ought to be deceived by a fictitious agreement to pay him the money: and it appears that the members of the council, and most if not all the English officers at Calcutta, concurred with Clive, who replied to Mr. Watts: - " I immediately repaired to Calcutta, and at a committee held both the admirals and gentlemen agree that Omichund is greatest villain upon earth; and that now he appears in the strongest light, what he was always suspected to be, a villam in grain. However, to counterplot this scoundrel, and at the same time to give him no room to suspect our intentions, enclosed you will receive two forms of agreement; the one real, to be strictly kept by us, the other fictitious. In short, this affair concluded, Omichund will be treated as he deserves. This you will acquaint Meer Jaffier with." Accordingly two treaties were drawn up; one real upon white paper, and the other fictitious upon red. In the former there was no mention of Omichund; the latter had an article which expressly stipulated that he should receive twenty lacs of rupees; and Mr. Watts was desired to inform him that "thirty lacs was not inserted, as it might give rise to suspicion; but that a commission of five per cent. should be given to him upon all sums received from the nabob, which would fully amount to the other ten lacs." Though Admiral Watson agreed to the expediency of this juggle, it is said by various writers that he indig-· Letter from Mr. Watte to Clive.

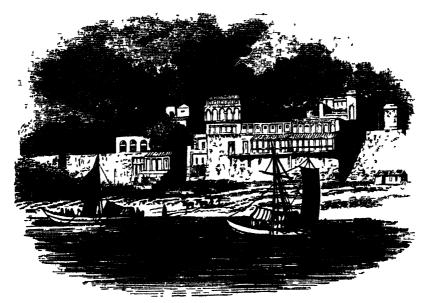
nantly refused being a party to the fraud, or putting his name to the false red paper. Clive, however, solemnly affirmed afterwards, before a committee of the House of Commons, that the admiral objected to the signing of it, but, to the best of his remembrance, gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Lushington) leave to put his name upon it.* It has recently been asserted in the broadest manner that Clive himself forged Watson's name on the document without his consent, + but no evidence is adduced to prove the fact, which seems to us open to every kind of doubt. Mr. Lushington, or any member of the council which agreed to the deception, was more likely to forge the signsture than Clive, who was no penman. But in reality it matters very little who wrote Watson's name if they all agreed that it must be written in order to complete the deception. Omichund would not have been satisfied with the sham treaty if Watson's name had not been to it; and if that determined Hindu had conceived any suspicion, and had realized his threats of disclosing all he knew to Suraj-u-Dowlah, Mr. Watts, Mr. Scrafton, Meer Juffier, every Englishman, and every native concerned in the plot and within the nabob's power, would inevitably have met a horrible death; and the company would have lost all that they had gained at so much cost -would have been rumed or exterminated in Bengal. Such at least was the deep conviction of Clive, of Watts, of Watson, of every member of the presidency, of every Englishman in the country, who, each and all, thought that the act of treachery was, under the circumstances of the case, both indispensable and justifiable. Besides the odium excited by his last proceeding, Omichuid was detested in Calcutta on account of the well-grounded suspicion that he had contributed to lead the nabob to the capture and plunder of that place, and to the dismal tragedy of the black-hole. That such a scoundrel should be gratified in all his wishes, and be allowed to extort in so nefarious a manner the enormous sum of thirty lacs of rupees, seemed altogether mad and monstrous. Clive, to the end of his life, justified the trick. He said before the House of Commons-" I never made any secret of it; I think it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times; I had no interested motive in doing it, and did it with a design of disappointing the expectations of a rapacious man. As soon as Mr. Watts received the two treaties at Moorshedabad he showed the red one to the grasping, gasping Hindu, and then endeavoured to get him away from the nabob's court, lest he should brew some fresh mischief, or demand more gold to close his lips. Omichund said he wished to tarry a little longer at Moorshedabad, as the nabob had not yet paid him all the money he had promised him; but Watts at last succeeded in persuading him that Clive, who wanted his valuable services, would pay him with a liberality that would more

• Parl. Report.

† In a very brilliant article in the Edinburgh Review, No. CXLII., in which we recognise the eloquence and local knowledge of Mr. Themas B. Maccalay.

than make up for any deficit or loss he might sistain by going to Calcutta; and then the Hindu took the road to that city in company with Mr. Scrafton. But on the road he gave fresh cause for uneasiness. At Cossimbuzar Mr. Scrafton missed him, and after a search found him at midnight closeted with the nabob's treasurer, endeavouring to obtain from him some more money. As the treasurer was not to be moved, Omichand continued his journey. During the night Mr. Scrafton fell asleep in his palanquin, and waking at daybreak he again missed his suspicious and slippery companion. Not knowing this time where to look for him, the Englishman halted on the high road till ohree o'clock in the afternoon, when Omichund reappeared with a troubled countenance. He said he had been to pay a visit at the camp of Plassey to his friend Roydullub, one of the conspirators, who had told him that no stipulations had been made in his (Omichund's) favour in the treaty with Meer Jaffier! Lvery man engaged in these life and death transactions needed nerves of iron. Scrafton had both nerve and wit : he stood unmoved the scarching glances or the Hindu, and he ingeniously convinced him that Roydullub could not yet have seen the final treaty arranged between the select committee and Meer Jaffier, -- in which treaty his name stood for the promised rupees. Thus convinced, and full of hope or confidence, the Hindu went the rest of the journey without giving any further trouble to his travelling companion. On the 8th of May Omichund arrived at Calcutta, where he was received by Colonel Clive and the other members of the committee with much apparent cordiality. But, in a nature like his, and engaged in such transactions, jealousy and suspicion could not be put to rest for any length of time. He sought out the Persian secretary of the council, and bribed him to inform him if any deceit to his detriment should appear in the treaty, when ratified by Meer Jaffier in the Persian language. In this quarter, however, his money and his trouble were thrown away, as neither the Persian scribe, nor any other doubtful dependent, was admitted into the secret. After the departure of Omichund from Moorshedabad disputes arose between Mr. Watts and Meer Jaffier as to the manner in which the nabob's treasure was to be divided; and when these difficulties were amicably adjusted, Suraj-u-Dowlah quarrelled again with Meer Jaffier, deprived him of the chief command of the army, and appointed to it Coja Haddee. Meer Jaffier shut himself up in his strong palace at Moorshedabad, and called upon his officers and retainers to defend him in case he should be attacked by the nabob. He had signed the last treaty, but Mr. Watts required the confirmation of his oath, and requested an audience of him. Jaffier declined the visit, saying that it would excite suspicion, and that he was closely watched. Upon this Watts threw himself into a covered palanquin, such as was used to carry native ladies of rank, and passed unchallenged into the palace and into the herem, where he was met by the khan and his son

Meeran. In that sanctuary they were safe from intrusion, and they conferred at their leisure. Meer Jaffier said that through the recent alteration in the command all the troops he could confidently rely upon were 3000 horse; but that the nabob was so odious, and the disaffection so general, that many chiefs might be expected to desert him on the day of battle. At all events he desired that the English would immediately take the field and march upon Plassey and the capital, promising that, if the nabob remained in Moorshedabad and attempted to defend that city, he would himself rise within the walls and attack him in his palace; and that, in case of the nabob's risking a battle in the open plain at Plassey or elsewhere, he would at the onset beat a great drum and hoist a white flag as signals, join the English, and charge the nabob's army with all his horse. He then swore to observe every article of the true treaty, placing the Koran on his own head, and his hand on the head of his son, whilst Mr. Watts held the papers before him. This over, Watts retired as he had come in the covered palanguin: and having dispatched Omar-beg, one of Meer Jaffier's officers, to Calcutta with a message to Clive, he-a man of remarkable nerve, lile all the rest-determined to remain at Moorshedabad until the very last moment, in order to watch events and to avoid exciting the suspicions of the nabob, who would have understood by his flight the hostile intentions of the English. Clive, though well knowing that Meer Jaffier was a timid and irresolute man that might fail him at the moment of crisis, resolved to lose no more time, but to begin at once a short campaign, which must either lay a throne and the richest provinces of India at his feet, or ruin him and the company beyond all hope of recovery. Having made his preparations, and collected his troops at Chandernagore, he set out from that place on the 13th of June, leaving 100 sailors to garrison that fort, and taking every soldier from it. The Europeans, with the field-pieces, stores, and ammunition, proceeded in 200 boats, which were towed against the stream by the Indian rowers; the sepoys marched in sight of the boats along the high road made by the Mogul government, and continuing from Hooghly to Patna. Clive now dispatched a letter to Suraj-u-Dowlah, complaining "that he (the nabob) had used every subterfuge to evade the accomplishment of the treaty of February; that he had in four months restored only a fifth part of the effects he had plundered from the English; that he had scarcely made



PATNA. From a View by Thomas Daniell.

peace before he invited M. Bussy to come from the Deccan, and assist him in extirpating them once more out of his dominions; that the party of French troops with M. Law were at this very time maintained at his expense within a hundred miles of his capital; that he had, on groundless suspicions, insulted the English honour—at one time sending troops to examine their factory at Cossimbuzar, at another driving their vakeel [agent] with disgrace out of his presence; that he had promised a sum of gold rupees, then denied that promise, and then sent Omichund from the city under pretence that it was he who deceived the English commanders in their business. On the other hand, the English had borne all these injuries patiently, and had even taken the field to assist him when alarmed by the approach of the Patans; but at length, seeing no other remedy, their army was now marching to Moorsheda-

bad, when they intended to refer their complaints to the decision of the principal officers of his government; namely, Meer Jaffier, Roydullub, the Seits, Meer Murdeen, and Moonloll; to which arbitration it was hoped that he would acquiesce, and spare the effusion of blood." At this moment Omichund, who had not been enabled to discover anything of the trick intended against him, was following the English army, and rendering services to Clive in communicating with Monichund, Nuncomar, and other chiefs. At Moorshedabad Meer Jaffier continued shut up in his strong palace, which was furnished with artillery, and made more like a place of arms than a dwelling-house. Mr. Watts was still in the same city, but feeling that the moment for his hasty departure was arriving. On the 11th, Meer Jaffier sent him a message, advising him to escape immediately. The English soldiers and goods at Cossimbuzar had been sent off some days before, and Watts had everything ready for his own flight. Still, however, he lingered about the court of the nabob, being reluctant to quit his dangerous post until he received an express order from Clive. On the 13th, however, he was assured by a fresh messenger from Meer Jaffier that there was no longer any safety for him in Moorshedabad, as the nabob was going to attack his palace with cannon on the next morning. Upon this warning Watts stole out of the city, and travelled in his palanquin to Coasimbuzar, where there remained Mr. Collet, Mr. Sykes, and a surgeon, who were to make their escape with him. Watts ordered a banquet for the evening, and adopted other artifices, to make the people believe he intended staying in the factory; but, having collected the English gentlemen, he put himself under the guidance of a faithful Usbeg Tartar, struck across a wild and unfrequented part of the country, and after some strange adventures reached the head-quarters of Clive at Culnah at three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, having met on the road a messenger bearing Clive's orders to join him.

Intelligence of the flight of Mr. Watts was conveyed to the nabob the morning after his departure, just as he was preparing to cannonade Meer Jaffier's palace. He now discovered strong reasons for believing what he had before tried to doubt, that there was a league between Jaffier and the English. Filled with dismay, he gave up all thoughts of cannonading his general, and endeavoured to detach him from his engagements with the English, and to win him back to his own service. Meer Jaffier received his overtures, but refused to quit his fortified residence to wait upon the nabob. Sinking his pride in his terror, Suraj-u-Dowlah hereupon condescended to wait upon the general in his own house, and an interview, with proper precautions on both sides, took place in Jaffier's palace. The na-bob was profuse of promises, and at the end of the interview everything seemed changed again, for Meer Jaffier swore upon the Koran to be true to his master; and the nabob swore to permit him, when the present troubles were over, to retire with

his family and treasures to another province. This was on the 15th, and Suraj-u-Dowlah, who, from his own practice and experience, might have been expected to make a more correct estimate of the value of such vows and promises, was so elated that he sent off a letter of defiance to Clive, whose manifesto he had not yet received. He reproached the English commander with the want of justice and good faith; he alluded to the flight of Mr. Watts as a proof of his treachery and evil intentions; he affirmed that his suspicion of the bad faith of the English had induced him to keep his army on foot at Plassey; and he called God and his Prophet to bear witness that Clive, and not he. had broken the treaty of February. At the same time he reinforced his army, sent Meer Jaffier to Plassey, as if confident in his truth, and wrote to M. Law to murch back to Moorshedabad with all speed. In the mean while Clive kept steadily advancing: on the 16th he halted at Patice, and sent Major Coote to take Cutwah, a mud fort about twelve miles higher up, and commanding the passage of the river Cossimbuzar, the governor of which had promised to surrender after some show of resistance. Coote on approaching the fort waved a white flag; but the governor had apparently changed his mind, for his answer to the signal was given by cannon-balls, and a warm fire was kept up from behind the mud walls for some time. As soon, however, as Coote put his Englishmen and his sepoys in order for an assault, the garrison set fire to the straw and matting which covered the walls to protect them from sun and rain, and fled out of the fort, wherein Coote found rice enough to supply an army of 10,000 men for a whole year. In the evening Clive came up with his main body and encamped in the plain; but the next day the rainy season set in with terrible violence, and he was obliged to seek shelter for his army in the houses and mud huts of the town of Cutwah, which stood near to the fort. Nearly every day since he had begun his march Clive had sent secret messengers to Meer Jaffier: but no answer from that chief reached him until the 17th, and the letter then received was far from being satisfactory. Jaffier confessed to him that he had been reconciled to the nabob, and had taken an oath to be true to him; adding, however, that all this signified nothing, and that he still expected the English to keep their engagements. It was not easy to trust a man who could swear with so much readiness on every side, and Clive determined not to cross the river of Cossimbuzarthe holiest branch of the Ganges-until he should obtain some further securities or assurances that Jaffier really intended to act with him. On the 20th—the anniversary of the Black-hole -the messenger who had been dispatched by Mr. Watta to Meer Jaffier returned to Cutwah, where he reported to Clive that he had gained access to that chief, but that while conversing with him and his son Meeran, some officers came into the apartment who seemed to be steadily, devoted to the nabob, and that thereupon Meeran, changing

his tone, had told him he would cut off his head as a spy, and the heads of all the English that dared to cross the river into the island. But on the evenmg after the arrival of this messenger at the English quarters another secret emissary appeared there, with two letters from Meer Jaffier, one addressed to Clive and the other to Omarbeg, who was in the English camp. In these letters Jaffier re-affirmed his resolutions, and stated that his position at Plassey would be either on the right or left wing of the mabob's army; that he was now in the camp and should he able to communicate more freely and frequently with the English. He also gave some account of the state of the army, but seemed to avoid entering into any particulars as to the course which Clive ought to pursue upon reaching Plassey. The mind of the English commander was still disquieted by suspicions and misgivings. With the assistance of Jaffier's 3000 horse he made sure of victory, but without this accession of strength he despaired of it, as he was wholly destitute of cavalry. The greatness of the stake for which he was playing with so small an army, the heavy responsibility that lay upon him, rendered him irresolute and nervous, and he had recourse, for the first and last time in his life, to a council of war. Having, on the morning of the 21st, assembled his officers to the number of fifteen,* he proposed the following questions :-- " Whether the army should immediately cross into the island of Cossimbuzar, and at all risks attack the nabob? or whether, availing themselves of the great quantity of rice which they had taken at Cutwah, they should maintain themselves there during the rainy season, and in the mean time invite the Mahrattas to enter the province and join them?"† Contrary to the established practice, Clive gave his opinion first-and it was that they should remain where they were. Majors Kilpatrick and Grant with six other officers agreed with Clive; but Captain Coote differed with him, and his opposite opinion was supported by six other officers.† Coote's notion was— "that the common soldiers were at present confident of success; that a stop so near the enemy would naturally quell this ardour: that the arrival of the French troops with M. Law would add strength to the nabob's force, and vigour to his councils: that they would surround the English army and cut off its communication with Calcutta. when distresses not yet foreseen might rum it as effectually as a loss of a battle. He therefore advised that they should either advance and decide the contest immediately, or immediately return to Calcutta." But Clive's majority of nine had scarcely carried the question against Coote's seven, when Clive himself felt dissatisfied at the decision, and his mind began to resume its vigor and firmness. To collect his thoughts he retired alone to a grove of mango-trees a little beyond the town of

Cutwah; he remained there for an hour in deep meditation; but then he returned to his quarters with the word " Forward" on his lips; and, without consulting or caring for the council of war, he gave his orders that the army should cross the river on the following morning. At the hour appointed -at sunrise-the troops were put in motion: they had all crossed the river by four in the afternoon, and after a rapid march they encamped, long after sunset, in a mango grove near Plassey, and within a mile of the enemy. Clive, kept awake by his anxious thoughts, heard during the whole night the drums, trumpets, and cymbals of the nabob's host, who had been warned of the approach of the English, and were making their barbaric music to dispel drowsiness. After crossing the river in the morning, Clive received another letter from Meer Jaffier, conveying incorrect intelligence about the position which the nabob himself intended to occupy. It appears, however, that this incorrectness was not intentional, and that Suraj-u-Dowlah, who never had a consistent plan, altered his intentions. In replying to Meer Jaffier, Clive said, that, unless he co-operated with his cavalry, he would make peace with the nabob. Suraj-u-Dowlah, who was really in the camp at Plassey, was as sleepless as Clive: his army was immense, but he had no courage and no confidence in his chiefs, and it is even said that while sitting in his tent he expected to be assassinated. At last the day broke which was to decide the fate of India. The extensive ground occupied by the nabob's army had defences both natural and artificial; a deep winding river flowed round three of its sides, and the other side was in part traversed by a ditch: there were two tanks surrounded by high earthen embankments, and there were groves, thickets, and eminences in various directions. But, relying on their superiority in numbers, the native pps, instead of waiting to be attacked, marched out to attack the English. Soon after sunrise they poured through all their openings and advanced to the mango grove where Clive lay. They were 40,000 foot and 16,000 horse; they had fifty heavy cannon, each drawn by a long train of white oxen, and pushed on from behind by an elephant; and, besides this ordnance, there were some field-pieces under the direction of about forty Frenchmen. The cavalry was far superior in quality to any that the English had yet seen in the Carnatic or in Bengal; it was not composed of the unwarlike weakly materials found in the valley of the Ganges and the plains of Hindustan, but both men and horses were from the hardier clime of Northern India. To oppose this vast host Clive had but 3000 foot, and of this number only 1000 were British soldiers; but his sepoys were admirably trained and disciplined, were all commanded by British officers, and were enthusiastically attached to their general. All the artillery he had consisted of eight field-pieces, but these were well placed in the wood, and ably served by artillerymen and by sailors from Watson's fleet. Clive expected every moment to receive an encouraging message from Meer

[&]quot;Orme says typenty, but Sir John Malcolm gives the names of all the officers from a list found in Clive's papers, and there, the total number, including Clive, is sixteen.

[†] Orme. I Sir John Malcolm's Life of Clive.

Jaffier, but none came. The Indians began the fight with their great guns. Clive ordered his people to sit down on the ground, and the loud cannonade of the enemy did them little mischief, the balls mostly striking the mango trees over their heads. But when the Indians came a little nearer to the grove, the rapid fire of the English fieldpieces did great execution on their crowded and confused masses. At eleven o'clock Clive resolved to keep up his cannonade, which seemed quite sufficient to deter the enemy from a near approach, all the rest of the day, and then, when night arrived, to penetrate into the nabob's camp, these night attacks having so often been proved the best method of ruining native armies. About noon there fell a heavy shower of rain, which damaged the ammunition of the incautious Indians and thereby obliged them to slacken their fire; but. Clive's powder being well protected from the elements, his eight field-pieces in the grove kept up their fire with the greatest regularity. About the hour of noon one of his cannon-balls mortally wounded Meer Murdeen, one of the highest and best officers of the enemy; and the event greatly terrified the nabob, who was remaining in his tent at a safe distance, and who had hitherto been flattered by those who took a nearer view of the battle with the assurance that his victory was certain. But now Suraj-u-Dowlah could see nothing before him but defeat and treachery; and, sending for Meer Jaffier, he took his turban from his head and threw it on the ground, exclaiming, "Jaffier, that turban you must defend." Meer Jaffier bowed reverentially to the nabob, and to the symbol of him, the turban on the ground, and, crossing his hands on his heart, he protested he would do all that could be done for his prince. It is said that immediately after this interview Jaffier dispatched a messenger to Clive informing him of the mortal wound of the great officer, and of the nabob's fears, and advising him to make an attack on the camp three hours after midnight: but it is added that his messenger was too much afraid of the cannon-balls to venture to the English position. It appears doubtful whether such messenger was ever sent by the faltering, calculating conspirator, who was evidently determined not to commit himself on the field, or to risk anything until he should see a certainty of Clive's success. But the increasing panic of the unmanly nabob soon made that success most certain. Roydullub, who was as deep in the conspiracy as Meer Jaffier, repaired to the craven, to magnify the danger and to advise him to retreat immediately to his capital. Suraj-u-Dowlah at once gave orders for commencing the retreat, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon the firing of his great guns ceased altogether, and the long teams of white oxen were put to the cumbrous carriages to drag them off. In a short time all that host, horse and foot, was seen retreating through the camp, and nothing remained stationary on that side except the small body of French adventurers who had ensconced themselves and their field-pieces

behind the embankment of one of the tanks. To dislodge these Frenchmen, Major Kilpatrick detached himself, without orders, from the grove, with two companies and two field-pieces. When he was made aware of this unauthorized movement, Clive ran to Kilpatrick, reprimanded him, and sent him back to the grove to bring up the entire force. As soon as the English began to approach in numbers, the French, seeing that they were left without any support, hastily abandoned the tank and retreated to the rear of some intrenchments in the interior of the camp. While Clive was advancing, a great body of the nabob's cavalry appeared on his flank: these were the troops of Meer Jaffler, but they were not recognised as such by the English, for the promised white flag was not held out, nor was any other signal given or message sent. Clive, conceiving that they were manœuvring to fall upon his baggage and his rearwhich doubtless they would have done if he had been checked and beaten—detached three platoons of the line and a field-piece to stop their march, Major Grant presently fired into the mass, and Juffier, still making no sign, halted and fell back. Clive, in the mean time, had taken possession of the tank which the French had abandoned, had occupied an eminence 200 yards to the left of the tank, and was now maintaining from both these posts a warm cannonade. But the French kept their ground, some of the nabob's troops rallied, and some of his heavy guns were again loaded and pointed upon the English. Some bodies of cavalry too advanced several times as if to charge, but they were every time stopped and driven back by Clive's field-pieces. At last that great body of horse which had recently been on his flank began to move off the field without joining the rest of the nabob's army; and this convinced Clive that they were the troops of Meer Jassier, and that that conspirator was now in reality doing something, in his timid way, to settle the affair. In a few minutes Clive advanced still farther and fell upon the Frenchmen, who, finding themselves again abandoned by the natives, fled from their position, and this time left their field-pieces behind them. There was no more fighting; the nabob's tens of thousands were flying towards Moorshedabad; the whole camp, with tents, baggage, artillery, and oxen, was left in the undisputed possession of the English, whose booty upon that spot alone was of immense value. Suraj-u-Dowlah, mounted on a swift dromedary, was the foremost in the flight; he was accompanied by some 2000 horsemen, and seems never to have stopped or looked behind him till he reached his capital. Clive stated his loss at twenty-two killed and fifty wounded, and these chiefly blacks, and the loss of the enemy at about 500 killed and wounded. All of his little army, British or sepoys, had behaved with the greatest steadiness and bravery, but praise was more particularly given to the 39th regiment, which still bears on its banners the name of " Plassey," and the motto, Primus in Indis,

• Orme. — Colonel Wilkes.—Sir John Malcolm, Life of Lord I 2

The English pursued the fugitives for about six miles and then halted for the night at Daudpore, where Clive received a congratulatory letter from Meer Jaffier, who came and encamped in his neighbourhood that night. At midnight the fallen nabob 'arrived at his palace in Moorshedabad, and assembled all the officers that had escaped with him, to deliberate what next was to be done, or what means were most proper to save him from the wrath of his enemies. Some were of opinion that he ought to deliver himself up to the English and trust to the magnanimity of "The Daring in War;" and some proposed that he should dispense his treasures with a liberal hand to his officers and troops, collect all of the army that he could, place himself at the head of it, and try once more the fortune of war. He agreed, or at least seemed to agree, with these bolder advisers, whose advice in all probability sprung solely out of their desire of getting a part of his treasure; but, dismissing the council and retiring to the apartments of his women, his fears overcame him, and he made up his mind to fly from his capital. The circumstances of his flight were essentially oriental, resembling scores of other stories told of dethroned eastern princes, Indians, Persians, Saracens, or Turks. He took with him, grasped in his own hand, or hid under his own vest, a rich casket of jewels; and his chosen companions were his favourite concubine and his confidential eunuch: with no other atteudants than these, and disguised in a mean dress, he descended in the darkness of night from a window of the palace, threw himself into a boat, and ascended the river towards Patna.

On the morning of the 24th of June, the day after the battle, Meer Jaffier waited upon Clive at Daudpore to claim the musnud. Conscious how strange his conduct at Plassey must have appeared to the English, he was not without his fears and trepidations, and, when Clive's troops drew out to receive him with military honours, he fancied they intended to kill him or make him their prisoner. He started back in a cold agony, but Clive, hastily advancing to receive him, and embracing him, hailed him as Nahoh of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. His fears were then sufficiently removed to allow of an hour's consultation with the English nabobmaker, who accepted the excuses he offered, and advised him to push forward to Moorshedabad with all his horse, in order to secure the palace and the treasury of Suraj-u-Dowlah. Jaffier and his cavalry reached the capital that evening, and the English made another advance of six miles. The treasury was secured; and some elephants, loaded with gold, dresses, furniture, and women, which Suraj-u-Dowlah had sent away previously to his own flight, were overtaken and thought back to the palace. Hopes were also entertained of capturing the flying nabob himself, as troops of horse were sent in pursuit in various directions. On the 25th Clive arrived at Mandipore, and sent

to pay a congratulatory visit to Meer Jaffier, and to look after the English share of the treasure. Watts. who was at home in Moorshedabad, where he knew all classes and conditions of men, was secretly assured that the Mohammedan and Hindu conspirators were resolved to withhold the treasure from their English allies; and that Roydullub, Meeran the son of Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussein Khan, an officer of distinction, were in a new plot to assassi-Whether true or false, Mr. Watts thought fit to believe this information, and Clive thought it prudent to postpone his entry into Moorshedabad until the 29th; and when he entered he was surrounded by 200 English and 300 faithful sepoys. Moreover he took up his quarters in a strong palace, spacious enough to accommodate his 500 men. In a short time young Meeran waited upon him with all the flattery and adulation of the east; and Clive-we presume with a good escort—accompanied Meeian to pay a visit to his father. Meer Jaffier was found installed in the royal palace, in the splendid hall where Suraj-u-Dowlah had been wont to give audience. The musnud, or throne, was at the top of that hall, and Clive, perceiving that Jaffier kept at a distance from the regal scat, took him by the hand, led him up the hall, and seated him upon the musnud. That ancient maker and unmaker of kings, the gaunt Earl of Warwick, never displayed more might, dignity, and decision. When Juffier was thus put in his pride of place, Clive completed the eastern ceremony by presenting to him, on a golden platter, a heap of gold rupees, and then all present prostrated themselves before Juffier as their lawful sovereign. The next morning the new nabob paid a visit to the English commander and entered upon the delicate subject of the division of the spoils. He protested there was not money enough left in Suraj-u-Dowlah's treasury to pay what the English demanded, and what had been stipulated for in the treaty between them; but he assured Clive at the same time that he was most anxious to satisfy him, and that he would pay the full amount if time were allowed him. In order to come to some definitive arrangement, and to obtain security from the only men capable of giving it, Clive proposed that they should repair together to the residence of the seits, or great Hindu bankers, who had nearly all been concerned in the conspiracy against Suraj-u-Dowlah. Meer Jassier consented, and they went immediately to the seits, Clive being followed by Omichund, who fancied that he was higher than ever in the Englishman's favour, and that the moment was now at hand when he should receive some of his lacs of rupees. But, on arriving at the seits, Omichund was not invited to a seat on the curpet with the other Hindu capitalists, and, somewhat disconcerted and dismayed by this slight, he sat himself down among his servants near the outer part of the hall. The white or real treaty, containing all the stipulations and the sums and proportions agreed

Messrs. Watts and Walsh, with an escort of sepoys,

Clive. Clive's own account of the battle, in a letter to the secret committee, as given by Malcolm,—Edinburgh Review.

upon, was now produced; and Clive, turning to Mr. Scrafton, who was in attendance with Mr. Watts, said, " It is now time to undecrive Omichund." Scrafton, who spoke the language of the country well, went up to the Hindu, who rose at his approach, and said-" Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing!" The old man staggered as if struck by a thunderbolt, and, fainting, would have fallen to the earth if his attendants had not caught him in their arms. He was conveyed to his palanquin and carried to his house in the city, where he lay for several hours insensible and speechless. His intellect, once so keen, never made more than a partial return: Clive recommended, what was a common cure for grief and sickness among the Hindus, a pilgrimage to some famed pagoda or temple; the old man went to one of the most celebrated of all these shrines, but he returned uncured; he fell into a state of idiocy, and died about a year and a half after receiving the mortal shock. His deathlike swoon and departure from the hall of the seits occasioned no emotion there; and the contracting parties to the white treaty calmly settled their money affairs. The treaty, as written in Persian and English, was read, and, after much conversation, it was settled, that one half of the sum promised the English should be paid immediately in coin, plate, and jewels taken out of the treasury; and that the other half should be discharged in three years by equal annual instalments; that Roydullub should receive the five per cent. which had been promised to Omichund, &c. On the 2nd of July, two days after this conference, Meer Juffier received the glad tidings that Suraj-u-Dowlah had been taken at Rajahmahal, through the information of a poor fakeer or dervish who had recognised him in his disguise, having had good reason to remember the person of the tyrant, inasmuch as he had been deprived of his ears about thirteen months before by order of this nabob. This earless wight led a brother of Meer Jaffier, who was residing at Rajahmahal, to the fugitive's hiding-place, and Suraj-u-Dowlah was seized and hastily conveyed by a strong guard. back to Moorshedabad. At the hour of midnight he was brought like a felon into the presence of Meer Jaffier, in the palace which had so recently been his own. He behaved in the most abject manner, crawling in the dust of the new nabob's feet, weeping and praying for mercy. It is said that Meer Juffier, moved both by contempt and pity, intended to spare his life, but that Meeran, his son, as vile and ferocious a scoundrel as the fallen nabob, insisted that he ought to be put to death to render the musnud and his succession to it the more secure. The victim was carried off by the soldiers to a distant chamber, the vilest in the palace, and there secured with a guard at the door. Before the day dawned Meeran sent a trusty ser-. vant and assassin to the chamber with an order to the guard to make an end of the prisoner. As the door flew open Suraj-u-Dowlah saw the intention, and fell into an agony of fear and horror. When

he could speak he implored for a short respite to make his ablutions like a true Mussulman, and say his prayers, in order that his soul might not perish with his body. There chanced to be a pot of water close at hand, and the guards took it and emptied it on his head, and while the water was trickling to the earth Meeran's servant plunged a dagger into his body. The soldiers finished the butchery with their swords, and in the course of the following day the mangled remains of Suraj-u-Dowlah were exposed on an elephant in the streets of Moorshedabad, and then deposited in the tomb of his predecessor, Aliverdy Khan. His stormy career had been very short, for he was only twenty years old when it ended. Meeran, his murderer, was still younger, being only in his seventeenth or eighteenth year.

M. Law, on receiving Suraj-u-Dowlah's last summons, had commenced his march back to Moorshedabad, but, upon receiving intelligence of the battle of Plassey, he stopped short when within twenty miles of the place where the fugitive nabob was taken. If the Frenchman had continued his march for a single day he might have met and saved the nabob. Law soon got the news of the capture and death of the wretched man, upon which he retreated with all speed into Bahar, intending to offer his services to Ramnarrain, the vice-nabob of the province, and a Hindu who was supposed to have been greatly attached to Suraj-This movement excited alarm in the new government at Moorshedabad, and Clive readily agreed to send troops in pursuit of the dangerous Frenchman, Meer Jastier being afraid to trust his own army. Coote was appointed to the command of this flying column, which consisted of 230 Europeans, 300 sepoys, 50 Lascars, and 2 field-pieces. The baggage, stores, carriages, ammunition, and provisions were to be conveyed up the river in boats; but there was so much difficulty and delay, that the column could not begin its march till the 6th of July, when Law had got half way to Patna. Coote encountered many difficulties; through want of a sufficient number of boutmen he was often obliged to wait for the boats; it was the 10th of July ere he reached Rajahmahal, and the boats did not arrive till the Meer Jaffier's brother, who commanded in that district, would afford the English no assistance. Coote was detained here three days, and it was the 18th before he reached Boglipore, a place about 105 miles from Moorshedabad. Continuing to advance, though with little hope of overtaking Law, who was reported to be beyond Patna, Coote on the 21st reached Monghir, expecting to be received as a friend; but, seeing the garrison standing by their guns with lighted matches, he made a circuit and avoided the place. On the 23rd he arrived at Burhai, and, landing his fieldpieces and ammunition, he marched the same evening six miles farther. On the following day the English soldiers, worn out by heat and fatigue, were almost in a state of open mutiny. Coote

ordered them all into the boats, and with the sepoys alone pushed on to the town of Bahar. On the 25th, while the English were still following in the alow boats, which were towed against the stream by natives pressed into that service, Coote and the sepoys entered Futwah, which was only seven miles from Patna. Here he received letters and a deputation from Ramnarrain, who endeavoured to excuse himself for having permitted M. Law to escape through his territories. He declared that he had acknowledged and proclaimed Meer Jaffier as rightful nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar; and, as a matter of course, he professed the greatest friendship for the English. Yet the deputation charged with these compliments and congratulations were ordered to ascertain Coote's strength and situation, with the view of surprising and destroying him. On the very next day the sepoys by land and the English in the hoats arrived at Patna and quartered themselves in the company's factory, a spacious building just outside the western wall of the city. Coote would have immediately waited upon Ramnarrain, but he received a message from that chief begging him to take rest and defer his visit till the morrow. In the evening two or three of the English who were leading their cattle to the water-side were, without any provocation, assaulted by some peons belonging to the garrison. Coote complained of these outrages, but Ramnarrain gave him no satisfaction, and requested him not to pay his visit on the morrow, lest quarrels should arise between his people and the English. Moreover, one of Coote's officers, who was supposed not to understand the language, overheard two native chiefs discussing a project for massacring the English detachment. The next day Coote found an opportunity of conferring with some of the relations of Meer Jaffier, who assured him that Ramnarrain was seeking to compass his destruction, and to establish himself as an independent power in Bahar; that he expected assistance from the neighbouring nabob of Oude; that he had sent M. Law into Oude, with recommendations to that court, to wait until the new confederacy should be ready. This information determined Coote to press forward to the frontier of Qude. Every obstacle was thrown in his way by Ramnarrain, who pretended all the time to be anxious to promote the expedition; and a large body of troops who hovered on the line of Coote's march wore so dubious an aspect that it was difficult to know whether they were friends or foes. Coote, however, on the 1st of August, reached a small town situated at the confluence of the Sona and Ganges. Three days were spent in ferrying the troops, bullocks, and begrage across the broad river; and on the 5th the detachment was assembled at Chuprah, where Coote was informed that Law had reached Benares, more than 140 miles off. Further pursuit was utterly hopeless, nor was it considered prudent to cross the frontier of the powerful ruler of Oude with so small a force, exhausted by fatigue and deprived

of many of their materials of war by the sinking of some of the boats. Coote, therefore, rested at Chuprah, where, on the 12th of August, he received a letter from Clive, ordering him to return, and, if possible, to deprive Ramnarrain of the government of Bahar on his way back. The rapid stream of the Ganges, which had so impeded the boats on their way up, proportionately favoured their descent; and, embarking his troops, Coote glided down to Patna in one short day. There he would have assaulted Ramnarrain in the citadel, but this bold measure was opposed by Meer Jaffier's brother; and in a few days Meer Jaffier himself changed his mind, began to suspect his own relations of aiming at a separate sovereignty in Bahar, and instructed or implored Coote to treat Ramnarrain with kindness and consideration, and enter into arrangements with him. A conference was, therefore, held in Patna, and Rammarrain swore, in the Hindu fashion, to be true to Meer Jaffier. Other solemn vows were made by other parties, every one of them intending to break their oaths as soon as they should find a litting opportunity. On the 7th of September Coote, leaving all quiet at Paina, re-embarked his detachment on the Ganges, and in seven days reached Moorshe-

In the mean time—on the 6th of July—Clive and the English committee had obtained payment, in coined silver, of 7,271,666 rupees, amounting in English money to 800,000l, in addition to which Clive had taken or accepted from Meer Juffier, as his own private reward, about 200,000/. sterling, or, according to his own statement, about 160,000/. The money filled 700 chests, embarked in 100 boats, which proceeded under the care of soldiers to Nudea, whence they were escorted to Fort William by all the boats of the English squadron, with banners flying and must bunding—a scene of triumph and joy, and a remarkable contrast to the scene of the preceding year, when Suraj-u-Dowlah had ascended the same stream triumphant from the conquest and plunder of Calcutta. Between the 9th and 30th of August the company received in gold, jewels, and cash, 3,255,095 rupees. other advantages which the new nabob had promised the English were, a right to establish a mint of their own at Calcutta; the entire expulsion of the French for ever, and the delivery to the company of their factories and effects; the entire property of all lands within the Mahratta ditch at Calcutta to be vested in the company; also 600 yards all round without the said ditch; the cession of all the land in the neighbourhood of Calcutta that lay between the river, the lake, and Calpee, the company paying the usual rent to the nabob; and full freedom of trade throughout the three provinces, except that the old prohibition against their trading in salt, betel, and some other commodities was to remain in force. As the trade

One of the first uses Clive made of his wealth was to bestow an annuty of 3000. on his old commander Laurence, who had grown old in the service without growing rich.

in salt was very profitable, some of the English at Calcutta endeavoured to obtain at least a part of it; and before Meer Jaffier had been many weeks on the musuud he complained that the treaty had

been infringed in this particular.

The company's mint at Calcutta began to coin rupees by the 19th of August. Three days before this, Admiral Watson, who had so materially contributed to the success of the war, died of a jungle fever. Clive remained with the committee at Moorshedabad to press the nabob for more money, the great payment already made not amounting to the promised half, and the time fixed for the first instalment of the second half being near at hand. Meer Jaffier and his son had imagined that the private gratifications given to the English commander would render him less active and severe as to the public account, but Clive let them know that they must pay punctually all that they had agreed to pay, and he also insisted, in the tone of a muster, that they must observe the treaty in every other respect, and by no means deprive the chiefs who had been parties to it of any of their places, emoluments, or promised rewards. The new nabob was already plotting against the said chiefs and the Hindu bankers, being eager to destroy and plunder those who had helped to raise him. Almost immediately after Coote's return from Patna, Clive repaired to Calcutta, leaving Mesers. Watts, Scrafton, and Maningham to transact the company's affairs at Moorshedabad. Coote's detachment was quartered at Cossimbuzar; and the rest of the troops who had fought at Plassey, and conquered a country more extensive and more populous than the whole of Great Britain, were sent down the river and quartered at Chandernagore, a place then considered more healthy than Culcutta. Clive was received with wonderful acclamations, and he witnessed the effects of his achievements in the restoration of commerce, confidence, and prosperity.

For some time, while Clive was changing nabobs and rooting out the French in Bengal, his countrymen on the Coromandel coast endeavoured to preserve a truce with the French at Pondicherry. The presidency of Madras, which had dispatched most of the troops and ships to co-operate on the Hooghly, instructed Captain Calliaud, who remained with Mohammed Ali in Trichinopoly, not to engage in any warlike operations. But when they received intelligence of some of the successes obtained in Bengal, and perceived that the French in the Carnatic were receiving no reinforcement, they resolved to make an attempt upon Madura, and to try all the means in their power to subject the whole country to their ally, who was now greatly embarrassed by the rebellion of two of his younger brothers. Captain Calliaud was ordered to march to Madura; and he took the road accordingly, though much distressed by want of money. Reaching Madura, Calliaud made an unsuccessful attempt on the place, and before he could repeat the assault he was recalled to Trichi-

nopoly by information that the French were showing themselves in that neighbourhood: this was on the 21st of May (1757). He instantly made up his mind to leave tents, baggage, and artillery behind him, and to fly to the relief of Trichinopoly, which was garrisoned by 150 European infantry, 15 artillerymen, 700 sepoys, 600 men furnished by a Hindu chief of Tanjore, and about 400 worthless fellows belonging to Mohammed Ali. According to Orme, these auxiliaries were fit for nothing but night-watches, and not even fit for that without being watched themselves. There were no fewer than 500 French prisoners within the walls. who had found means to maintain a correspondence with their countrymen outside, and who were prepared to rise upon the garrison. The besieging army, which had commenced operations several days before Captain Calliaud received the letter at Madura, consisted of 1000 Europeans, intentry and artillery, 150 European cavalry, and 3000 sepoys, supported by several field-pieces, all under the command of M. d'Auteuil. Pondicherry had been lest with scarcely any garrison, and vast exertions and sacrifices had been made in the hope that Trichinopoly might be taken while Calliaud was away at Madura. D'Auteuil threw shot and shell into the town during four successive days, and then summoned it in form. The English officer in command replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity. It was expected that d'Auteurl would attempt a storm, but he remained quiet behind his batteries; and a day or two after, Calliand, with admirable rapidity and skill, reached the vicinity, completely deceived the French as to the path he intended to take, turned the long lines drawn out to intercept him without receiving a shot, got between the besiegers and the besieged. and finally entered Trichinopoly in triumph; but so exhausted by the continual fatigues he had undergone that he could no longer walk or stand without support. His arrival was announced to the French by a discharge of twenty-one cannon. D'Auteuil raised the siege the same day and retreated to Seringham, whence he soon withdrew to Pondacherry, mortified and humiliated in no common degree. After his retreat the war again languished in the Carnatic until the French, by an unexpected movement, took the important English factory of Vizagapatam. While the presidency of Madras were demanding money from Mohammed Ali by letters and messengers, Bajee Row's Mahrattas burst into the country to exact at the sword's point tribute or black mail from the same poor potentate. The nabob bought them off for the present with 200,000 rupees; but this made him so much the less able to pay his debts to the English, whose treasury was almost empty. But worse followed; for Mohammed Ali, besides the 200,000 rupees in hand, had promised the Mahrattas 250,000 more in future; and he pretended that the English should furnish this sum out of the rents of the lands he had assigned to them for their services in catablishing his authority. This demand was at first met

by the presidency with anger, and a resolution to resist it. Morari Row, and the chiefs of some of the other Mahratta tribes, offered to assist the English; but their services would have cost as much as the sum in dispute, and their return into the country would have been a fresh scourge, and a new cause of impoverishment. The English, says Orme, "had no alternative but to pay or fight." For fighting they had not men enough, and for paying they had not money enough; but the credit of the company was known even in the camps of the wild Mahrattas, and when the English consented to pay they agreed to take part of the amount in coin and part in bills.

In the month of September a squadron of twelve ships appeared off Fort St. David. The English authorities in the fort sent off a gentleman to congratulate the admiral on his safe arrival, and to deliver a letter containing some necessary and important information. When the messenger got near to the ships he discovered that they were not English, but French-it was too late to retreat—he concealed the letter, went on board, and was made prisoner. This French fleet was commanded by M. Bouvet, who enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best naval officers of France; and it had on board 20 pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls, the regiment of Lorrainc, nearly 1000 strong, 50 artillerymen, and 60 volunteers; the troops being under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. Four of the fleet were 60-gun ships, two carried 50 guns each, three others varied from 36 to 22 guns each, and there were two sloops of war of 16 guns each, and a bomb-ketch. The English from Fort St. David saw these ships repair to Pondicherry and there land the troops; this was on the 9th of September; and a day or two after the whole fleet disappeared, leaving the English much perplexed as to its next destination and object. The fact was, the mishap of the messenger had had the most happy and unexpected consequences; for, whilst the marquis was deciding how to attack Fort St. David by sea and land, Bouvet discovered the letter which the messenger had concealed, and this epistle upset the whole scheme, for the council of Fort St. David mentioned in it that Admiral Watson, with his fleet from the Hooghly, was expected on the coast by the middle of September. as Bouvet apprehended that the junction of Watson with some English ships already on the coast would form a force superior to his own, he determined to fly while there was yet time; and in so great a hurry was he, that he would not even wait to land the heavy artillery and heavy ammunition which he had brought, for the landing must have occupied some time, and then the taking in of ballast would have occupied more. Crowding all the canvass he bore away for the Mauritius or Bourbonflying from Watson, who had been nearly a month in his winding-sheet, and whose fleet, under the command of Rear-admiral Pococke, was still in the Hooghly. On the very day on which Bouvet took

his departure, Captain Calliaud took Madura by making a fresh expedition from Trichinopoly, and by carrying a military chest, well filled, with him. One hundred and seventy thousand rupees was the price paid to the native chiefs and garrison for the surrender of this important place, the possession of which was of the highest importance to the English interests in Coromandel. Calliaud moreover succeeded in detaching many of the petty chiefs from the French, and in inducing turbulent tribes in the woods and hills to recognise the authority of Mohammed Ali. On the other side, however, the French, reinforced as they had been, were not inactive, or without triumphs and successes. Their dread of the arrival of Watson's fleet deterred them from attacking Fort St. David; and, as the Marquis de Soupires's orders forbade his engaging in any distant expedition, they could not try their fortunes again at Trichinopoly: they therefore confined their operations to the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar, where they took Chitteput, and two or three other inferior forts garrisoned by natives. Little else occurred during the remainder of the year, except a quarrel between the mother and brother of Mohammed Ali and the commandant of the English garrison at Arcot, who suspected that those near relations of the nabob were conspiring against him and the English. The commandant, after exercising some very arbitrary authority and giving mortal offence to the nabob's brother, was recalled by the presidency, and succeeded by a more prudent officer.

As soon as war had been declared in Europe the government of Louis XV. had commenced preparations for a formidable expedition to the east; and the arrival of a great armament was now daily expected at Pondicherry. It was not, however, until the 28th of April, 1758, that a squadron of twelve ships reached that coast. The ships were communded by Count d'Aché, and they had on board a regiment of infantry nearly 1100 strong, a corps of artillerymen, and a number of officers of distinction, all under the command of Count Lally, a veteran officer of Irish extraction, who had been all his life in the service of France, and who had fought against the English at Fontenoy. So high did Lally stand at this time, that he had been appointed governor-general, with the most extraordinary powers, over all the French possessions and establishments in India. The court of Versailles confidently anticipated that this new force being added to the troops under the Marquis de Soupires would be sufficient to clear the whole Coromandel coast of the English, and restore the supremacy of the French in the Carnatic. In compliance with the orders and instructions laid down for him, Lally was to commence operations by the reduction of Fort St. David. He dropped into Pondicherry with two of the ships, and d'Aché repaired at once to Fort St. David, where two English frigates, the only ships on the station, were run ashore and wrecked to prevent their being captured. The French ships anchored two miles to

the southward, off Cuddalore, and waited there till troops from Pondicherry should invest the fort by land. But on the very next day Admiral Pococke, who some time before had brought Watson's squadron round to Ceylon, stood into the road and brought M. d'Aché to action. The English squadron was inferior in number; some of the ships were foul and damaged, and scarcely fit for service; some of the captains misunderstood the various signals made by the admiral; and in one or two instances the signals could not be obeyed through the unmanageableness of the ships. Nevertheless Pococke inflicted a severe blow on the French, the end of the drawn battle being the loss of 500 in killed and wounded on their side; while the English counted only twenty-nine killed and eightynine wounded. One of d'Ache's ships, the 'Bienaime,' was stranded after the battle in consequence of damage done by English shot to her cables. Pococke's ships, however, had suffered greatly in their spars and rigging, and, in the various manœuvres which followed the battle, they drifted to leeward, and the French were enabled to come to anchor in the night in the road of Alamparva. Before the seafight began, some of the French troops from Pondicherry, hurried on by the impetuous Lally, without baggage, and even provisions, got to the rear of Fort St. David and drove in some English outposts. On the following day, the 30th of April, the Marquis de Soupires joined them with more troops, some heavy cannon, found in Pondicherry, and a convoy of provisions. On the 1st of May, Lally, escorted by some French cavalry, arrived in person, and detached Count d'Estaign to take up a position near Cuddalore, which was no stronger now than when attacked twelve years before by M. Dupleix, which was garrisoned by four com-panies of sepoys and a few artillerymen, and which, to add to the precariousness of its situation, contained within its walls 150 French prisoners. In the evening this very weak garrison was reinforced from Fort St. David by thirty Europeans and a few lascars. But Cuddalore was not defensible, and could not have been held for any length of time even by a much stronger garrison; and, after a conference, Major Polier, the commandant of Fort St. David, agreed to evacuate it in four days, the troops being allowed to retire with the honours of war, with their arms and ammunition, to Fort St. David, and the French prisoners to be sent to another part of the coast and there to remain neutral. M. Lally, who knew nothing of India or of the strange and complex nature of Indian society, and who was too hot-headed and presumptuous to be guided by those who had more knowledge, created the greatest disgust by forcibly employing different castes of the natives in labours to which they had never been accustomed, and which they considered derogatory to their condition and dishonourable to the castes to which they belonged. The more rigour he exercised the greater became the diffi-culty of getting any work done. The sepoys and VOL. II.

all others who did not belong to the very lowest castes would neither dig in the trenches nor drive the trains, and when Lally threatened or punished them they deserted. Thus no ground was broken, and the heavy artillery and stores, though they had only a few miles to traverse, were brought up very slowly. But M. d'Aché contrived to lend assistance by water; he landed troops and cannon at the mouth of the river Panaur, about a mile to the north of the fort, and on the 15th Lally opened a fire upon the garrison from an unfinished battery and from a great distance. It was not by means like these that Fort St. David, now regularly fortified on all sides and defended by a garrison of 619 Europeans, * 1600 natives, sepoys, lascars, and Topasses, could be reduced. But on the 16th Lally opened another battery from the ramparts of Cuddalore, and brought two or three guns to bear from points nearer at hand; and on that night a general assault was made upon the English outworks, some of which were carried. On the 17th Lally began to break ground, and, forcing his people to labour during the scorching heat of the day as well as during the night, he had a great trench finished by the night of the 19th. On the 20th he made another trench and repaired a bridge which crossed a canal. During five days he erected several other batteries, and girded the fort with more trenches. Meanwhile, through a defective discipline and some other faults, imputable to the officers in command, great desertions had taken place among the natives from the garrison. A great absurdity was also committed in keeping up a continual fire from the fort, wasting gunpowder and shot, ruining many of the gun-carriages, shaking the walls, and doing very little mischief to the French. On the 30th the French had advanced their trenches to within 200 yards of the glacis, and opened three more batteries. Just as their fire became most terrible, the English found that they had consumed nearly all their gunpowder, and that the French bombs, by injuring the reservoirs, had left them scarcely any water to drink. As their only hope, they looked seaward for Admiral Pococke's squadron. Baffled by contrary winds and currents, and then by dead calms, it was the 28th of May before Pococke could reach the road, and then he saw d'Ache's whole squadron lying at anchor at Pondicherry. M. d'Aché, who, besides the wounded in the late action, had a great many sick on board, was of opinion that his ships should be anchored near to each other, and close in shore, so as to have the support of the land batteries; but Lally, hurrying round from Fort St. David, insisted that the squadron ought to stand out and fight the English in the open sea. Taking therefore on board 400 Europeans and about as many sepoys and lascars, d'Aché weighed anchor on the 31st; but, instead of bearing down upon Pococke, who could not possibly work up to him, he kept cautiously to the windward, with the evident determi-

Of this number 83 were sick, 286 were effective, and 250 were scamen, the crews of the two frigates which had run ashore on the appearance of the French squadron.

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tation of avoiding a combat. But Pococke could no more reach Fort St. David than he could reach d'Ache; the 'Cumberland,' one of the worst of his bad ships, kept falling away to leeward, and in looking after her his whole force drifted down to Alamparva, where, on the 5th of June, he was told that Fort St. David had capitulated. Major Polier, who had acted so imprudently that his ammunition was all expended when most needed, had indeed capitulated on the 2nd. In the evening a company of French grenadiers were admitted within the fort, and the garrison marched with drums and colours to the foot of the glacis and surrendered themselves to the French line drawn up to receive them. They were, with all convenient speed, conducted to Pondicherry, where it was stipulated they should remain until an equal number of French prisoners were delivered there, when the English were to be sent to Madras, or Devi-Cottah, at the option of M. Lally, who rejected the proposal that Fort St. David should not be demolished during the war, and, in consequence of instructions from France, immediately ordered all the fortifications to be razed to the ground.* Lally next determined to obtain possession of Devi-Cottah, and he immediately detached M. d'Estaing in that direction with a considerable force, which was however reduced on the march by the frequent desertion of the sepoys. The garrison of Devi-Cottah, which consisted of only thirty English and 600 sepoys, abandoned the place at his approach, and marched away for Trichinopoly. After the capture of Devi-Cottah, Lally marched his army from Fort St. David back to Pondicherry, entered that city, where pompous preparations had been ordered, in a triumphant procession, and celebrated a Te Deum for his successes. But he had scarcely done praising the Lord ere he began quarrelling with the gentlemen of the council, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, which scriously impeded his future operations. He thus early prepared a strife and a hatred which in the end brought him to a lamentable death; and he accused powerful and resentful men of having appropriated the public money to their own use. If he could have found rupees he would have proceeded immediately against Madras, for Polier's wretched defence of Fort St. David had given him a mean opinion of the military prowess of the English in India, and led him to anticipate an easy victory. In rummaging the exhausted treasury of Pondicherry he discovered a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which had been given by the rajah of Tanjore to Chunda Saheb, and by Chunda Saheb to the French, in satisfaction for some of the various claims which they had upon him. Lally determined to enforce payment of this bond, and taking the field he advanced towards Tanjore, with one in his camp that had pretension to the sovereignty of the country. † The march was long,

* Orme.

† "The French," says Orme, "had found in Fort St. David a prisoner of greater consequence than they expected; his name was Gatica: he was nacle to the deposed king of Tanjers, whose presensions the English asserted in 1749, when they entered the country and took Devi-Cottah. The king then and now reigning, when he coded this place to them in propriety, stipulated, by a secret article, that

and the disposition of the country people everywhere unfavourable, for the treatment which Lally had given the natives at the siege of Fort St. David had revolted their prejudices. No bullock men or market people would follow him except by compulsion, and every act of compulsion tended to spread and increase the ill-will against him. His want of money and almost total want of provisions, even at the beginning of the march, induced him to rob and plunder; and the French soldiery, when once they got accustomed to these operations, considered everything as their own that they could seize or extort at the point of the sword. A regiment of hussars was constantly employed in cattle-lifting, and the unfortunate natives saw their cows and their oxen driven into the French camp, where no price was ever paid, or even promised. The effect of this, however, was slight and trivial, compared to the excitement produced by the outrages the French offered to the women and to the Brahmins. seven days Lally reached Karical, which he reinforced, as the French there were apprehensive of an attack by Pococke's squadron. He then proceeded to what had been recently the rich and thriving town of Nagore, in the hope of getting a great booty and contribution in money. But the native merchants, warned in time, had carried off their money and jewels, and they offered little for the redemption of their houses. The French hussars were, therefore, let loose on the defenceless town, with the understanding and regular bargain that Lally was to have a large share of the spoils. The Hiberno-Frenchman then applied, in a peremptory manner, to the Dutch at Negapatam, to supply his wants in money, ammunition, and provisions; and the Dutch, awed by his power, sent him 20,000 pounds of gunpowder, declaring that money they had none, but that as to provisions the French commissaries might purchase them in their territor. Acting under the same fears, the Danes, who had a small settlement on the coast, sent him 10,000 pounds of gunpowder and six small field-picces. On the line of march stood the pagoda of Kivalore, which Lally believed to contain great riches. Here he halted, ransacked the place and the houses of the Brahmins, dragged the tanks and got possession of a number of idols; but to his bitter disappointment these figures instead of being of gold were of brass, and as no treasures could be found above ground, or under ground, or in the water, he incurred a horrible odium without any profit. On the following day he reached another pagoda from which the priests had all fled; but perceiving in the evening that some of the Brahmins had come back, and were looking about them and asking questions, he chose to consider them as

they should prevent this pretender from giving any molestation in future; to insure which it was necessary to secure his person; but he withdraw himself out of their reach; however, being in possession of his uncle, who was the leading man of the party, and had entirely managed his nephtow, they detained him a prisonor, but under an easy confinements, within the fort, where he remained until fasted by the fall of the place to be employed by the French with the same views as nine years before by the English; and Garles was now produced at Pondickerry with sauch estentision and estenaony, in order to excite the approhensions of the king, that the pretender himself would appear and accompany the French army, whem asvertheless they did not proclaim."

spies, and he put six of them to death by blowing them off from the mouths of his field-pieces. He then went on to Trivatore, where he remained till the 12th of July, employing his well-practised hussars in scouring the neighbouring country and seizing the cattle, part of which were consumed in his camp and part sent down to the towns on the sea-coast to be sold for the benefit of the army. On the 18th, Lally halted near to the walls of the city of Tanjore, and sent in one of his captains and a Jesuit, called Father Esteban, to demand the full amount of the bond. The rajah offered 300,000 rupers. Lally then said that he would consent to take 1,000,000 in money, if the rajah would add to it 600 bullocks and 10,000 pounds of gunpowder. The raigh would not comply with these terms; and therefore Lally began to throw shot and shell at the temples and pagodas, and such other buildings in the town as towered above the walls. He also continued the work of cattle-lifting in the open country, sending droves upon droves down to Carical and Pondicherry. The rajah, in a few days, made overtures for a peaceful accommodation, and sent 50,000 rupees to the French general to prove the sincerity of his intentions. A treaty was commenced, in which the Hindu prince endeavoured to dupe the French, and they him. In the mean time English assistance had been called for, and 600 sepoys, sent by Major Calliaud from Trichinopoly, were on their march to Tanjore. After an infinitude of manœuvres on both sides, Lally broke off the negotiation, denounced the most implacable vengeance against the city and the whole kingdom, swore he would send the rajah and his family to the Mauritius as slaves; and he erected two batteries, with which, on the 2nd of August, he began to ply the walls of Tanjore where they were weakest. After five days' firing, a breach was made; but by this time Lally had burned nearly all his gunpowder, and notwithstanding all the cattle-lifting he had not provisions for more than two days. The country people, driven to desperation by the losses and insults they had sustained, were continually cutting off stragglers and small detachments, and masses of Tanjore cavalry, that gave no quarter, had thrown themselves between Lally and the places from which alone he could expect supplies. On the 8th of August Lally's uncasiness was increased by intelligence that another engagement had taken place between the French and English squadrons, and that the English ships were menacing Carical, where the French squadron had not been heard of since the engagement. Quite crest-fullen, he summoned a council of war: ten of his officers recommended an immediate retreat, and only two an immediate assault and storm. On the same day the sick and wounded were sent away under the escort of 150 Europeans, and preparations were made for a general decampment on the morrow. In the course of the night the English sepoys from Trichinopoly entered the town. Early the next morning the sepoys joined the Tanjorians in a

sortie and general attack on the French camp, while bodies of Tanjore horse, and swarms of country people, and wild coolies from the hills. made some attempts on the French rear. Lally had several hair-breadth escapes; at one moment he was nearly blown into the air by the explosion of a tumbril of gunpowder, at another he was nearly cut down by a scimitar, and he was actually knocked down and trampled upon by some of the rajah's cavalry. Three of his cannon were taken, and a considerable number of his men killed in the first surprise. But when the French recovered their presence of mind, and formed in good compact order, they were too much for the Tanjorians; and the English sepoys, left without proper support, were compelled to abandon the three guns they had taken, and to retreat into the town with no other prizes than one elephant and two camels. The French now spiked their heavy guns, threw the shot into wells, and destroyed a considerable part of their baggage: and then, in the darkness of night, they marched away in all haste from the walls of Tanjore, pestered in their retreat by the peasantry and by the Tanjore horse, and half famished and half crazed with thirst. The retreat was most disastrous till they got to Trivatore; and, if the native cavalry had not left off pursuing when their pursuit ought to have been the hottest, their sufferings and losses must have been greatly increased. On his road between Trivatore and Carical, Lally was informed that the French squadron had returned to its anchorage at Pondicherry, but that M. d'Aché was determined to sail for the Mauritius or Bourbon without seeking any further action with Pococke. Lally in a fury sent the Count d'Estaing to remonstrate, to persuade, to threaten, to do everything in his power to make the French admiral stay where he was. On the 18th of August, Lally and his army reached Karical, and saw the English squadron at anchor not far from that town. The engagement between the hostile squadrons, reported to Lally while at Tanjore, had been a closer and hotter affair than the former encounter, and d'Aché at the end of it had run before the wind and escaped, though with two or three of his ships much shattered in their hulls. The French had lost in killed and wounded from 500 to 600 men. while the English loss is stated to have been only 31 killed and 166 wounded; but, as in the former affair, the English ships had suffered most in their masts and rigging. Both Admiral Pococke and M. d'Ache were wounded by splinters; and Commodore Stevens was wounded in the shoulder by a musket-ball fired by a French officer, who was seen taking a deliberate aim. In both these engagements Pococke's force was inferior, and d'Ache, after the experience he had had, felt no desire to wait till reinforcements, which he believed were expected, should give the English a superiority of force, or replace two of their very bad ships by two good ones. And it was all in vain that d'Estaing entreated, and Lally reproached and threatened:he insisted that he had done all that could reasonably be expected from him, and that he must be gone. Having left Karical and crossed the Colerison, Lally quitted the army, and with an escort rode rapidly to Pondicherry, where he arrived on the 28th of August, and instantly summoned a council with the view of stopping the anxious admiral. The council agreed with him that the success of the intended expedition against Madras must depend in good part on the co-operation of the squadron, and joined him in appeals and remonstrances: but d'Aché declared that his ships were greatly disabled, and his crews much reduced by the combats and by sickness; and on the 2nd of September he took his departure for Mauritius.

The ill-humour of Lally, always attended by violence and imprudence, was heightened by his continual want of money, and by the squadron having failed a few weeks before in intercepting two of the company's ships that were bound to Madras with a good round sum on board. To obtain the nerves of war he resolved, before proceeding on his grand object, the siege of Mudras, to make a predatory excursion to Arcot, which was defended only by a few English sepoys and some detachments of Mohammed Ali's cowardly cavalry. But, to make his journey the surer, Lally, by means of the son of the late Chunda Saheb, made a bargain beforchand with the commander of the native troops, who agreed to deliver up the place for 13,000 rupees and employment with the French army. Capturing on his way three or four minor forts, Lally reached Arcot on the 4th of October, and, finding that capital of the Carnatic open to him, he entered with his accustomed pomp and parade, in the midst of long salvos of artillery, wherein was wasted much gunpowder, which, in the state of his finances, he ought to have husbanded. But fresh disappointments awaited this gold-seeker; -all the merchants and wealthier inhabitants had departed before his arrival, and even the poorer sort had concealed their money and most valuable effects. "His late acquisitions," says Orme, "had not hitherto reimbursed the expenses of the field, nor established his credit to borrow; so that his treasury could barely supply the pay of the soldiers, and could not provide the other means of putting his army into motion, and all that the government of Pondicherry could immediately furnish was 10,000 ru-pees." On his advance he might have taken the important English fort and possession at Chingleput by a coup de main; but he had most imprudently neglected the opportunity, and whilst he was parading at Arcot the government of Madras found means to reinforce the place, and his want of money and of time now prevented his making any attempt on Chingleput. Distributing his troops into cantonments, Lally himself returned aroundicherry, to blame every body and every thing except his own folly and presumption. On his first arrival in the country he had determined to be sole hero in India; and as soon as he had reduced Fort St. David he recalled M. Bussy from the Deccan, speaking contemptuously of the character and ex-

ploits of that truly remarkable man. Bussy had hitherto been left by the French court with the mere rank of a lieutenant-colonel, so that not only Lally and Soupires, but also six or seven other officers recently arrived from France, ignorant of India and its concerns, and in other essentials his inferiors, were above him in rank, and he was liable to be put under the orders of any one of them. But all these French officers were not animated by the same low spirit as Lally. "The colonels," says Orme, "sensible of the advantages that might be derived from his abilities and his experience and reputation in the country, and how much the opportunities would be precluded by the present inferiority of his rank, signed a declaration, requesting on these considerations he might be appointed a brigadicr-general, in supercession to themselves, which would place him next in command to M. Soupires. The public zeal which dictated this request conferred as much honour on those who made it, as their testimony on M. Bussy. Their names, highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descentd'Estaing, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Breteuil, Verdiere, and Crillon. M. Lally could make no objection, but with his usual asperity imputed the compliment to the influence of M. Bussy's money, instead of his reputation." Lally was a loud and bold talker, he made no secret of his sentiments, and Bussy would have been no Frenchman if he had not resented with vivacity these various attacks on his fame. Ill assorted and ill agreed, with rancorous feelings on both sides, they were to proceed together to capture Madras and root out the English power on the Coromandel coast, even as Clive had rooted out the French in Bengal. There was slight chance of their succeeding. Lally believed that Bussy must have made an enormous fortune at Golconda, and the Dupleix, he might contribute to the common cause by large advances of money: Bussy protested that this was not the case, and Lally, though he did not believe him, could obtain nothing from him. But, as the army must be famished through want of money if they stayed at Pondicherry, it was resolved to move on. By contributing 60,000 rupees of his own, and setting a subscription on foot among the gentlemen of the council of Pondicherry-all very poorly provided with cash or averse to giving or lending-Lally raised 94,000 rupees; and with this insignificant treasure† and an army of 2700 Europeans and 4000 native troops, sepoys, and others, he repaired to Madras, where he arrived on the 12th of December, without money and almost without food for the troops. The English had made a good use

e In a letter to Bussy, written on the capture of Fort St. David, Lally had said, "It is the whole of British India which it now remains for us to attack. I do not conceal from you that, having taken Madras, it is my resolution to repair immodiately, by India or by sea, to the banks of the Ganges, where your talents and experience will be of the greatest importance to me."

† Mill, Hist. British India—Orme gives another account:—" The arrival of a vessel at Pondicherry on the 18th, from Mauritius, which brought treasure, together with 100,000 rupees brought by M. Monacia from Tripetti, enabled M. Lally to put the French troops into motion again."

of the time in preparing for his reception. Admiral Pococke, who had quitted the coast to avoid the monsoon, had previously landed 100 marines to be joined to the garrison: a considerable body of native cavalry, headed by an active and intelligent partisan, had been engaged to scour the country, and detachments of sepoys, posted at intervals, and communicating with these flying squadrons of horse, kept open the road to Trichinopoly, and made the roads insecure by which the French were to receive their reinforcements and supplies. 'Major Laurence, Clive's old superior, and Mr. Pigot, held command within the walls of Madras, where the total of the force collected was 1758 Europeans, 2220 sepoys, and 200 of Mohammed Ali's cavalry -these last being scarcely worth their rations. On the 14th of December the French took possession of the black town, which was open and defenceless; and there the soldiers, breaking open some arrack stores, got drunk and mad, and committed great disorders. As their condition was reported in the fort, a sortie was resolved upon; and 600 chosen men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Draper (afterwards Sir Wiffiam) and Major Brereton, with two field-pieces, rushed into the streets of the black town. Unluckily the drummers, who were all little black boys, struck up the grenadiers' march too soon, and this gave warning to the French, who left off their drinking, plundering, and other pastimes, and running to their arms drew up at a point where the streets were very narrow and crossed each other at right angles. Those who were drunk were joined by others who were sober, till the whole number far exceeded that of the English detachment. If Bussy, who was at hand, had made one of the bold and rapid movements which he had been accustomed to make when acting on his own responsibility and for his own glory, he might have taken the enemy in the rear, and the English, blocked up in the narrow streets, must cither have surrendered or have been destroyed. Bussy remained motionless, and afterwards excused his conduct by saying that Lally, his superior, had sent him no orders to move. the affair went, the detachment retreated to the fort, leaving their two field-pieces behind them: they had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 200 men, and had inflicted about an equal loss on the foe. Six officers were killed or mortally wounded, and among them was Major Police, who, unable to bear the reflections which had been cast upon him for his weak and unwise defence of Fort St. David, threw away his life here to prove that he was no coward. It appears that the close street fight was extended to the interior of some of the houses, and that the rancour between the contending parties was to the last degree furious; for about twenty English soldiers were found in the houses stabbed with bayonets, and with their French antagonists lying dead beside them. Count d'Estaing, whom we have seen at a later period engaged in the American war, was taken prisoner at the beginning of the affray and

conveyed into Madras. An Armenian merchant, residing in the black town, paid Lally 80,000 livres for having saved his house from plunder, and a Hindu partisan lent him 12,000 more. With this money some provisions and stores were procured, and the French began to erect some batteries. Lally said that he at first had only intended a bombardment, but that he was encouraged to undertake a regular siege by intelligence that a French ship had arrived at Pondicherry with 1,000,000 of livres. Most of his heavy artillery was still at sea, and a corps of sepoys took his only 13-inch mortar, which was coming by land. All his warlike means were as deficient as those of the garrison were perfect, and dissensions and ill-will against him increased among his officers. His condition was rendered still more desperate by the return of Admiral Pococke to the coast, and by the entrance into the harbour of Madras of two frigates and six of the company's ships, having on board 600 king's troops fresh from England. This was on the 16th of February (1759), when Lally had been two months and four days under the walls of Madras. He ought to have been gone long before, but now to stay or go was not at his option; even before the English reinforcement began to land, the officer who commanded in the trenches quitted his post without orders, and nothing was thought of but retreat and flight. And all his money, including the 1,000,000 livres from Pondicherry, and all his provisions, were exhausted; he had thrown away his last bomb three weeks before, and he had blazed away nearly all his gunpowder. Again pouring out invectives and blaming everybody but himself, Lally on the night of the 17th decamped, as silently and expeditiously as he could, with his army in a mutinous state, and his marauding hussars threatening to go over to the English. He was distressed greatly on his retreat by the want of money and provisions; the natives knowing his habits removed or concealed as much of their rice and cattle as was possible; and occasionally he had to feel in van and rear, and in straggling or foraging parties, the sharp execution of the flying columns of native horse, and the deadly animosity of the coolies and colleries, who glided like ghosts round his camp and stabbed in the dark. But as the treasury at Madras was also in a state of exhaustion, through the heavy drains made upon it during the last six months, and as several of the chiefs at Madura and other places were showing symptoms of disaffection, the English, so far from pursuing Lally immediately, did not take the field till the 6th of March. Then, with 1156 Europeans, 1570 sepoys, 1120 colleries, 1956 horse, and ten fieldpieces, of which two were twelve-pounders, Major Laurence commenced his march to Conjeveram, where Lally had concentrated his forces, but was looking in vain for some small detachments which he had entrusted to the rebellious brother of Mohammed Ali-for they had all been murdered by the ally whom they had been sent to assist, and who was now anxious to renew his friendship with the

English and his allegiance to his brother, seeing that the star of Lally's fortune was becoming but a glimmering and uncertain light. For twenty-two days the French and English armies lay encamped in sight of each other. After this inactivity the English struck off for Wandewash, entered that town, and began to break ground against the fort. The French hurried to defend the place, and the English giving them the slip hastened back and took the more important fort of Conjeveram. On the 28th of May both Laurence and Lally put their armies into cantonments.

In the hour of danger or alarm the presence of Clive on the Coromandel coast had been earnestly desired by all, and the presidency had repeatedly urged his return; but Clive was equally wanted then, and continued to be wanted, in Bengal, which he wisely refused to quit until affairs should be settled. Admiral Pococke continued to cruise between Bombay and Pondicherry, with a view of intercepting a fresh squadron which the French expected from the Mauritius. Towards the end of June three of the company's ships reached Madras with 100 recruits, and the welcome intelligence that the enterprising Coote, now a lieutenant-colonel, might be shortly expected on the coast with 1000 of king's troops. But the ships brought another notice not quite so agreeable, namely, that the company intended to send out no more money to either of the presidencies till the following year (1760), as they believed that the treasures acquired in Bengal ought to suffice for the current expenses of all British India. At the end of July the first division of the promised troops arrived at Negapatam, where Admiral Pococke lay with his squadron. On the 20th of August Pococke bore away for Trincomalce, in the island of Ceylon, where he discovered his old adversary, M. d'Aché, with eleven ships of the line (three of which were fresh from Europe) and three frigates. The English squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, one frigate, two of the company's ships, and a fire-ship; their entire number of guns being 174 less than that of the French. Pococke determined on an immediate action, but the currents, the wind, and the weather prevented the close meeting of the fleets till the 10th of September, when, after a sharp action of two hours' duration, the careful Frenchman once more retired before the flag of Pococke. From the usual difference in their modes of firing, the English suffered most in their rigging, and the French lost the greater number of men. D'Aché, having all his top-masts standing, got safe to Pondicherry-which was his object-several days before Pococke could reach Negapatam. The arrival of the squadron saved the French council from absolute despair: it brought them only 180 men, but it brought what were more needed than soldiers, it poured into the empty coffers at Pondicherry specie to the amount of about 16,000l. sterling, and a quantity of diamonds valued at 17,000l., which had been taken in an English East Indiaman. But d'Aché had

scarcely landed these precious commodities, when he again intimated that he must leave the coast immediately and return to the Mauritius; his orders being peremptory to take care of his ships, whose loss France could ill afford at this crisis of a losing war in Europe, in Canada, and nearly everywhere else. But the French on shore represented that Pondicherry must be lost, that everything they had obtained on the coast of Coromandel must be sacrificed to the English fleet and army, if the ships were withdrawn; all the inhabitants of Pondicherry, civil and military, assembled in council and signed a vehement protest; but neither this nor anything else could prevail upon d'Aché to alter or delay his departure. He was, however, induced to land and leave behind him 400 Caffres who had been serving in his fleet, and 500 Euro-

peans, partly marines and partly sailors.

Before the arrival of the dollars and diamonds, the French army in cantonments were reduced to an extremity of distress, and even Lally's own regiment had mutinied for want of pay. The English, who had surprised and taken the fort of Covrepawk in July, were encouraged, by the disorganized state of the enemy, to make an attempt upon Wandewash, and on the 26th of September their whole army, under the command of Colonel Brereton, marched from Conjeveram for this purpose. Their approach, however, restored the French to some discipline and spirit; they gathered within and around the menaced fort, and an assault was repelled with the loss of 200 of the English. But in other directions the French lost ground almost daily; they were in rags and half starved, and Lally's only remaining hope was, that the money received at Pondicherry was more than was reported, and that he and his troops might obtain the greater part of it. Nor were quarrels and cabals in his organismp and quarters the only bitter fruit which barry gathered by recalling Bussy from the Deccan. The English took advantage of the absence of that prevailing man to commence negotiations with several native chiefs in the Deccan, and even with Salibut Jung himself, and Clive from Bengal had detached Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, those valuable provinces which had been ceded to Bussy. Forde, with 500 British troops, 2100 native troops, 6 field-pieces, 24 six-pounders for battery, a howitzer, and an eight-inch mortar, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam. There he landed and joined the army of Anunderauze, who had engaged to cooperate against the French in the hope that the English would secure him in sundry territorial claims, and eventually make him sovereign of the Deccan. Before starting together a treaty was agreed upon between the English colonel and the Indian rajah. In the first place all plunder was to be equally divided; all the countries that should be conquered were to be left to the rajah, who was to collect the revenues, &c., with the exception, however, of the seaports and towns at the mouths of the rivers, which, with the revenues of the dis-

tricts annexed to them, were to belong to the company; and no treaty for the disposal or restitution of the possessions of either party was to be made without the consent of both. And it was finally agreed, though not without great difficulty on the part of the rajah, that he should supply 50,000 rupees per month for the expense of the English army, and 6000 for the expenses of the officers. They then advanced to Peddapore, and there encountered M. Conflans, who had been left by Bussy in command of a French force, strong enough to have kept in awe the unwarlike Hindus, but too weak to stand against the English force now unexpectedly brought against them. In preparing for battle Forde's first care was to get his precious allies, the troops of the rajah, out of the way, for he knew that they would not fight, and could produce only confusion. In numbers Conflans's French troops were equal to Forde's, and the defensive position they occupied was a good one: their artillery was abundant, and to oppose to the English sepoys they had 6000 sepoys of their own, and 500 native horse. But M. Conflans quitted his strong ground, the French infantry got into disorder in pursuing a portion of Forde's sepoys, and then the English troops, who had been concealed by a standing crop of Indian corn, fell upon the French, routed them with a terrible loss, and took the best of their fieldpieces. Conflans, further discouraged by the resolute behaviour of some of the English sepoys under Captain Knox, retreated to his camp; but notwithstanding the advantages of the ground and the fire of some heavy artillery which he had kept there, he was soon driven from the height by Colonel Forde. Some of the French threw down their arms and cried for quarter; but the greater part made a sauve qui peut flight. Conflans had had the forethought to send off the military treasure on two camels, but the spoils of the field were very considerable: -- 30 pieces of cannon, most of which were brass; 50 tumbrils and other carriages laden with ammunition; seven mortars from 8 to 13 inches, with a large provision of shells; 1000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. M. Conflans galloped from the field on a good horse; and it is said that he never drew rein until he reached, at night, the town of Rajahmundry, nearly forty miles from the field of battle. When the rout of the French began, Forde, thinking that they might then have some heart and be of some use, called up Anunderauze's 500 horse; but he might as well have called spirits from the vasty deep, for these black cavaliers, and all their infantry as well, with the rajah in the midst of them, had conveniently found a deep but dry tank, where they had remained cowering during the whole of the action, and from which they refused to move so long as there were cannon-balls and bullets flying about. And, unfortunately, Anunderauze would no more pay than fight, so that for several weeks Forde, who had spent all the money he had brought with him, was reduced to

a stand-still. The French, however, still worse off, kept retreating; Rajahmundry was abandoned. and Conflans sought refuge in Masulipatam, urging Salibut Jung to send him some assistance, and representing in strong terms to that subahdar, that the English if left unopposed would make themselves musters, not merely of the sea-coast which he had ceded to Bussy, but of the whole of the Deccan. Salibut Jung responded to these appeals by putting an army in motion, and by collecting other troops at Golconda and Hyderabad. After a mischievous delay Colonel Forde obtained a little money from the rajah, and marching through Ellore, where several native chiefs joined him, he arrived, on the 6th of March, 1759, in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, Conflans's abiding place. and the most important and strongest place the French had on that coast. The troops within were more numerous than the besiegers, yet Colonel Forde, by making an assault on three points at the same moment, induced Conflans to surrender, and after a siege of only twelve days Masulipatam remained to the English.*

The victorious flag had not been hoisted a week over the walls, when two French ships, with a reinforcement of 300 men, appeared in the offing. They went back; but the army of the subahdar, which had been marching to the relief of Conflans, halted where it was, and soon received in their camp the English commander. not as an enemy, but as a friend and ally. Salibut Jung, seeing that the English were everywhere victorious, and considering that their protection and assistance would be as valuable as that of the French had been, readily entered into a new treaty, by which he ceded a considerable territory about Masulipatam to the English, bound himself not to permit for the future any French settlement in his dominions, and to oblige the French army of observation collected at Rajahmundry to evacuate the country and cross the Kistna within fifteen days; the English on their part agreeing to support him against his enemies in general, and his rebellious brother Nizam Ali in particular. was also stipulated that the subahdar should never more have recourse to French assistance or call in any troops of that nation; that Anunderauze should not be called to account for whatsoever he had collected out of the governments of the French, nor for the tributes of his own country for the present year. Colonel Forde, who had been received with high honours in the subahdar's camp, had the better part or the greater advantage in this treaty, as his promises were general and prospective, and the subahdar's cessions positive and immediate.†

When Fords ordered the assault his condition was very critical: he had only powder for his batteries for two days; the army of Salibut Jun; was approaching; a French force, meanly equal tis. his own, had collected again at Rajahmundry; and Confine was expecting the duly arrival of 300 fresh troops from Fondicherry.

I is addition to Masulipatam, eight districts, as well as the jurisdiction over the territory of Nizampatam, with the districts of Codover and Wasalmannar, were granted to the English wishout the reserve of fine or military service. The whole of the territory thus ceded extended eighty miles along the coast and twenty inland; the rowenue was estimated at e00,000 rupees a-year.

describes the compact was concluded the subahand profit a considerable district as jaghire Middle would instantly join him and march against his pobellises younger brother Nizam Ali; but Forde at thesame time invited the subahdar to join the English in an immediate expedition against the French at Rajahmundry, then avowedly under the protection of the subahdar's elder brother Bassaulet Jung, who had an army on foot at no great distance The subahdar, finding Forde immoveable, quitted him and marched away into the interior in no very good humour with his new allies As Forde prepared to march against them the French broke up from Rajahmundry, crossed the Kistna, and marched to the westward, the subahdar's elder brother having promised that he would take them into his pay an a short time The English factories which had been swept away by the successes of Bussy were immediately re-established, and Forde with his little army remained at Masulipatam till he should receive further orders from the presidency of Bengal, or rather from Chve, who originated and directed every great measure, taking, in all cases of indecision and doubt, the responsibility upon himeelf, and not unfrequently treating the council with contempt. For many months he had acted as if he had been governor-general of Bengal or of all India, though his real place was on the Coromandel coast, and his rank merely that of governor The directors at home, after of Fort St. David the catastrophe at Calcutta and the misconduct of Mr Drake, had appointed a very absurd sort of government by rotation, but the members of this government themselves made Clive their president, and immediately after, learning the particulars of his victory at Plassey, the court of directors sent out his appointment to be governor of Bengal *

Meer Jaffier very soon required the assistance of those who had made him nabob Many native chiefs rebelled against him, and far and near he was almost surrounded by enemies, all eager for his throne, or for a slice out of his rich territories Mohammed Kooly Khan the lord of Allahabad, the rajahs Sunder-Sing and Bulwant-Sing, and, most powerful of all, his neighbour Soujah Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, were united—as far as such beings could unite in one object-against Meer Jaffier, and their cause received the high sanction of the name and afterwards the assistance of the Mogul of Delhi's eldest son, the Shah Zada, who had established himself in Rohilcund, and had, at the time, a considerable army of Rohillas, half soldiers and half robbers by profession, but a hardier and a braver race than any in the lower parts of Hindustan. In a short time the Shah Zada descended from Rohilcund with an army of 40,000 men, Rohillas, Mahrattas, Jauts, and Afghans; and other forces were expected to join him on his advance The successor of Suraj-u-Dowlah thought he had no help or hope except in Cive, and he showered letters and messages upon him, and constantly be-

steged with prayers and agents the new English resident at Moorshedabad-Ma. WARREN HAST-INGS-who had arrived in India as a young writer in the year 1750, as poor and as friendless as Clive. who, if not the first to discover his abilities and energy of character, appears to have been the first that gave him any important promotion. Warren Hastings, had a near view of the imbeculity and confusion of the nabob's court and government-a confusion worse confounded by the intrigues and vices of the naboh's son Mecran-and he wrote nearly every day to his patron Clive that all classes confided in him, and in him alone, that without his intervention the whole fabric of government would fall to pieces by intestine broils, and Orissa and Bahar be severed from Bengal even before the arrival of the invaders from Robilcund by the force detached to the Circurs under Forde. and by other detachments sent to Madras, Clive at this moment could only count in Bengal about 300 British infantry, 100 artillery, and 2500 disciplined scroys. Yet with this force he not only resolved to meet the mighty confederacy which threatened Meer Jaffier, but he also sent orders to Forde to contimue his conquests, and then to proceed not to Bengal, to join and assist him, but, if needed, to Madras, there to finish the Indian story of Count Lally. He informed Warren Hastings that the dissension and treachery reigning at Moorshedabad gave him far more uneasiness than the Shah Zada's army the trembling nabob himself he wrote —" I would not have you think of coming to any terms with him, but proceed to take the necessary measures to defend your city to the last On Monday the last of this month I shall take the field, and will have everything in readiness to march to your assistance if necessary Rest assured that the English are your staunch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they are once taken part "* This letter was dated the 10th of February, 1759 A few days after Clive heard that the nabob was thinking of purchasing the retreat of the Shah Zada, and he instantly wrote to dissuade him from a measure which would only have tempted others to "I have heard," wrote make similar inroads Clive, "a piece of intelligence which I can scarce give credit to, it is that you are going to offer a sum of money to the king's son, if you do this you will have the nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and many more come from all parts of the confines of your country, who will bully you out of money till you have none left in your treasury." And then, with a little cajolery to flatter the vanity of the poor creature he was writing to, he added :-- "What will be said if the great Jaffler Ali Khan, subah of this country, who commands an army of 60,000 men, should offer money to a boy who has scarcely a soldier with him?" Clive also wrote repeatedly to the Hindu governor of Paina, Ramnarrain, whose fidelity to the nabob was much doubted, and who appears indeed to have almost concluded a bargain with the enemy to open the gates of Patna to them

" hir John Malcolm, Life,

as soon as they should approach it from Allahabad. On the 12th of February, Clive conjured this governor to be firm and bold, and defend the city to the utmost; and the concluding words of his letter contained a fact which was well calculated to make an impression. "I have this day," said Clive, " pitched my tent, and, with the blessing of God, if it be necessary, I will come to your assistance." But the strangest part of the active correspondence carried on at this juncture was a letter addressed by the Mogul's son, the Shah Zada, in imperial and oriental style, to "The most High and Mighty Protector of the Great "-i.e. Clive. "In this happy time," said the epistle, " with a view of making the tour of Patna and Bengal, I have erected my standard of glory at this place. It is my pure intention to bestow favour upon you, the high and mighty, and all faithful servants, agreeable to their conduct. This world is like a garden of flowers interspersed with weeds and thorns; I shall, therefore, root out the bad, that the faithful and good ryots (God willing) may rest in peace and quiet-Know you, who are great, that it is proper you should pay a due obedience to this my firman, and make it your business to pay your respects to me like a faithful servant, which will be great and happy for you. It is proper you should be earnest in doing this, when, by the blessing of God, you stand high in my favour. Know this must be done." Clive also received a flowery epistle from the Shah Zada's chief minister, and another from his chief general, Fyaz Ali Khan, who assured him that the Shah had thoughts of doing great things by his (Clive's) counsel and in conjunction with him. Apprehending that this part of the correspondence. and other matters, might come to the knowledge of Meer Jaffier, and cause great consternation, Clive enclosed all the letters to the nabob, in one of his own, wherein he said that several of the Shah Zada's agents had been with him. "They made me," he observed, " offers of provinces upon provinces, with whatever my heart could desire; but, could he give, as well as offer me, the whole empire of Hindustan, it would have no weight with the English. I am well assured, too, that he wrote to every man of consequence in these parts; which convinces me that he has designs against these provinces. It is the custom of the English to treat the persons of ambassadors as sacred, and I told the Shah Zada's agents as much; but at the same time warned them never to come near me again, for if they did I would take their heads for their pains."* Clive, however, who had received a high title of nobility from the Great Mogul, together with the confirmation of Meer Jaffier's elevation to the musnud, was well aware that the name of the descendant of Tamerlane still imposed respect on millions of the natives of India, although the power of that imperial name was now the mere shadow of a shade, and defied and set at nought even by those who paid their half superstitious, half involuntary homage to the name; and on this as on other occasions he

· Letters as given by Orme and Sir John Malcolm.

most carefully sought to avoid giving offence to the feelings and punctilios of the country. In dismissing the last envoys of the Shah Zada, he wrote a letter to that prince, in the most respectful terms, and expressive of a still higher reverence for his father the Great Mogul, who had neither ordered the expedition of his son, nor had the power to prevent it, being in fact, even at Delhi, little more than a state prisoner in the hands of his ministers and nobles. "I have had the honour," wrote Clive, "to receive your highness's firman. It gives me great concern to find that this country must become a scene of troubles. I beg leave to inform you that I nave been favoured with a sunnud [patent] from the emperor, appointing me a munsubdar of the rank of 6000 foot and 5000 horse, which constitutes me a servant of his; and, as I have not received any orders, either from the emperor or vizier, acquainting me of your coming down here. I cannot pay that due regard to your highness's orders which I should otherwise wish to do. I must further beg leave to inform you, that I am under the strictest engagements with the present subahdar of these provinces to assist him at all times; and it is not the custom of the English nation to be guilty of insincerity."* Clive began his march on the 25th of February, and arrived in a few days at Moorshedabad. Here he had a long conference with the nabob, when he endeavoured to make him sensible of his past misconduct, which, by creating internal dissension, had brought upon him the evils of war and invasion. According to his own account he must have rated Meer Jassier very roundly, but then, to revive his spirits and to prove to the always doubting people that there was no interruption to their friendship, he rode abroad on the same elephant with the nab b, and showed a determination to support him in his administration. And when, on the 13th of March, he left Moorshedabad to advance upon Patna, he took the nabob's son with him. Just before starting he wrote a letter to the secret committee, telling them that the enemy from the north had reached the river which divides Oude from Bahar, and were expected soon to be at Patna, the capital of the latter province; but he added, in a tone of perfect confidence, that with his 400 English and 2500 sepoys he would soon give a good account of the Shah Zada, although his army was estimated to he 50,000 strong. At this moment he did not know whether M. Law and his fugitive band had joined the invaders or not. On arriving at Shahabad, Clive received intelligence that Ramnarrain, the governor of Patna, had abandoned his post and gone over to the Shah. Upon this he wrote to Mcer Jaffier, telling him to give over the sports and pastimes of the Hooley—the carnival of the Indians-in which the nabob was then busily engaged at Moorshedabad, and hasten to the field if he desired to preserve his country. To Ramnarrain, whom he had served on many occasions, and whom he had preserved from the treachery and rapacity of Meer Jaffier and Meeran, he wrote at

the same moment—" I have neither eyes to see, nor cars to hear, the letter I have now received from Mr. Amyate; nor could aught but the great confidence I have in him induce me toggive credit to its contents. Have you no sense of the obligations you are under to me for all the cares and pains I have taken for you? If you had not courage equal to the occasion, yet what could have induced you to act so imprudent a part? What power has the Shah Zada to resist the united forces of the nabob and the English? Think then what will be your fate. For God's sake reflect on the duty you owe to your master, to my friendship, and to your own safety. Turn from this bad design, and act in such a manner that your master may be satisfied with you, and the world acknowledge you worthy of the friendship I have shown you. Should you, from want of courage, forsake your city, be assured it will not remain ten days in the Shah Zada's power." The fact, however, proved to be that Ramnarrain had not run away to the enemy, but was only thinking of doing so; and when he received this letter, after some few words on the insufficiency of the means of defence, he declared that he would defend Patna, and prove true to the nabob. In effect, encouraged by the rapid marches of the English, that Hindu did prove true and steady, and the next news Clive received of him was, that he had repelled two assaults made upon the place. However, not to trust too much to Hindu valour, Clive hurried forward a detachment of his own sepoys under the command of Ensign Mathews to assist in the defence. the dread of Clive's name alone was sufficient to disperse the invading army; and on the 5th of April, the day before Mathews could reach Patna, the Shah Zada, though he had possessed himself of some of the bastions, raised the siege, and began to retreat in the greatest disorder. M. Law with his small party joined the prince on the day of this retreat, but could not prevail upon him to halt and make another attack. While on his march from Moorshedabad, Clive had received a letter from Meer Jaffier informing him that he had the commands of the Great Mogul to seize the person of his contumacious or rebellious son, the Shah Zada. The imperial firman, which the nabob enclosed, was of course the edict of the Grand Vizier Gazec-u-Deen, against whose usurped authority the young prince had in the first instance taken up arms; it ran in these words:- "Know that you are under the shadow of my favour. Some ill-designing people have turned the brain of my beloved son, and are carrying him to the eastern part of the empire, which must be the cause of much trouble and ruin to my country. I therefore order you, who are my servante proceed immediately to Patna, and secure the person of my son, and keep him there. You are likewise to punish his attendants, that other people may take warning thereby. In doing this you will gain my favour and have a good name. Know this must be done." The wizier, morcover, wrote

a letter of the same purport to Clive himself, who could thus quote the sanction of the court of Dalhi to and for all he undertook. The "Daring in War," the "Protector of the Great," entered Patna without any parade of triumph, but there were few that saw him there but felt he was in reality the lord of all that part of India. Meanwhile the Shah Zada, continuing his precipitate retreat, had crossed the river Caramnassa into Oude. The nabob of Oude, who had prepared to join him if he had been successful, now, with true Indian faith, declared himself the enemy of the fugitive prince, who, described by the troops and abandoned by his followers, knew not whom to trust or whither to fly. Considering that Clive had more power and more generosity than any one else to whom he could address himself, he wrote a humble and imploring letter to him, and forwarded it by an officer who enjoyed his confidence. "I find, says Clive, in a note written at the moment, "that he wants, in his present distress, to throw himself upon the English, from a conviction that there is none else in whom he can trust. I have consulted with Ramnarrain, who is of opinion that the nabob can never be safe, should a person of his high rank be admitted into these provinces; and that his presence would expose the country to continual commotions. I have, therefore, answered him, that my connexions with the nabob were of so solemn a nature as would not allow of my affording him any protection; and on that account advised him to keep out of the way, as I was now upon the point of marching to the Caramnasa." Notwithstanding the decided answer he got, the fugitive prince, in the extremity of his distress, sent several more letters or messages to Clive, who resolutely persisted in his first determination, but, out of compassion, sent his unhappy correspondent a present of 500 gold mount or about 1000/. sterling, to enable him to escape to some safer country. In one of his letters to the prince—apparently the last he wrote-Clive said, "I have received repeated orders from the vizier, and even from the emperor, not only to oppose your highness, but even to lay hold of your person. I am sorry to acquaint your highness with these disagreeable things, but I cannot help it. Were I to assist your highness in any respect, it would be attended with the ruin of this country. It is better that one should suffer, however great, than that so many thousands should be rendered unhappy. have only to recommend your highness to the Almighty's protection. I wish to God it were in my power to assist you, but it is not. I am now on my march to the Caramnassa, and earnestly recommend it to you to withdraw before I arrive.' The Shah Zada took this last hint, continued his flight, and was reported to be going to take refuge in the Gazipore country. Clive then directed his arms against some Rajpoot and hill chiefs of Bahar, who had invited and assisted the Shah Zada, and, having reduced them to submission, rather by policy than by fighting, having tranquillized the

whole country, by processes which stemed as rapid as magic, and having left a small force in Patna to aid Ramnarrain, he returned quietly to Moorshedabad, and thence to Calcutta.

Great were the services he had rendered to his ally, Meer Jaffler, and, if not to that poor phantom the Great Mogul, to the grand vizier, who reigned in his name, and whose firmans were considered by the natives as the voice and will of the descendant of Aurengzebe. The vizier, as one mark of favour, informed Clive that the English might establish a factory at Delhi, the royal city; and he assured " The Daring in War" that the Mogul would show him the greatest favour, and that his honours should be increased. Meer Jaffier, who owed everything to him, gave more substantial and personal proofs of his gratitude, conferring on Clive for life, as a Jaghire, or estate, the quit-rent which the company was bound to pay to the nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta—which quit-rent was reputed to be worth thirty lacs of rupees, or about 30,000l. sterling, per annum. Mr. Warren Hastings had the satisfaction of drawing up, at the nabob's request, the form of the letter to be written to the council at Calcutta, to acquaint them with this splendid donation to his patron. When it was suggested to Meer Jaffier that the gift was cnormous, he replied that his obligations were commensurate—that the services he had received from Clive were incalculable-and that his conduct after the battle of Plassey and on his first entrance into Moorshedabad merited the highest reward; for, when all the inhabitants expected to be laid under contribution by his victorious army, he had secured their property and their persons, taking nothing from them, and permitting nothing to be taken by his troops or by any one else. † Sir John Malcolm, who has perhaps too perfect a sympathy with the hero of his narrative, and who certainly speaks too frequently with the tone of an advocate or specialpleader, says of the great Jaghire, and Clive's acceptance of it-" Though he appears to have thought that the high titles obtained for him from Delhi should have been accompanied by a Jaghire, there exists no evidence among all the documents I have examined to show that he had any previous intimation of its amount, or that he, in any shape, compromised either his personal honour or his duty to the government he served by accepting this grant. Conscious that he had performed great services to the nabob, he received this reward as a recompense which that prince had a right to bestow, and which was one conformable to the usage of the country, and rendered more appropriate, according to that usage, from the high honour which the Emperor of Delhi had, at the request of Meer Jaffier, conferred upon him. Clive gave a complete proof of his anticipation of

the approbation of his superiors in England, and of his wish to give publicity to this transaction, by accepting, as his Jaghire, an assignment of the quit-rent, or government there, of the lands farmed by the company in the vicinity of Calcutta. This arrangement, which placed his income in the hands of the company, though it presented the best possible security, would never have been consented to by a person who had not acted with a perfect consciousness that he was violating no duty and inflicting no injury on the interests either of individuals or the public. These were evidently Clive's sentiments; and the transaction, at the time of its occurrence, appears to have been generally viewed in the same light." A more recent and much less partial writer—one fresh from India, and who may have studied the subject on the spot-says, "This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant." We shall soon find, however, that the company, a large section of the British parliament, and no inconsiderable portion of the nation, took a very different view of the whole matter; and that "Clive's Jaghire" continued to be made a theme of declamation and a subject of reproach to him till the end of his life, and indeed beyond that period. Nor was the gratitude of Meer Jaffier of a very enduring or steady kind. The nabob was made to feel every day that the power and consideration of the Englishman were far greater than his own; and that he, who had put him on a throne and defended him upon it, could at any time overthrow him, place him in a prison, or abandon him to the tender mercies of his enemics. † He looked round for some other support, and for some alliance with strength enough to curb the authority of Clive and impose on his own discontented chiefs, whose animosities, though secret, were sharp, and every day increasing through the rash violence of his son Meeran and his own insincerity and broken agreements. No native prince could furnish a force that would look the little English army in the As for the French power, broken by Colonel Forde in the Circars and the Deccan, and fast breaking in the Carnatic by the folly of Lally and the bravery and skill of Major Coote, it was utterly annihilated in Bengal. The old might and fame of the Portuguese was now only a tradition, nor could it be said that the Dutch

^{*} Orme. — Mis John Malcolm, Life of Clive. — Sir John proves, by documents and importrovertible facts, that a vary considerable portions of Mr. Mill's account of Clive's protecodings, at this critical moneral, in Behar, is nerispary, incorrect.
† Evidence of Mr. Synce before the House of Commons.

[&]quot;Mr. Macauley, in Edinburgh Review.

† Clive's own account is this:.--" About the month of November, 1738, a prevailing party at the Nabob Jaffler Ali Khan's durbar lourth, headed by Meerra, hue son, had prejudiced him to look with an evit and jealous eye on the power and influence of the English in the provisees, and taught him to think and look upon himself as a ciphor, bearing the name of Subah only. From subsequent concurring elevitations, it must have been at that period, and from this cause, that we imagine a private negotiation was set on foot between the nabob and the Dutch, that the latter should bring a military ferce into the speviaces to join the former and halarre our province and was suffered by the state of the state of the construction, and a some of their own very small importance, readily authorised the overstree, and hoped another Plassey affair for theme selves."—MS., catilde "A Narretice of the Disputes with the Dusch in Engal," frend by Sir John Maladin among Chive's papers.

on the Indian continent possessed much more power than the Portuguese. Yet, in his impatience of the English supremacy, and in his total ignorance of the decline of the Dutch government in Europe, Meer Jaffier looked to this people for assistance; and, though they had been blow in acknowledging his authority, and had been guilty of several slights very offensive to his pride, he opened secret communications with the Dutch factory at Chinchura, which had witnessed, with jealousy and dread, the British conquest of Chandernagore in its near neighbourhood.* The places were only two miles distant from each other, and the near sight of the English flag was worse than a nightmare to the Dutch factory, who now wrote the most urgent letters to the governor of Batavia exhorting him to fit out an expedition for the Hooghly, in order to balance the English power in Bengal. There was at the moment no war in Europe between Holland and England; but the governors and factors of the various European nations in India seem to have been wont, whenever it suited their purposes, to adopt and act upon the principle of the old buccaneers in America—that European treaties did not extend to the regions in which they were living, and that there was no peace beyond the equinoctial line. The authorities of Batavia were as eager to send an expedition as was the factory at Chinchura to request it, and in a short time accounts were received at Calcutta that the Dutch were preparing a strong armament. It appears to have been known from the first that the destination was Bengal; but there was some doubt as to which of the Indian potentates had invited it or engaged to co-operate with it. Warren Hastings, though so quick and sagacious, was deceived for a time by the tales told him at Moorshedabad; and he (on the 29th of July, 1759) wrote to Clive that the Nabob Meer Jaffier was led to suspect that the Dutch were in league with the powerful sovereign of Oude. Even Clive himself was deceived for some time, not because he was so credulous as to place any confidence in Meer Jaffier's faith, but because he counted upon his weakness and womanly timidity. The nabob played his part well. When Clive sent notice to him of the Batavia armament he pretended to be greatly alarmed, and expressed his hope that the English, in virtue of the treaty subsisting, would join their forces to his to oppose and prevent the invasion of his dominions. He also sent Clive the copy of a strong letter he had addressed to the Dutch factory. Early in the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in the Hooghly with European troops on board. Clive reported his arrival to Meer Jaffier, who, after betraying some confusion, sent a second letter to butch factory, and ordered his troops at the town of Hooghly to join the English and prevent any

* The naboli had entered into these intrigues with the Dutch before the invasion of the Shah Zadu; and after Clive's conduct at that cri is he would willingly have broken them off. But when he have the Dutch arrive in the Hoggilly in such great force he fancied that they must triumph over the English, and that it assisting them he should be pursuing the wise policy of siding with the strongest

Dutch ships or troops from ascending the river. The Dutch solemnly protested that the ship which had arrived in the lower part of the river had been driven in by stress of weather, and that she and the troops on board would depart in peace as soon as they had obtained water and provisions. The vessel, however, continued to lie where she was, and attempts were made to send soldiers up to Chinchura by concealing them in the bottom of native boats; but Clive issued his mandate that every Dutch or native hoat should be stopped and searched. The gentlemen at Chinchura remonstrated and protested against these proceedings on the part of a friendly power; but Clive continued to stop their soldiers and to send them back to their ship, telling the gentlemen of the factory that he was in Bengal in a double capacity; that as an English officer while England was engaged in a war with France he was justified by the laws of nations in searching all vessels whatever, not knowing but that they might introduce French troops into the country; and that, as an auxiliary to the Great Mogul, he was under the necessity, by solemn treaty, to oppose the introduction of any European or foreign troops The Dutch, perhaps whatsoever into Bengal. proud of their great writers on that subject, cited the laws of nations on their own side, and kept pressing their warlike preparations all the time; and the mind that can condemn Clive's conduct in this particular, and call it an attacking " without provocation the ships and troops of a nation in friendship with this country," must previously have lost its perception in the muddlest mazes of metaphysics. If Clive had seen with such organs all would have been lost. Early in October Meer Jaffier arrived in person at Calcutta, as if mcrely intending to honour Clive with a visit. A day or two after advices came below of the arrival of six more Dutch ships of a large size, and crammed with troops, partly Europeans and partly Malays, from Batavia and other Dutch settlements in the islands. "Now," says Clive, or a pen that wrote for him, " the Dutch mask fell off, and the nabob (conscious of his having given his assent to their coming, and at the same time of our attachment and his own unfaithful dealings with us) was greatly confused and disconcerted. He, however. seemed to make light of it; told the governor (Clive) he was going to reside three or four days at his fort of Hooghly, where he would chastise the insolence of the Dutch, and drive them soon out of the river again. On the 19th of October he left Calcutta; and, in place of his going to his fort at Hooghly, he took up his residence at Cojah Wazeed's garden, about half-way between that and Chinchura; a plain indication that he had no

• This Colah, or Khodja, Wuzeed, who was distinguished by the title of "The Glory of Merchants," was a person of great wealth and importante—it soft of second Omichand, who had lived a life of intrigue, serving and betaying all parties it turns. He had became a agent for the French, an agent for the English, but was latter two communicated for the Dutch, and the server medican by which they communicated with the nabob, and the inabob with thems. For some time before this visit to him at his garden on the Hooghly, Meet Jaffer had

apprehensions from the Dutch, whom he received there in the most gracious manner he could, more like friends and allies than as enemies to him and his country." In three or four days Clive received a letter from the nabob, informing him that he had thought proper to grant some indulgence to the Dutch in their trade, and that the Dutch on their part had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit. But this reference to the seasons was unfortunate, inasmuch as, at the time of his writing, the season permitted their departure with the greatest safety. Clive, from the tenor of the letter and the whole course of the nabob's conduct, felt assured that the Dutch had no intention to quit the river, and that Meer Jassier had given his permission to them to bring up their troops if they could. This Clive was determined they should not do; and the council at Calcutta heartily agreed with him. The nabob had not ventured to withdraw the orders he had given to the English to oppose the Dutch. A very few days later, intelligence was received that the Dutch armament was actually moving up the river towards Calcutta, and that the Dutch agents were enlisting troops of every denomination at Chinchura, Cossimbuzar, and even as far up the country as Patna, and this plainly with the connivance of Meer Jaffier, and the more open assistance of his son Meeran. Clive saw that the junction of the armament from below and the troops from above with the force already collected within the walls of Chinchura would be followed by the declaration of the nabob in favour of the Dutch, and an immediate movement upon the English settlements. His force in Europeans was, at the moment, actually inferior in number to that of the Dutch on Loard the seven ships alone, without counting those in garrison at Chinchura; for the force from Batavia, now accurately reported, consisted of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays—the latter a far braver race of men than the natives of Bengal. There was no time to be lost - this was no season for indulging in subtleties and nice distinctions, or for turning over the pages of Grotius and Puffendorf-and Clive resolved to proceed at once against the Dutch as if they were open instead of secret enemies. At the critical moment some of the council were startled by the notion of infringing the treaties of peace existing between the United Pro-

treated this." Glory of Metchints, with great favour and distinction. But the circumstance did not pervent Clive from soming the persons of Cojai Wasced and his son a short time after the nabob's visit when they were going to Moorshodabad. Warren Hastings had some difficulty in cooling the wanth of the nabob; but he augeniously represented that Cojah Wasced was the prime instigator of these troubles; that it especared, from the long consultations held between him and the Dutch the srenning before his departure, that he was going up to strengthen their cause at Moorshedabad, whiere the nabob must know the English had many enomies; that it was no time to stand upon the strictness of ceremony when the caseny were almost at the gates of Calcutta; and, finally, that Clive had only given orders that Gajak Wassed, should be selsed on the way, but this no attempt should be made upon him if he was arrived within the district of the city of Moorshedabad.—Warren Hastings's Letters to Clive, as given by Sor John Malcolm.

*Account from a MS spititled A Nargative of the Disputse of the Ducti in Bengal.

Dutch in Bengal.

vinces and Great Britain, and of commencing a war on their own responsibility. But Clive said that " a public man may sometimes be called upon to act with a halter round his neck;" and the Dutch by their conduct seemed to justify hostilities and to give them a merely defensive character on the part of the English, for they continued to enlist native troops more openly than ever, they denied the English the right of search, they insulted several English officers, they attempted to acquee the sepoys in English pay, and, thinking their schemes ripe for action, they vowed vengeance if Clive peraisted in obstructing the passage of their troops up the river. Clive's private interests must have been in conflict with his public duty, for he had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe through the Dutch East India Company, who might have kept the money in the banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, both in revenge and in compensation. These considerations might have induced another man to avoid extremities, but they appear to have had no weight whatever with " The Daring in War," who was equally daring in policy. " Notwithstanding all that had passed," says the paper we have already quoted from, " on receipt of the last Dutch remonstrance we found our sentiments a good deal embarrassed, doubting whether we should stand justified to our country and employers in commencing hostilities against an ally of England, supposing they should persist in passing the batteries below with their ships and troops, this situation we anxiously wished the next hour would bring us news of a declaration of war with Holland; which we had indeed some reason to expect by our last advices from England. Another strong reason which determined us to oppose them. and on which subject we had been guarded against by the Court of Directors, was, that in all likelihood the Dutch would first commence hostilities against us in India. Thus circumstanced, the Dutch themselves removed all our difficulties by beginning hostilities below, attacking with shot and seizing several of our vessels, grain-boats, &c.; tearing down our colours; disembarking our guns, wilitary stores, &c., from our vessels to their own ships, making prisoners of the captains, officers, &c. They also began hostilities on shore in our acttlements, where they tore down our colours, and burnt the houses and effects of the company's tenants in those parts."* It was not known whether the Dutch would come up the river and pass the English batteries with their ships and troops on board, or whether they would land the troops below the battaries, and march them thence by land; but Clive made the necessary dispositions against both these plans of operation, as far as comported with the smallness of his disposable force, consisting only of about 320 English, 1200 sepoys, and three of the company's ships, which were all that were then in the river. Just at this juncture Cole-

** Amongst the reseals they attacked and select was the "Looping Snow," Captain Englay, whom we had despetched with survival to Admira' Colmish, id hasten his coming to Our succour, which we judged would meet his somewhere on the Armson const."

nel Rords returned to Calcutta from his career of equations in the Northern Circurs and the Deccan: he had quitted his command on account of ill health and disgust at the conduct of the Directors, who had not confirmed his appointment, and with the intention of returning to England by the first opportunity; but at the invitation of his friend and patron Clive, who entertained the highest opinion of his bravery and abilities, he readily agreed to take the command of part of the forces. On the 19th of November Forde moved from Calcutta to the northward, took the Dutch settlement at Barnagore, on the left bank of the Hooghly, crossed the river the next day with his troops, and four pieces of artillery, and marched towards Chandernagore, to strike terror into the factory of Chinchura, and to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops in case they should land. The rest of his troops, and the best and largest proportion, with many volunteers draughted from the militia, and part of an independent company mounted as cavalry, Clive sent down to the forts on the river under the command of Captain Knox. Mr. Holwell, who had survived the black hole and the subsequent barbarity of Suraj-u-Dowlah, took charge of Fort William with the militia, consisting of about 250 English and a few Portuguese. Clive remained at Calcutta, but went and came, dividing his attention and presence between the two divisions of his army under Forde and Knox. It was noticeable that men who had been absolute cowards under governor Drake, and the other imbecilles that presided over the defence of Calcutta at the time of Suraj-u-Dowlah's siege, were now brave, alert, and confident. The three English East Indiamen which had arrived after the Dutch were lying in the lower part of the river, between that squadron and the sca; but, as the Dutch ships now began to ascend the river, these Indiamen were ordered to pass them and station themselves above the English batteries at Charnoc and Tanna, where fire-boats had been prepared to assist in destroying them. The Dutch commodore on seeing the three Indiamen coming up sent to tell Commodore Wilson that if he attempted to pass him he would fire upon him. On the 21st of November the Dutch cast anchor within range of the English cannon on the batteries; on the 23rd they landed on the Chinchura side of the river their army of 1500 men, and then dropped down with their ships to a place called "Melancholy Point"-for them appropriately so named—where the three English ships were lying ready for action. The moment the Dutch troops were landed Clive sent Captain Knox across the river to reinforce Colonel Forde, and ordered Commodore Wilson to demand immediate restitution of our vessels, subjects, and property, and, on their refusal, to fight, all, burn, and destroy the Dutch squadron. The next day (the 24th) the demand was made and refused. The Dutch had seven ships, four of them being called "capital ships;" the English had only three, and they appear to have derived no assistance whatever either from the land batteries, which were too far

off, or from the fire-boats. Nevertheless Commodore Wilson, who began the attack, ended it in two hours with the total defeat of the enemy: the Dutch commodore, who had thirty men killed and many wounded, struck, and the rest followed the example, all except his second, who cut and ran down the river as far as Culpee, thirty-three miles in a straight line below Calcutta, when she was stopped short, intercepted, and taken by the 'Orford' and ' Royal George,' which had just arrived from England, and were ascending the Hooghly as the tide and weather permitted. The 'Duke of Dorset,' commanded by Captain Forrester, and which had more immediately engaged the Dutch commodore, suffered rather severely; but the loss sustained in the other two English ships was trifling. Apparently alarmed and stupified by the loss of their squadron, the Dutch and their Malays halted and wavered on their march to Chinchura, and on the 25th, the day after the fight on the river, they blundered upon a wretched position, from which retreat was difficult and a further advance impracticable. Forde with the quick eye of a soldier saw their blunder—saw that he had them upon the hip; but there came over him a doubt and a misgiving : and, hesitating to attack the troops of a European nation not in a state of declared war, he sent a hasty messenger across the river with a note to Clive. saying, "that if he had the order of council he could attack the Dutch, with a fair prospect of destroying them." Clive, who was playing a quiet game at cards when the note reached him, took out his pencil, and, without quitting the table, wrote on the back of it-" Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council tomorrow." * Accordingly Forde fought the Dutch; and the engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. It took place in the valley of Bedarra, about four miles from Chinchura, part garrison of which place had contrived to join the Dutch, who were badly commanded by one Roussel, a French soldier of fortune, and who were put to a total rout in less than half an hour. The fugitives left on the field 120 Europeans and 200 Malays in killed, about 150, including M. Roussel and 14 other officers, were wounded; and about 350 Dutch and 200 Malays were taken prisoners. The total loss of the English was inconsiderable. From the field of his easy victory Forde marched to Chinchura, and, sitting down before that place, which he could have taken by a coup de main, he wrote to Calcutta for But the Dutch factory, in abject further orders. submission, implored for a cessation of hostilities. Deputies were appointed on both sides; the Dutch disavowed the proceedings of their squadron, humbly acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay coats and damages; and upon these conditions an amicable settlement was arranged, and their captured ships were all restored to them. Three days after the buttle of Bedarra the nabob's son Meeran, whom Clive seldom mentioned without the affix of "scoundrel," encamped within two

· Sir John Malcolm, Life.

miles of Chinchurs with about 6000 or 7000 horse. If the Dutch had proved victorious, he would have joined them in plundering and destroying the English; but, now that the English had obtained a complete triumph, he hoped to be allowed to share with them in the spoils of the Dutch. The terrified factory instantly applied to Governor Clive, entreating him to interpose, and not abandon them to the violence of the Mussulmans. Clive, losing no time, crossed the river to tell the young nabob what he might and what he might not do, and to save the factory from the chances of a black-hole, or some other atrocity. Under his dictation Meeran agreed to a treaty, and then withdrew.*

The few remaining months of Clive's present stay in India were devoted to various arrangements and precautions for securing the tranquillity of the country, and maintaining the always tottering authority of the pusillanimous nabob. When his intended departure was announced it filled Meer Jaffier, Warren Hastings, and every one else interested in the continuance of peace, with doubt and alarm; for by all these men Clive was considered as the only Atlas that could prop up the ponderous and crasy machine. The old nabob was expecting every day that the young nabo's would cut his throat in private, or carve his way to the musnud through open war and revolution. Meeran had surrounded himself by all the chiefs that most hated his father or the English, having for his chief counsellor Roydullub, whom Clive described as " an aspiring, ambitious villain." Hastings, Holwell, Sykes, and Amyatt, the resident at Patna, entreated the governor to remain some time longer. "I own," wrote Hastings from Moorshedabad, "I learned with great concern that your resolution is fixed to return to Europe this season;" and he went on to predict many ill consequences likely to arise out of the departure of the only one who could alike keep the natives true to their treaties, and the English steady in the ways of justice, prudence, and moderation. But Clive on the other hand had great objects in view, which made him persist in his design: he wished by his presence and personal representations, and the influence he could now exercise by means of the great fortune and the fame he had acquired, to obtain from the British Parliament and government measures calculated to preserve what he had gained in India, and to extend and consolidate our other acquisitions in that country. He knew that a peace with France was in contemplation, and he earnestly wished to arrive before such peace should he concluded, lest our negotiators, through a want of local and other knowledge, should surrender by treaty advantages and prospects which had been obtained by arms; and besides other weighty reasons he desired to procure for the governors of the three presidencies commissions from his majesty as major-generals, in order that this superiority of

* The Duich hound themselves never to meditate war, introduce or culist troops, or raise fortulations in the country; to keep up 125 European solidiers, and no more; to send their ships and remaining troops out of the sountry forthwith; and to astisfy themselves with their trade and commercial privileges. A breach of any one of these articles was so be punished with total expulsion from Bengal.

rank might put an end to the pretensions and independent powers of the king's officers, which on several occasions had seriously impeded the public service. "If," said he, "my interest prevails, I flatter myself I shall have rendered the company more service by my return to-England than by my stay in Bengal. If a peace should be on the tapis, I may be of some use likewise; for convinced I am the directors are not masters sufficiently of the subject, and will probably conclude a peace in Europe which cannot possibly be abided by in the East Indies." He had previously announced his intention and wishes to the first great Pitt, then one of the principal secretaries of state, and one of the warmest of his admirers, who, improving, as orators do, upon Major Laurence's plain dictum that Clive was born a soldier, had called him in the British House of Commons " a heaven-born general-a man who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the king of Prussia." To excite -what seldom required exciting—the warlike spirit and imagination of the great orator, he laid before him in this letter the immense advantages and the gorgeous empire which might be obtained in the East if the English government would only send out a thousand or two of their best troops; he remitted an exact account of the revenues of Bengal, genuine and to be depended upon, as he had got it faithfully extracted from the books of the nabob's minister; and, as the English people were prematurely complaining of the amount of the national debt, he hinted that that burthen might be got rid of by means of Indian rupees. He described in & concise and forcible manner-for since his first coming as a poor uneducated clerk to Fort St, David he had learned to write as well as fightthe disorganized, distracted state of the whole of India, the mere shadowy existence of the suzeram of all, the Great Mogul, the influence and consideration the English had obtained in the court of Delhi, and the total obscuration of the French in the "I have great hopes," said he, "that we shall succeed in extirpating them from the province of Golconda, where they have reigned lords paramount so long, and from whence they have drawn their principal resources. Notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions made in sending out M. Lally last year, I am confident before the end of this they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic." Having prepared his way in this and in other quarters, having called that most able officer Major Calliaud from the Carnatic to Bengal, and having paid a farewell visit to Meer Jaffier at Moorshedabad, Clive sailed from India on the 25th day of February, 1760. He had provided for the future to the extent of his means, information, or foresight, and he left brave and experienced men, trained by himself, behind him; yet, nevertheless, " it appeared as if the soul was departing from the body of the government of Bengal."

Clive's prediction as to the result of the war in

[·] Letter to Mr. Pigot.

the Carnatic was justified by the fact, and by the fall of Pondicherry to English arms, an event which took place within a year after his departure. While the French army was cantoned in the country round about Wandewash, and Lally and Bussy quarrelling more violently than before, Colonel Coote with the last division of his regiment arrived on the coast, and on the 21st of November (1759) proceeded to Conjeveram, where the rest of the English troops were cantoned. As rapid as Clive, Coote fell upon the fort of Wandewash, carried it by storm on the 29th, marched to Carongoly, and took that place also by the 10th of December. Having obtained the services of a considerable body of Mahratta horse, Lally, by some artful movements, surprised and took Conjeveram, but he was disappointed in his expectation of finding there magazines and provisions for his half-famishing people. He next attempted to recover the fortress of Wandewash, where the breaches they had made were still open, and where the English had hardly any artillery. But while he or his engineer officers were formalizing as to the proper construction of the battery of assault, Coote reached the spot and compelled the French to retreat. Lally's pride, however, forbade his retreating far, and he drew up in order of battle near the walls of Wandewash. He had with him 2250 Europeans and 1300 sepoys; but, as for his Mahratta allies, they kept aloof. Coote had only 1900 Europeans, but he had 2100 sepoys, 1250 black cavalry, and 26 field-pieces.* The French were more thoroughly defeated than ever they had been up to this time. Bussy, who gallantly put himself at the head of a regiment to try a bayonet charge, was abandoned by his men and taken prisoner. Lally escaped, protected by a small body of French cavalry. He collected his shattered army at Chitteput, but he could make no stand there, and, without reinforcing the garrison in the place, he retreated still farther to the strong hill fortress of Gingee. Instead of following him, Conte resolved to strike across the country to recover Arcot, where Lally some short time before, and with much theatric pomp, had proclaimed the son of Chunda Sahib Nabob or Subahdar of the Carnatic; and the very day after the battle of Wandewash, which was fought on the 22nd of December, he hurried forward a detachment in that direction. On the 1st of February, 1760, Coote himself arrived at Arcot, and on the 5th he began to cannonade the town from three batteries. On the 6th he commenced making approaches, and by the morning of the 9th the sap was carried to the foot of the glacis, and by the hour of noon on the same day two small breaches were made. Not three men in the garrison had been killed; the breaches were impracticable, and yet a flag of truce weekeld out, and Arcot was surrendered. Lally soon found it impossible to remain on the strong but barren hill of Gingee, and he retreated, with what remained of his half-naked famishing army, to the vicinity of Pondicherry. Repairing himself to that city, he quarrelled anew with the council and all the authorities there, blaming them for the destitute state of his troops, and calling them embezzlers and peculators; and they, retorting with true Gallic vehemence, accused him of folly, imbecility, treachery, and even cowardice. During these unseemly altercations the French flag was struck down from nearly every place where it yet floated: Timery surrendered, Devi-Cottah was evacuated, Trinomaly surrendered, Permacoil and Alamparva were taken by storm, and the whole country between Alamparva and Pondicherry was laid waste by fire and sword. Carical, the most important place on the coast next to Pondicherry, was soon invested by an armament sent from Madras, and by a detachment which descended from Trichinopoly; the garrison made a miserable defence, and surrendered on the 6th of April, before a relief dispatched by Lally could reach the place. fall of Valdore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore fol-

lowed in rapid succession.

By the 1st of May the English, who had been reinforced, encamped within four miles of Pondicherry; and the French, who had received no succour from their impoverished mother country, were in a manner cooped up in that strong town, looking with a faint, declining hope for the arrival of a squadron, or some ship with some help, from the Mauritius, or Bourbon, or some other quarter. But he must be a bold and fortunate seaman that should now escape the vigilance and power of the British naval force; for Admiral Cornish had been three months on the Coromandel coast with six ships of the line, Admiral Stevens, who had succeeded Pococke, had now come forward with four more ships of the line, and was followed in the or two by another ship of the line bringing three companies of the Royal Artillery. In his extremity Lally turned his eyes towards the country of Mysore, where Hyder Ali, who was afterwards to fill a wider scene, had established his authority by force of arms, and by force of intrigue and treachery. To bring Hyder on the back of Coote, Lally offered him present possession of the fort of Thiagur, which commanded two passes into the Carnatic, and future possession of Tinevelly and Madura-that is, when Lally and Hyder should turn the tide of war and dispossess the English of those two places. A bargain was concluded, Hyder agreeing to send droves of bullocks to feed the French, and troops to fight for the French. A detachment sent by Coote to stop the march of Hyder's people was too weak for the purpose, and sustained a defeat; but, when the Mysoreans obtained a nearer view of the English army, and a correcter notion of the real and deplorable condition of Lally's forces, they thought their bargain a bad one, and, breaking it with the ordinary Indian unscrupulousness, they marched back to their own country, troops and bullocks. Shortly before their departure six of the English company's ships

Coote's black horse, however, did no more for him than Lally's Mahrattas did for the French;—they kept out of the reach of shot, and would not even pursue when the enemy were routed

arrived at Madres, and there landed a reinforcement of 600 men. More and more force continued to pour in, and still not a ship, not a man, not a barrel of beef or biscuit arrived to sustain the French in Pondicherry. In the course of the month of October, the English fleet was raised to seventeen sail of the line, and a picturesque regiment of kilted men from the bleak highlands of Scotland were disembarked to try their mettle and their power of enduring heat in the lowlands of Hindustan. By means which are not explained, and which are difficult to understand, as the French had neither money nor credit, and as Hyder Ali had done little for them in that way, Lally succeeded in obtaining some supplies of provisions. On the night of the 4th of September he made a sortie, in the hope of surprising the English camp; but his troops no longer acted with concert or spirit; one of his divisions lagged behind, and the whole plan failed. Unfortunately the directors in Leadenhall-street had sent out by the last ships their orders that Colonel Coote should return to Bengal, and that Major Monson, the officer next under him, should take the command on the Coromandel coast. Although on the very point of completing his brilliant campaign by the reduction of the French capital in India, and although he and all men felt that the company could not know months before, when their orders were dated, what had happened, and of what honour they were depriving him, Coote, without murmur or complaint, submuted to the instructions of his employers. Nor did his magnanimity stop here—his own regiment, one of the best in India, was to proceed with him to Calcutta; the council of Madras were thrown into consternation; Major Monson declared that if that regiment were removed he could not and would not undertake the siege of Pondicherry - and thereupon Coote most generously consented that his regiment should remain to gain laurels for another.* But the chances of war overset or postponed the execution of the directors' orders: Major Monson was dangerously wounded in an attack upon some of the outward defences of the French, and, being for the time incapable of duty, he joined the council in entreating Colonel Coote, who, luckily, had not yet sailed for Bengal, to resume the command, and Coote remained; and the siege of Pondicherry, after the cessation of the rains at the end of November, was pressed with great vigour. Several batteries played against the town from the 8th to the 30th of December; and on the 12th of January, 1761, the trenches were opened, and the place was reduced to extremity. The stores which had been procured had not been husbanded with proper care, and the provisions remaining on hand would not suffice for more than two days longer; the best part of the army, the gallant regiments of Lorraine and Lally, were reduced to a small number, and these worn out with famine, disease, and fatigue; the rest of the troops were little better than a mutinous rabble. Nothing therefore was left to the fiery,

· Mill.

proud man who had arrived in India with the confident hope of extirpating the English and realising the grand schemes of Dupleix, but to neck conditions, and surrender. And, on the 14th of January, a commissioner from Lally and a deputation from the council of Pondicherry entered the English camp, and made an unconditional surrender to Colonel Coote. As soon as the French flag was struck, Mr. Pigot, as governor of Madras, made a formal demand that Pondicherry should be given up to that presidency, as the conquest'and property of the company. Coote and a council of war, consisting of the English admirals and the chief officers both of the army and the navy, decided that the place ought to be held for the king. Upon this, Pigot resolutely declared that, unless Pondicherry were given up to the presidency, he would stop all supplies, and furnish none of the money which was so much wanted for the stibsistence of the king's troops and the French prisoners. After a reference to the company's charters, and upon other considerations, Coote and the council of officers yielded the point; and, by order of the council of Madras, immediate preparations were made for levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground.* The white flag of the Bourbons still floated over the hill-fort of Thiagur, fifty miles in the interior of the countrythe place which Lally had promised to Hyder Ali -and over the other strong hill-fort of Gingee. about thirty-five miles north-west from Pondicherry; but the garrisons, isolated and without any hope of relief, soon surrendered; and by the beginning of April the French had not so much as a single military post in all India. M. Bussy, upon being taken prisoner at the battle of Wandewash, had been instantly liberated upon parole by Coote, who respected his abilities as a soldier and his character as a man: all the English treated him with kindness and consideration; for, unlike Lally, who had made war like a savage, he had invariably treated his English prisoners with humanity and courtesy; and when the here of Golconda returned to France he was received, at least by the public, with the honour due to a brave and able commander, and with the interest which a military people always attach to hazardous and romantic But far different was the fate of the adventures.† miserable Lally, who was regarded with aversion

* The instructions from the court of France to Lally had been intercepted, in which he was directed to destroy such of the British settlements as fell into his power; in consequence of which the court of diseasors gave orders to retalizate the same measures upon the French settlements—frome.

† When our ally and nabob of the Carnátic, Mohammed Ali, heard of the capture of Bussy, he wrote in a rapture of joy to the governor of Madras, saying that that incident alone was an advantage equal to the greatest victory that could have been obtained, and gently suggesting that he should be put into his hands, when the Frenchman would be taken good care of I Mohammed had leasted nothing of the heaf parts of civilization, though he had been so long connected with the English; he was astonished that they did ust put their dangerous prisoner to death, and he thought them beefs of their senses when they allowed him to go at large on his parole and teachers for Europe.

Bussy carried home, or rather remitted from the Decom and the Chreans some time before he went home, a very considerable forbusts. Shortly after his return to France he married a lattee of the Dag de Choiseul, which raised him in favour and consideration at court.

and contempt by his conquerors, who left Pondicharry amidst the insults and reproaches of his wa countrymen, and who, upon his arrival in France, was hooted by the people, and thrown into the Bastille by the government; and lay there till, the Bastille being considered too honourable a place of confinement for such an offender, he was removed to a common gaol. The French government of the day, borne down by a long succession of failures and defeats, were glad to avert the popular indignation from themselves by making Lally their scapegoat; and the accusations brought against that rash and violent man, not merely by his old antagonists of the council of Pondicherry, whom he had so often treated as swindlers and embezzlers, but by every Frenchman that returned beggared and desperate from India—his own glaring abuse of authority, misconduct in the field, and most indisputable failure—and the popular feeling raging against him everywhere-facilitated, and even gave a patriotic colour to, their ungenerous scheme: for, after all, unwise and bad as the conduct of Lally had been, it was difficult to prove him guilty of offences calling for more than deprivation of his military rank, contempt, and oblivion; and the abuse of authority, vexations, and exactions of which he was accused, were not capital crimes by the existing laws of France. Yet the ministry determined to prosecute him unto death, for they felt that a scene and a sacrifice was wanted, and that the enraged people and the French East India Company would not be satisfied with less than the public execution of the man who had lost all India. And thus they charged their victim with high-treason, which deprived him of the aid of counsel-they charged him with base treachery to his country and companions in arms—they charged the man whose innermost and most lasting passion was a hatred of England and of everything English with playing into the hands of the English East India Company and its officers—they charged him, in order to crown his monstrous iniquities, with selling Pondicherry, which he had defended to the last extremity; -- and the grand tribunal of the nation, the then base, truckling, and subservient parliament of Paris, allowed the trial to be conducted so as to satisfy ministers and gratify the mob. Lally had never been destitute of personal courage, and, though an old and worn out man, his conduct throughout the protracted trial was firm and proud. He expressed the greatest indignation at most of the charges made against him; he proved some of the facts alleged to be utterly impossible; and it is said he anticipated an acquittal. When sentence of death was read to him in his foul dungeon, he threw up his hands to Heaven and exclaimed, "Is this the eward of forty-five years' service!" and seizing a pair of companies, with which he had been measuring a map of the Coromandel coast, he struck at his proud, indignant heart; but his arm was held or caught by one of the functionaries in attendance, and the blow did not penetrate deep enough to kill.

He then poured forth a torrent of accusations and execrations against his accusers and judges, apparently involving many facts deemed unsuitable for the public ear. With indecent, atrocious haste they executed him that very afternoon. To prevent him from speaking to the spectators they put a large gag into his mouth before removing him from his cell. He was dragged through the streets of Paris in a dung-cart to the Place de Grève, and was there beheaded.*

In the meanwhile Clive had been received with all honour in England. The fortune he had accumulated, even without counting the Jaghire conferred upon him by the nabob, amounted to 300,000l., the Jaghire rendered from 27,000l., to 30,0001. a-year, and he had credit for being even far richer than he really was. He was raised to the Irish pecrage by the title of Baron Clive of Plassey, and was flattered by the prospect of a speedy elevation to the English peerage, which would give him a seat in the British House of Peers. For the present he took his seat in the House of Commons, where his wealth and his influence filled several other scats, and commanded votes besides his own. All parties courted him; but his admiration for Pitt increased on a personal acquaintance, and he steadily adhered to him till he was driven from office by the accession of George III. and the brief prependerance of Lord Bute. When Bute made overtures to him Clive rejected them; and when this most unpopular minister precipitated his negotiations for a peace with France he avoided consulting Clive as to the Indian clauses and conditions. The conqueror of Bengal was the more incensed at Bute's conduct in this important respect, as he knew that M. Bussy was constantly consulted by the French ministers and negotiators. The subject, however, was too near the heart of Clive to permanente indulgence of of-fended pride, pique, and resentment, and he transmitted a memorial to Bute, conveying ample information on all that related to our eastern possessions. In this paper he dwelt upon the principles recommended by Dupleix, and acted upon by the French. "Dupleix," said Clive, "engaged in the contentions of the princes of the country, and had at one time, in a great measure, obtained his aim. There remained nothing to complete it but the expulsion of the English out of Hindustan. We were at that time wholly attached to mercantile ideas; but undoubted proofs of M. Dupleix's projects obliged us to draw the sword, and our successes have been so great that we have accomplished for ourselves, and against the French, exactly everything that the French intended to accomplish for themselves and against us." He foresaw what would follow the restitution of Pondicherry and other places; he expressed a wish that the French should be limited as to the number of men they were to maintain on the Coromandel coast; and, above all things, he

^{*} Orme...Col. Wilkes...Mill...Mémoire pour le Combe de Lally....Voltaire, Fragmens Historiques sur l'Inde, et sur la Mort du Comte de Lally.

recommended, and strenuously urged, that under no circumstances they should ever be allowed readmission into Bengal except as merchants. Bute graciously thanked him for this memorial; and, impatient as he was for the conclusion of peace, he abided by several of the suggestions the paper contained; and the treaty, though far indeed from satisfying Clive, was less unfavourable to the British interest in India than otherwise it might have been.* Unable to gain Clive, the Bute administration leagued themselves with Mr. Sulivan, and other directors of the East India Company, who entertained a personal animosity against Clive, and aimed at diminishing both his wealth and his reputation. As yet neither these personal enemies nor any one else raised a breath of scandal or reproach about his conduct towards Suraj-u-Dowlah and Omichund, or against his acceptance of the treasure from Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassey; but what Sulivan and his colleagues challenged as objectionable and criminal was Clive's acceptance of the Jaghire, and his insisting on payment of those quit-rents from the company, the opinion of the best English lawyers of the day, the grant of unt which Clive had received was valid; had been made by exactly the same authorsty from which the company had received their chief possessions in Bengal; the company had acquie ced in the grant for more than two years, and, in attempting to prove that Meer Jaffier had no right to confer the Jaghire on Clive, they must equally pro se that that naboh had no right to confer what he had conferred upon the company. It was in every respect unwise to enter upon a too nice and close examination of any of these Indian rights and titles; yet the hostile directors, in their anxiety to appropriate 30,000l. a-year, which they were bound to pay to the pabob before his transfer of the rent, and in their envy and hatred of Clive, who had treated some of them very superciliously, persevered in their attempt, and actually confiscated the Jaghire, or, which was the same thing, they stopped payment of the rents, and put the money into their own coffers. Clive indignantly, and without an hour's delay or hesitation, filed a bill in chancery against the court of directors. The court of directors, guided by the inveterate Sulivan, endeavoured to protract the judgment of chancery by such stratagems or delays as the forms of judicial proceedings might permit; but it is said that, discouraged by the opinions given them by Mr. Yorke, the attorney-general, Sir Fletcher Norton, the solicitor-general, and other eminent lawyers, they had no hope of obtaining a decision in their favour. At the same time Clive had written to his agents at Calcutta to institute a suit at law against the company there, and to transmit a very exact account of all proceedings, that they might be taken up in England. But while "The Daring in War" was thus involving himself in the mazes of law and

* For the heads of this treaty, see ante, vol. i. p. 22, 23. Clive joined Pitt and his opposition phalanx in condemning and denouncing the peace with France.

the company were battling with the man who had re-established their declining power, and gained provinces equal to kingdoms for them, news arrived that the garrison and all the English residents at Patna had been massacred, that revolutions, undertaken and made by the council at Calcutta, had proved miserable failures, and, in short, that everything in Bengal was falling into confusion and ruin. It was felt immediately, even by the most violent of his enemies, that Clive, and Clive alone, could remedy these evils, and overtures were made to him for his instant return to India. The proprietors of East India stock, who elected the directors, and who were now determined that those directors should not through pique and party commit their property and future hopes of gain, called a meeting, and at a very full general court Clive was unanimously solicited to return. At the same meeting the proprietors proposed to the directors the instant restitution of the Jaghire; but Clive, who was in court, not thinking it right to take advantage of this sudden feeling, and to carry merely by his popularity a case depending at law, rose and requested they would not put this proposal to the vote; adding, however, that from a sense of the impropriety of going to India while so valuable a part of his-property remained in dispute he would make certain proposals for a compromise to the court of directors, which would, he trusted, lead to an amicable adjustment of that affair. But there was another great obstacle in the way of his departure and future usefulness; and he declared, in his decided and emphatic manner, that he would never undertake the management of affairs abroad unless Mr. Sulivan were removed at home from his influential post as chairman. He said that it would be in vain for him to exert himself as governor and commander-in-chief if his measures were to be thwarted and condemned at home, by a court of directors under the influence of a chairman whose conduct had evinced his ignorance of East India affairs, and who was also known to be his personal and inveterate enemy—that he cared not who filled the chair provided Mr. Sulivan did not, but that for the sake of his own reputation and the advantage of the company he would do nothing if that gentleman continued to have the lead in Leadenhall-street.* violent tumult followed his speech, but Sulivan, lately so prepotent, could scarcely obtain a hearing, an overwhelming majority of the proprietors being on Clive's side, from the double conviction that he alone ald save Bengal, and that he would do nothing if his will were not complied with. Sulivan wished to try the result of a ballot upon the question; but by the by-laws of the company no ballot could take place except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors; and though upwards of 300 were present. nine could not be found to sign their names to such a requisition. Clive was in consequence nominated governor and commander-in-chief of the British possessions in Bengal, with the express understanding that no other officer of whatever rank should

have the power of interfering with his command there. But he still refused to enter on his office till the event of the next annual election of directors should be known. On the 25th of April, 1764, a not and obstinate contest took place, and ended in the triumph of Clive. Though his friend Lord Bute was no longer minister, Mr. Sulivan succeeded in bringing into the directory just half his number, but his own election as a director was only carried by one vote; and in the subsequent contest for the chair, he was completely defeated. Messrs. Rous and Boulton, two stanch friends of Clive, were nominated chairman and deputy-chairman. After these transactions the court took the subject of the Jaghire into consideration, and soon agreed to the proposals which Clive himself made: -i.e. they confirmed his right to the full amount of the Jaghire rents for ten years, if he should live so long, and provided the company should continue during that period in possession of the lands round Calcutta charged with those rents.

Clive then sailed for the third and last time to India. He reached Calcutta on the 3rd of May, 1765, and found everything in confusion and a disorganization more fearful than he had anticipated. Mr. Warren Hastings had been but too correct in his anticipation, that the folly and excesses of the Europeans would prove as mischievous as the intrigues and vices of the native great men. "Alas?" wrote Clive to a friend, "how is the English name sunk! I cannot avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrecoverably lost, I fear." He called the council together and told them that he had come out to effect a thorough reform in their conduct, the source of most of the mischief which had happened; that it was his full resolution to effect a thorough reform, and, for that end, to make use of the whole of the ample authority civil and military which had been entrusted to him. Johnstone, one of the worst or boldest men in the council, made some show of opposition; but Clive knitted his brow and raised his voice, haughtily demanding whether he meant to question the powers of the new government, and Johnstone, cowed, replied that he never had the least intention of doing such a thing: "upon which there was an appearance of very long and pale countenances, and hot one of the council uttered another syllable."

But these gentlemen of the council and the weak and incompetent governor, Mr. Vansittart, had, during Clive's five years' absence from India, done deeds fitted to make other men's faces pale and red alternately. At the period when Clive had taken his departure for England it was rumoured that the Shah Zada had collected another army and was again advancing against Patna; but it was conceived that a body of troops sent under that excelent officer Colonel Calliaud would enable Ramnarrain, the Hindu governor of Patna, to repel the invasion if really made. Ghazee-u-Deen, the vizier

and master at Delhi, against whom the Shah Zada pretended in the first instance to have taken up arms, murdered the Great Mogul in a fit of desperation, and after this tragical event the Shah Zuda took the state and title of emperor, and conferred the office of vizier upon Sujah-Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, who had shown no great devotion to his person or fortunes the year before, when as the rebellious son of the emperor he was flying before the arms of Clive and Ramnarrain. Alum-" King of the World"-was the name which the new emperor chose for himself. With the assistance of the nabob of Oude, he soon collected a numerous army and began his march to the Caramnassa. Crossing that river he advanced to Patna, and defcated Ramnarrain, who came out of the city to meet him with a very inferior force and with only seventy Europeans and one battalion of English sepoys under the command of Lieutenant Cochrane, Colonel Calliaud being at the time engaged in some important operations on the left bank of the river between Patna and Moorshedabad. In this affair Ramnarrain was wounded, and the sepoys were cut to pieces; but most of the English fought their way to the city, the enemy not daring to resist them, but opening to the right and left to let them And, Colonel Calliaud having soon come up with his 300 English and 1000 sepoys, and with a native army commanded by Meeran, Shah Alum was completely routed and compelled once more to retire from before Patna. As, however, Meeran would not pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong body of Mahratta horse joined the other side, the young emperor, instead of retiring towards Benares, took the route of Moorshedabad, being also joined at this time by the erratic M. Law and his small body of French. But being soon pursued Shah Alum set fire to his camp, and fled towards Onde. Encouraged by the junction of the national sub-governor of Purneah, who after many intrigues threw off the mask and repaired to the imperial standard with a considerable army, Shah Alum, doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to Patna, which had been left almost without troops. Mr. Fullerton, an English surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were repulsed by the gentlemen of the English factory in Patna; part of the wall was demolished and the rampart was scaled by the French, the French were again beaten back; but a renewed assault in greater force was expected. and hope was abandoning the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox, who had marched from Moorshedabad, in the hottest season of the Bengul year, with extraordinary rapidity, appeared in the neighbourhood, broke through the camp of the besiegers. ld drove them from their works. A few days after Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoys, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna, and completely defeated the naib of Purneah with his army of 12,000 men. The unlucky naib retreated with all speed towards the north, but he was soon followed by

Clive's letter to Major Carnae, dated 6th May.

Colonel Calliaud's fresh troops and Meeran's cavalry, who crossed the Ganges, and moved on the more rapidly from the belief that he was carrying all the treasure of Purneah with him. Being overtaken the naib put the treasure and the richer part of the baggage upon camels and elephants, skirmished for a short time to give those useful animals a start, and then ran after them, leaving his artillery and his heavy baggage to the pursuers. On the 2nd of July, the fourth day of the pursuit, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and at night the tent of Meeran was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendants on the spot. After this evil omen Meeran's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna, where he arrived on the 29th of July. He quartered the Europeans and the sepoys in English pay in and round about that important town; but Meeran's people made the best of their way to Moorshedabad, where they surrounded the palace and threatened the life of Meer Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of their arrears. Nearly at the same time other bodies of men took up arms against the old nabob, whose coffers were empty, and whose former friends were nearly all alienated from him, partly on account of his poverty and partly because he had made several treacherous attempts against them; and the weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Mahrattas, who destroyed even more than they plundered. On the other hand Mr. Vansittart, the new governor at Calcutta, found the treasury empty, and the English troops and sepoys almost mutinous through want of pay; and he was induced to acquiesce in all the notions and schemes of Mr. Holwell, who had come to the conclusion that Meer Jassier, by his treachery, cruelty, weakness, and extravagance, was the cause of all these evils, and that the English, who had made him nabob, ought, not less for the good of the natives than for their own benefit, to unmake him without loss of time. And in effect on the 27th of September (1760), before Mr. Vansittart had been two months at Calcutta, a treaty was concluded with Meer Cossim Ali, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier and general of his army, * engaging that he should be invested with full power as nabob or ruler of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon condition of his making over to the company the fruitful provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. Governor Vansittart, though a mild, formal man, and one that paid homage to rules and conventionalities, went in person to Moorshedabad with the modest intention of persuading Meer Jaffier that he was unfit and unworthy to be nabob, and that he ought at once to resign his power into the hands of his more competent son-in-law. old nabob stared with astonishment and chafed with wrath; but the quiet, peace-loving governor

When the mutinous troops were threatening Meer Jaffler with instant death, his loving son in-law Meer Cossim Ali advanced some money to pay part of their arrears and keep them quiet, but not until he had obtained from the nabob the command of the army which Meeran had held, and the promise of the succession which Meeran's death left open.

had brought 180 English soldiers, 600 sepoys, and four pieces of cannon to second his persuasions. his own army had declared for Meer Cossim, many of his own chiefs were seeking his life, and there was no help for him. Mr. Hastings had received orders to arrange the new government with the ministers and functionaries at Moorshedabad, and Colonel Calliaud was commanded by Vansittart to surround the palace with troops. Hereupon the helpless old man sent out the seals to his son-inlaw, and offered to resign if the English would only be security for his life. This was agreed to, and a meeting took place between Calliaud and the nabob. "You English," said Meer Jaffier, "placed me on the musnud: you may depose me if you please. You have thought proper to break your engagements-I would not break mine. My son Meeran forewarned me of all this. I desire you will either send me to Sabut Jung (Clive), for he will do me justice, or let me go a pilgrim to Mecca; or, if not, let me go to Calcutta, for I will not stay in this place. You will, I suppose, let me have my women and children; therefore let me have budgerows [boats] immediately."* Accordingly the old man, with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, where alone he could be safe, and Meer Cossim Ali was proclaimed nabob, with a firing of guns and a beating of drums and tomtoms, and other ceremonials that would suit the winding up of a melo-drama in a playhouse. But Messrs. Vansittart and Holwell, and the other gentlemen of the council, who had driven on this revolution, had committed a capital mistake in assuming that the new nabob would suit their purpose better than the old one. Meer Cossim soon let them know that he had a will of his own, and that he had abilities and a kind of courage which for Bengal might be called heroic, but which was accompanied with cruelty and ferocity. At first, however, his professions of gratitude and dependence, and submission to their wills, were all that the council could wish; and having procured some money he paid the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, and sent six or seven lacs of rupees to Calcutta.

In the month of January, 1761, Major Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Calliaud in the command of the company's troops in Bahar, advanced from Patna against the Emperor Shah Alum, who was once more making head in that province. Meer Cossim placed some of the troops which had belonged to Meeran under the orders of Carnac, who, being also joined by Ramnarrain and his forces, gained an easy and complete victory over the Mogul. In this affair M. Law, who had been so long flitting from place to place, seated himself cross-legged on one of his guns, and in that curious attitude surrendered to Major Carnac and Captain Knox. The French, his companions, tired of the wandering life they had led with him, deserted him when the retreat began and followed the em

^{*} Letter to Lord Clive from Mr. Lushington, who was linguist or interpreter to the army, and an eye witness and car-witness of what passed!

pergr, who retired towards Delhi, and shortly after sent the new nabob Meer Cossim Ali his investiture as Subahdar or Nabob of Bengal, &c., Meer Cossim agreeing, in consideration of this acknowledgment, to pay him an annual tribute of twentyfour lacs of rupees. At the same time Shah Alum offered the English the dewannee, or receivership, of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, if they would send an army into central India to secure him in possession of Delhi and of a throne that was tottering as it had been for generations. The project was entertained by the council at Calcutta, but they had been obliged to send a great part of the money they had received from the new nabob to Madras, to enable that presidency to prosecute the siege of Pondicherry, not yet brought to a close. Meer Cossim was incessantly called upon for more money; but he had given in presents to the governor and council for his clevation upwards of 200,000/.;* in ceding to the company the countries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, he had given away a third part of his revenues; the company's servants of all sorts, by the abuse they made of the dustucks or permits, exempting goods from the payment of duty, stopped another source of revenue; and he was soon as poor as his predecessor. Casting about him for some great prey, his greedy eye fell upon Ramnarrain, the celebrated governor of Patna, whose treasury and life had been aimed at by Mccr Jaffier, but preserved and declared sucred by Clive. Mr. Vansittart, being warned of Meer Cossim's designs, at first instructed Major Carnac to afford every protection to Rammarrain, who had received so many pledges from the English, and who had recently rendered them such valuable services in repelling the attacks of the Mogul. But it appeared to be the fate of Mr. Vansittart never to persevere in any one line of conduct, good or bad, honourable or dishonourable: he listened to the suggestions and promises of Meer Cossim, he took great offence at the free and spirited language of Major Carnac, and he sent Colonel Coote, now returned from the conquest of Pondicherry, to superscde the Major at Patna. But Coote had as high a sense of honour as Carnac, and, upon seeing what was expected from him, he refused either to be an active agent in, or a passive spectator of, the betrayal and ruin of the Hindu governor. Vansittart and the council then recalled Coote, and Ramnarrain was left to the mercy of the new nabob, who pretended that he merely meant to call him to account for the receipts of his government, and get from him arrears which neither he nor his father-in-law had ever been able to

• The following is a list of the presents acknowledged to have been received:—

H Lebelved!-			Rupees.			£.
Mr. Vansittart			\$00,000			58,383
Mr. Samper			240,000			28,000
Mr. Holwell			270,000			30,937
Mr. M'(luire			180,000			20,625
Mr. Smith			134,000			15 354
Major Yorke			184,000			15,854
General Cailland	1		200,000			22,916
Mr. W. M'Gnite		,	75,000		•	8,750

£200.000

obtain. Ramnarrain was thrown into prison, his house was broken open and plundered, his friends and servants were tortured in order to make them confess where lay his hidden treasures—for the money actually found was a mole-hill instead of a mountain. The disappointed tyrant, fearing the indignation of the English, did not put his prisoner to death immediately; but two years later, when he had drawn the sword against those who had made him nabob, he murdered Ramnarrain, together with several other chiefs, both Mussulmans and Hindus.*

The immediate consequence of this base abandonment of Ramnarrain was the cessation of all friendly correspondence between the English and the native nobility, who could no longer repose confidence in the government of Calcutta. Both Hindus and Mussulmans, thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabob than trust to the foreigners, made offers of their money and their services, and Meer Cossim, encouraged by their adhesion and by the general and increasing unpopularity of the company, flattered himself that he might soon be in a position to defy the English authority. He began by complaining and protesting against the abuses made of the dustucks or permits, by which he was deprived of his revenue, and, soon proceeding from words to deeds, he stopped goods protected by the dustucks, and he even stopped and scarched boats going up the Ganges, not merely with the dustucks, but also with the company's flag. In nearly every instance he found salt, or betel, or tobacco, or some other of the articles prohibited or reserved to the nabob in the treaty; and in many instances he ascertained that the servants of the company had sold the dustucks to natives—to his own subjects, who had no right to them. Frequent acts of violence accompanied these measures, for the English, and the natives in their service or under their protection, would not easily submit to any search, and it was not in the nature of men like the officers and troops of the nabob to exercise the right of search with gentleness and moderation. To remedy these evils Mr. Vansittart negotiated a new treaty, which, while leaving some advantages to the servants of the company, made a surrender of others. But this inept governor had not the faculty of enforcing obedience on the wilful, rapacious crew at Calcutta and the other English factories, and Meer Cossim had neither the power nor the will to make the treaty be observed on his side. "In truth," says a dispassionate observer, "it soon became a personal quarrel. Meer Cossim, in the orders issued to his officers, distinguished between the trade of his friends and of those who opposed him, treating individuals with indecent reproach."+ By a change made by the court of directors in the supreme council at Culcutta Vansittart was left in a minority, and his intentions, even when they happened to be wise and good, were frequently

Vansitiart's Narrative.—Reports of the Committee.—Scott, Hist,
of Bengal.—Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.—Sir John Malsolm, Life of Clive
† Verels, View of the English Government in Bengal.

defeated. The vacillation and infirmity of purpose that arose out of these circumstances led the nabob to despise what he and all Bengal had feared. Throwing down the pen, and writing no more letters of complaint, he called the boldest of his officers round him, seized two of the company's boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and made preparations for getting Patna into his own hands, and destroying the English detachment there. Apprised of this latter intention, the majority of the council—it is difficult to apportion the blame-remitted orders to Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to anticipate the nabob's design by seizing upon the citadel, if he should think proper or see reason to believe that the reports concerning the nabob were true. Knowing that Mr. Ellis hated the new nabob, and that he was a violent and inconsiderate man, Governor Vansittart, Mr. Warren Hastings, and Mr. Smyth had voted against giving him such discretionary power. But they were overruled by the majority; and Ellis no sooner got the order than he acted upon it by surprising and taking the citadel of Patna by night on the 24th June, 1763.* On receiving the news of this event Meer Cossim's rage knew no bounds. Exclaiming against the treachery of the English, he murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna, he nurdered two Hindu bankers supposed to be attached to the English interests, threw forward a great army to Patna, drove the English from the town to their factory outside of it, and from the factory to their boats. These English troops, who had behaved as disgracefully as the supreme council at Calcutta had behaved unwisely, fled up the Ganges to Chuprah, where they were surrounded, deprived of provisions, and reduced to lay down their arms. They were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found for their companions their countrymen from Cossimbuzar, which factory had been attacked and plundered by the nabob. In the mean time the supreme council at Calcutta had entered into new arrangements with Meer Jaffier, and had determined, as the best mode of checking the career of his son-in-law, to let him loose upon him, and set him again upon the mustud from which they had so recently pulled him down. The old nabob, passive as a nine-pin, confirmed the grants of territory made by Meer Cossim, granted an exemption to the company's servants from all search, and from all duties except upon salt, and engaged to pay to the company thirty lacs of rupees for the expenses of this new war against his son-in-law, and to maintain at his own charge an army of 24,000 men, horse and

* Previously to this decisive step blood had been shed in the neighbourhood of Patna. Me. Ellis, perceiving that desertion was becoming ubusually prevalent among the English sepoys at Patna, attitisted the state of it, and we presume correctly, to Meer Cossin, whose people occasionally defended the deserters by force of arms. Some of the fugitive sepoys took refuge in the tot of Monghir. Ellis sent a body of troops with orders to search the piace. The nabul's officer in command refused to give admission to the party, alleging that Monghir was not only one of the nabob's fortresses, but a royal residence that could not be searched. Ellis, in a fury, ordered the English officer to held his ground within a mile and a half of the place. Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Warres Hassings, by the Rev. O. R. Gleig.

foot. Having issued his mandates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, as rightful and indisputable nabob, he joined the English, who were now taking the field and advancing upon Moorshedabad. Meer Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were completely routed; but they made head again near Geriah, whither Meer Cossim sent the greater part of his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoys, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by an European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, though he is generally called a German, and is known to have first gone to India as a sergeant in the French army.* On the 24th the English dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabad without opposition; and on the 2nd of August they gave battle in the plain of Geriah. Their force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1500 sepoys, and some squadrons of native cavalry. The number of Meer Cossim's army was as ten to one; it was supported by an immense train of artillery; the sepoys under Sumroo were perfectly well trained, and most of the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered. Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours, and some daring and almost successful movements were made under the eye of Sumroo. But at last the nabob's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon and of 150 boats that lay close by in the Ganges laden with provisions. They fled to an intrenched camp which Meer Cossim had formed on the Oodwa. That nabob, after executing some of the chiefs who were in the English interest, and sending his family and treasure to a strong fort, left Monghir in person with the avowed intention of throwing himself into the camp at Oodwa; but when he came near that scene of danger he halted, wavered, and turned back. strong was the position at Oodwa that it detained the English for three whole weeks. At length, however, on the 5th of September, the camp was carried after some hard fighting, and the whole army of the nabob was scattered. Murdering one or two more chiefs, Meer Cossim fled towards Patna, and was followed by such portions of his disheartened troops as still kept together. The English advanced and laid siege to Monghir, which had been carefully fortified, and which was defended by 2000 sepoys disciplined by Sumroo. After nine days of open trenches the garrison, early in October, surrendered. Meer Cossim, who had made Monghir his capital, in preference to Moorshedabad, the old residence of the nabobs or subahdars of Bengal, who had expended large sums

Sir John Malcolm says that he was told by a well-informed friend that he was not a German, but a Frenchmun of Switch, of the name of Sombre, which, jerhape, had been his stom the greater when in the French service. in fortifying it, and who had entertained the hope that it could repulse the English army, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the news of the surrender, and his fury vented itself in ordering the execution of all the English who had been taken at Patna, with Mr. Ellis the chief. The European adventurer Sumroo undertook the execution, and directed the massacre of 150 Englishmen; every soldier and every servant of the company being brutally murdered, with the single exception of Mr. Fallerton, the surgeon. After this bloody deed Meer Cossim abandoned Patna to the care of one of his chiefs, and retreated towards the Caramnassa. The British army took Patna by storm on the 6th of November, and then continued their march to the Caramnassa, which they reached early in December, but too late to catch the flying nabob, who had crossed that river some days before, and had gone with Sumroo to seek the protection of the naboh of Oude. Soujah Dowla, the powerful ruler of Oude, and recently appointed vizier to the young emperor, was at Allahabad, and Shah Alum was with him. He had previously concluded a treaty with the ejected nabob, and, pretending to be earnest for his restoration, he marched his army to Benares. and encamped not many miles from the English. He was still accompanied by the young Mogul. who had some troops under his orders, and, as a considerable portion of the troops trained by Sumroo had followed that adventurer, the entire force collected was imposing.

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp, many of the sepoys deserted to the enemy, and whole companies of Europeans, chiefly French, or Germans, and Swiss who had been formerly in the French service, marched off for Benares with their arms and accoutrements. Major Carnac, who now arrived to take the command, thought it prudent to retreat to Patna, for provisions had grown scarce and the mutinous spirit still continued. The major was soon followed by Soujah Dowla, Meer Cossim, and Shah Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on the 3rd of May, 1764, by an overwhelming force, foremost in which was the devil Sumroo, with the best of the disciplined infantry. But the spirit of disaffection and mutiny had vanished at the sight of the enemy; the sepoys in English pay rivalled in bravery and steadiness the native English troops; attack after attack was repulsed; and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants, whose loss had been tremendous. Almost immediately after this reverse the nabob of Oude opened a correspondence with Meer Jaffier, the restored nabob, and offered to support him in Bengal and Orissa, if he would only cede to Oude the whole country of Bahar; and nearly at the same time the Emperor Shah Alum sent a private message to Major Carnac, offering to abandon both the nabob of Oude and Meer Cossim for English protection and alliance. These negotiations, however, came to nothing for the present, and the two

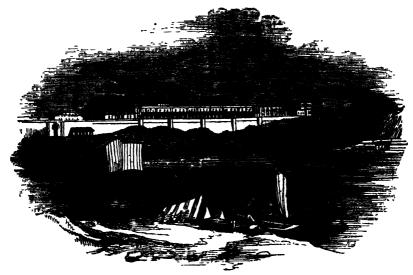
nabobs and the emperor retreated together from Bahar into Oude. In the month of May, 1764, Major Hector Monro reached Patna with a considerable reinforcement of British troops, and assumed the command of the whole army. To put a stop to the mutiny of the sepoys, whom he found clamouring for higher pay, Monro blew twenty four of their ringleaders from the mouths of his cannon. This extreme measure was attended with complete success: there was no more mutiny from that day forward.* As soon as the rainy season drew to its close Monro led his reformed army against the enemy, and on the 22nd of October, having crossed the Sona, he gave them a defeat which entirely broke the power of the nabob of Oude, the only Mogul prince that the English had to fear. One hundred and thirty pieces of artillery were left on the field by Soujah Dowla, who, cursing his allies, fled towards Lucknow. Shah Alum immediately repeated to Major Monro the overtures he had before made to Major Carnac, complaining that Soujah Dowla treated him more like a state prisoner than an emperor. Monro wrote to the presidency at Calcutta for instructions, and he was soon afterwards authorised to treat with Shah Alum, who, in the mean while, with such troops as adhered to him, kept close to the English army When Monro arrived at the city of Benares Soujah Dowla sent to offer him twenty-five lacs of rupecs for the company, twenty-five lacs for his army, and cight lacs for himself, if he would consent to a peace and quit the country of Oude; but the major refused to treat unless the nabol; previously delivered to the English Meer Cossim and Sumroo. Soujah Dowla, who had already quarrelled with the ex-nahob and seized the treasure he had with him, urged that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Meer Cossim and bandon all thoughts of sovereignty and flee to a distant country, where he could give no umbrage to the company or to Mcer Jaffier. As for the European Sumroo, he was not so scrupulous, proposing to invite him to a feast, and there have him murdered in the presence of any English gentleman Monro might choose to send to witness the punishment. These proposals were not relished in the English camp, and the negotiation with the nabob of Oude was broken off. The treaty with the emperor was then hurried to a close, Shah Alum, as Mogul and lord of the whole, granting to the English the country of Gazzipore, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, and the English agreeing to put Shah Alum in possession of the city of Allahabad and the remainder of the dominions of Soujah Dowla. As a last and perilous expedient, the nabob of Oude, who was thus to be deprived of all his dominions, made application to Ghazee-u-Deen, vizier and murderer of the late

The twenty-four victims were selected out of a whole battalion of sepoys, who, after threatening the lives of their European officers, were marching off by night to join the enemy. They were tried by a field court-martial composed of their own black officers, who found them guilty of mutiny and desertion.

emperor, Shah Alum's father; and this chief of Mahratta race, being joined by Mulhar-Row-Holkar, descended into Oude with a great army of Mahratta horse. With these allies Sujah Dowla once more tried his fortune against the English, who had taken possession of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and of Allahabad, the strongest fortress of the coun-

try. On the 3rd of May, 1765, a battle was fought near Corah, the English being again under the command of Major Carnac (now General Carnac). The Mahrattas were quickly dispersed by the English artillery, and the whole of the confederate army was broken and driven across the river Jumna.

In the mean time Meer Jaffier had again vacated



PALACE OF SUJAH DOWLA AT LUCENOW. From a Drawing in the British Museum.

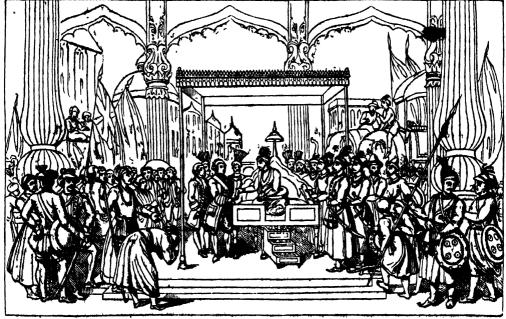
the musnud, and this time for good, for it was death, and not the supreme council at Calcutta, that had removed him. The council had recalled him from the army to Calcutta in order to obtain money from him. Having no longer any money to give, and being harassed and fretted into a fever by importunities and menaces, he was allowed to repair to Moorshedabad, where he breathed his last in January, 1765, about four months before General Carnac's great victory. Moreover, on the very day of that victory, Clive had arrived at Calcutta with powers to set right all that had been done wrong during his absence. mentioning his bold proceedings in council, we may relate the conclusion of the operations in Oude; a conclusion which was not come to without his intervention. A few days after his defeat at Corah, Sujah Dowla, having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy and magnanimity of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac, who received him with much distinction. The nabob assured the general that Meer Cossim had fled into Rohilcund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oude; that he was more capable of defending those territories than Shah Alum, to whom they had been promised by the secent treaty; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the

Mahrattas and Afghans. As soon as he heard of these events, which was almost as soon as he arrived at Calcutta, Clive set off for Allahabad to take the negotiations into his own management. and to conclude a settlement with Sujah Dowla and the emperor, with or without the aid of General Carnac.* His lordship, however, found important business to settle at Moorshedabad, where affairs had fallen into a chaos of confusion; and it was not till the end of July that he reached the English camp at Allahabad, which then contained the persons both of the Mogul of Delhi and the Nabob of Oude. The new treaty was then taken up with earnestness, the old one with the emperor if we can call old what had been made only a few months before-being torn up as waste paper; and it was agreed that Shah Alum must rest satisfied with the possession of Allahabad and Corah, and that all the rest of Oude should be restored to Sujah Dowle, who was to continue vizier to the emperor, and never on any account to employ or give shelter to Meer Cossim or Sumroo. Sujah Dowla engaged to oppose the Mahrattas and defend the frontiers of Bengal, and the English bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion. Shah Alum, in right of the imperial authority, which would have been a name and a shadow without the presence of the armies of the company, granted to the English the dewannee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and

Oriest, in return for which he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad and Corah, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewannee—which, in fact, constituted the company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant—the young emperor confirmed the right of the company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India.

On the death of Meer Jaffier the supreme council at Calcutta, after some deliberation, had conferred the nominal sovereignty of Bengal on his surviving son, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah, a spiritless incompetent youth, who agreed that the English should take the military defence of the country into their own hands, and appoint a naib subah, or sub-nabob, who was to manage the revenues and all other matters of government. The council appointed Mohammed Reza Khan, a Mussulman, and an honest honourable man, to this post of naib, but the new nabob was desirous that the place should be filled by Nuncomar, one of the very worst of the Hindu chiefs, who had alternately served and betrayed the English and the late nabob Meer Jaffier; and, as Mohammed Reza Khan was kept in his high office, Nujeem-ul-Dowlah timidly expressed his dissatisfaction. But Olive, on his arrival, came to the conclusion that Nujcem was no more fit to be nabob than Nuncomar was to be naib, and the young man was soon compelled to retire from all business on a pension of thirty-two lacs of rupees. The dictator in India-for such Clive now was-disapproved in the strongest manner of the first revolution effected by the company in deposing Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his

own making, and he considered that the violence and rashness of the majority of the council, and the excessive license allowed to the servants of the company, and to the still more insolent and rapacious native agents of those servants, had precipitated the revolution against Meer Cossim, who, in Clive's opinion, having once been elevated to the musnud, and made to pay for that elevation, ought to have been maintained upon it, and kept in the right way by a mixture of conciliatory and restrictive measures. He had no confidence in the steadiness or good faith of any of these native chiefs or princes; but he conceived that it was possible to manage them, and monstrous in the English to be always making and breaking bargains with them, and keeping the country in a continual state of uncertainty, revolution, and change. Before his departure from England he assured the Court of Directors that the English, by this kind of conduct, had lost all the confidence of the natives. "To restore this," he added, "ought to be our principal object; and the best means will, in my opinion, be by catablishing a moderation in the advantages which may be reserved for the company, or allotted to individuals in their service. . . . During Mr. Vansittart's government all your servants thought themselves entitled to take large shares in the monopolies of salt, betel, and tobacco (reserved by treaty to the nabob), the three articles, next to grain, of greatest consump-tion in this empire. The odium of seeing such monopoles in the hands of foreigners need not be insisted on; but this is not the only inconvenience; it is productive of another, equally, if not



SHAH ALUM PRESENTING THE GRAFF OF THE DEWANNER TO LORD CLIVE. From the Picture painted by Bengamin West.

more, prejudicial to the company's interests; it enables many of your servants to obtain, very suddenly, fortunes greater than those which in former times were thought a sufficient reward for a long continuance in your service. Hence these gentlemen, thus suddenly enriched, think of nothing but of returning to enjoy their fortunes in England. and leave your affairs in the hands of young men, whose sanguine expectations are inflamed by the examples of those who have just left them." These servants of the company looked to the India House as a kind of lottery-office, and their impatience was disappointed if they were not enabled to make a fortune in two or three years. With the most exaggerated notions of the resources of Bengal, they seem to have considered all means as fair and justifiable that tended to turn the stream of gold into their own pockets. We believe that there is no exaggeration in the eloquent warmth of the following passage:- "The immense population of his (the nabob's) dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him. The servants of the company obtained—not for their employers, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell chesp. They insulted with perfect impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents, who ranged through the provinces spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the company thicker than the loins of Suraj-u-Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource:—when the evil became insupportable, they rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil genii, rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of the English breed—the hereditary nobility of mankind—whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fied from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English tra-veller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate." Clive had come out to put an end to

this state of things; but the task he had undertaken was not an easy one. Most of the members of the council had been partakers in the spoils and profits of the system; many of the servants who had been most oppressive and rapacious were strong in their patronage at Leadenhall-streetwere brothers, sons, cousins, nephews, or otherwise near connexions of great shareholders and potent directors. Moreover, nearly every European in the country looked to India as an estate in usu fructu, which they were to make the most of for themselves, without caring for those that might come after them, and without any regard to the lasting advantages of the company or of the mother country. It has been well said that this was a battle harder than that of Plassey, the whole settlement being set as one man against Clive and his proposed reforms. At first the more powerful of the ravenous welves threatened and protested, and quoted Clive's large fortune as a justification of their own. Several, confident in their patronage at home, refused to act with or under him; upon which he declared that, if he could not find support at Calcutta, he would procure it elsewhere; and he actually sent for some civil servants from Madras, and turned the refractory out of their Then recourse was had to the gentler ways of flattery and entreaty, arguments, persuasions, and prayers; but they would have been as hopefully and as profitably employed in bidding the monsoons to forget to blow at their fixed seasons, or in commanding the Ganges to roll back its waters from its many mouths on the ocean to its sources among the eternal snows of the Himalaya mountains. Nothing could turn Clive from his purpose. He put down the private trade and dangerous privileges of the company's servants; and he rigidly prohibited the extorting or receiving presents from the natives. But he also adopted measures which might give the servants of the company a proper maintenance and a fair chance of acquiring fortunes by application and perseverance. Hitherto the pay of these servants was miserably low-so low, indeed, that the salary of a member of the council of Calcutta was only 300l. a-year. "Yet it was notorious," says the eloquent writer we have just quoted, " that such a functionary could hardly live in India for less than ten times that sum; and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to This system, before the conquest of England. Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, but could do tittle harm in any other way. But the sompany was now a suling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were, in truth, proconsuls, propractors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service, and by the im-

plied permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means; and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated Bengal. Olive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power, and to expect that they would be content to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be effectual which should not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the company." The directors, he knew, would not sanction any increase of salaries out of their own treasury, and he had to look only to some disposable revenue on the spot. The monopoly of salt, which had been for ages a principal head of Indian revenue, and which was now, by the last arrangements pensioning off the young nabob, in the hands of the company, seemed to him the readiest and best source; and he accordingly appropriated it to the proper pay and support of the servants of all kinds, carefully dividing the proceeds according to a scale. His conduct in this particular was misrepresented at the time, and was afterwards placed foremost in the list of his offences-a list drawn up by implacable men, who, for very obvious reasons, would have passed over without censure or comment several of his deeds that were most open to obloquy. The measure, however, has been defended as wise and just by many recent writers, and by none more earnestly than by the distinguished author of the article in the Edinburgh Review. "The monopoly of salt," says that gentleman, " had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born; it continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue, and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly but surely acquiring a competence."* But, after settling with the civil servants, Clive had to struggle with the bolder men who held the power of the sword, and to encounter-what is always difficult to bear-the ill will and reproaches of old companions in arms. The directors had ordered him to make sundry retrenchments; and Clive himself felt the necessity of doing away with or limiting the practice of giving additional pay, or, as it was called, "double batta" -- a practice first introduced after the battle of Plassey by the nabob, Meer Jaffier, who, according to treaty, was to pay the expenses of the war. Clive at that time warned the army that this "double batta" was to be considered as an extraordinary indulgence on the part of the nabob, and not as regular emolument to be paid by the company every time they took the field. Since then the

court of directors had issued the most positive orders that "double batta" should be abolished: but Vansittart and his council had listened to the remonstrances of the army, and had not ventured to carry these orders into execution. On the 1st of January, 1766, Clive and the select committee issued an order that "double batta" to the European officers—the only class that now claimed it-should cease, except at Allahabad, where the troops were considered as being actually in the field; and generally the troops in Bengal were put upon the same footing as the troops on the Coromandel coast, by whom no "batta" was drawn, except when actually marching or serving in the The officers remonstrated; Clive quoted to them the positive and peremptory orders of the company; and on the appointed day the reduction took place. Forthwith two hundred English officers, who had expected the blow some time before, engaged in a confederacy or conspiracy, binding themselves by an oath to secrecy, and to preserve, at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any comrade that might be condemned by a courtmartial. Thinking that they should thereby evade the charge of mutiny, they refused their usual pay. Each officer confederating bound himself in a bond of 5001. to throw up his commission, and never accept it again unless "double batta" were restored. On the day appointed all these officers, who are said to have been supported and encouraged underhand by several of the civilians at Calcutta, resigned, apparently in full confidence that Clive would be frightened out of his resolution, as, at that very moment, the country was threatened with a new invasion by a Mahratta But they mistook the force of Clive's army. character. Stern and unmoved, he wrote to the council:—" Such a spirit must, at all hazards, be suppressed at the birth;" and he distred them to write to Madras, in order that every officer and cadet that could be spared from that presidency should be held in readiness to embark for Bengal at the shortest notice. Further, he desired them to acquaint the presidency of Fort St. George with the mutiny and with the approach of the Mahrattas; and he concluded by stating that the committee at Calcutta must adopt the absolute determination that no officer now resigning should ever again hold any place or station in the company's service. He had still a few officers near his person on whom he could rely, and, having very good reason to know that a young writer or clerk might soon be turned into a good soldier, he gave commissions to several young men in the mercan When informed by one of his tile service. colonels commanding at Monghir that the sum of 16,000/. was said to be subscribed for the mutinous officers by gentlemen at Calcutta in the civil service, he requested the council to take immediate steps for discovering and punishing the civilians who were thus encouraging the most dangerous of mutinies; and he sent orders to Monghir to arrest a number of the officers till a

[&]quot; Seventy years ago," says this writer, in another part of the same brilliant article, " much less money eacs brought home from the East than to our time; but it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons."

court-martial of field-officers could be summoned.
"The ringleaders of this affair," said be, "must suffer the severest punishment that military law can inflict, else there is an end of discipline in the army, and of authority in the East India Company." He was well backed by General Carnac, Colonel Smith, Sir Robert Barker, Mr. Robertson, the field-adjutant, and other superior officers;

he knew that the common English soldiers were steady, and that the sepoys would stand by him in any extremity. Having sent forward such trustworthy officers as he had been able to collect at a short notice, he quitted Moorshedabad, where he had been arranging matters of trade and finance, and advanced fearlessly and with a small escort to Monghir, declaring that he must see the soldiers'



MONGRIE-VIEW WITHIN THE PORT. From a Print by Salt.

bayonets levelled at his throat before he could give way an inch. In the mean time the council had resolved that all resignations tendered should be accepted, and the officers tendering them immediately sent down to Calcutta.* The officers who had been sent forward, on their arrival at Monghir, told those who were in the confederacy that Clive was coming, determined not to yield to them, reminded them of their ingratitude towards a person who had recently given up 70,000l. to form a fund for their invalids and widows, and made use of other arguments likely to lead them back to a sense of their duty: but their answer was that they had gone too far to retract.† Immediately

• "On applying to the free merchants," says Sir John Malcolm, "to come forward and do duty as officers on the present emergency, too only would accept commissions, which confirmed the suspicion that the greater part of them approved the conduct of the officers, even if they had not entered into a subscription to support the combination."

bination."

† A legacy of 70,000l, was bequeathed by Meer Jaffier to Clive, who paid it into the company's treasury at Fort William to lie at interest for the support of European officers and soldiers who might be disabled or decayed in the company's service in Bengal, and for the widows of officers and soldiers who might die on service there. The company afterwards extended this provision; and the fund, which still bears the name of Clive, owes its origin to this his princely donation.

on his own arrival Clive addressed the soldiers, explaining the crime of their officers, mentioned his own donation to the European part of the army, and ordered double pay to be issued to the sepoys for two months—regretting that he should be obliged to place that confidence in the black troops which he had, before the recent conduct of their officers, reposed in the English. To the scroys he committed the care of escorting a number of the conspirators to Fort William. In a short time the ringleaders were all arrested, tried, and cashiered; but, as some legal doubts were entertained as to the powers granted by the Mutiny Act for the company's service, not one of them was sentenced to death, though Clive, in the first heat of his passion, had threatened to have them all shot. Repentance and humiliation—expressed in many instances to Clive even with tears-now became general; nearly all who had resigned begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations: the objects of their combination were defeated,—their dangerous league was broken,—and those who were restored were compelled to sign a contract to serve the company on its own terms

for three years, and to give a year's notice of any intention to quit the service. Clive treated the younger offenders with lenity; and, when his indignation was cooled and the danger over, he scorned to take any personal vengeance for personal wrongs and insults. When told that one of the conspirators had planned his assassination, he stopped the charge by saying—" No, the officers are Englishmen, not assassins." He forthwith adopted several wise regulations to restore the strictest discipline and subordination, and to check that luxury and extravagance, that gambling and dissipation, which had been the main cause of the late troubles. In the course of a very few weeks he could announce that everything was as quiet and as well regulated as could be wished.

Clive, satisfied with the large fortune he had previously made, had voluntarily declared on accepting his reforming mission that he renounced all claim to the commercial or other advantages then attached to the post of governor—that he wanted no more money-that he wanted nothing but a thorough reform, which in the end would prove equally beneficial to the oppressors and to the oppressed—to the poor natives, to the servants of the company of all classes, to the company itself, and to the British nation. It is not often-perhaps a similar case never occurred—that a man has so scrupulously adhered to such a resolution under such temptations: the servants of the company would have enabled him to double or treble his fortune if he had consented to connive at their misdoings; the neighbouring princes of India would have paid any price for his assistance; the ruler of Benares offered him diamonds of inestimable value; Sujah Dowlah, the vizier and nabob of Oude, offered him a large sum of money and a casket of jewels; but these and other temptations he firmly resisted, making no merit of his refusals, which did not come to light till after his death. He always affirmed that this his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.*

The power of the English in Bengal, hitherto undefined and in constant and inevitable collision with that of the nabob, was fixed, and became, in fact, a real and sole sovereignty, by the bargains he had concluded with Shah Alum and the son and successor of Meer Juffier. Clive, however, thought that the name of a nabob might still be of some use, particularly in dealings with the other European nations, like the Dutch and Danes, who retained their possessions in Bengal, and the French, who had obtained repossession of theirs, though bound not to fortify them, by the recent treaty of peace. But the phantom he left at Moorshedabad, surrounded by guards and silver maces was, in fact, a mere pensioner of the compa alike incapable of doing either good or evil in the political affairs of the country. Having, as he considered, done all that he had come to do, Clive was anxious to return home, for his health was again seriously affected. The company, it appears,

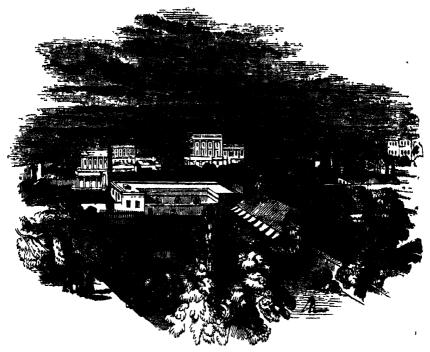
* tër John Malcolm, Life.—Edin. Rav.

tempted him to remain a year longer, by offering to make his jaghire perpetual; but he said that he saw no necessity for staying; that he could render the company more essential service at home; and that he was not to be tempted even by the bait of the jaghire. In fact, the nervous malady to which he had been a prey from time to time ever since his youth was now accompanied by the bodily and mental horrors that arise from bile and a discased liver; and he was occasionally attacked by spasms which thus early endangered his life or his reason. These attacks could not break the iron energy of his will, or put a stop to his labours so long as there were important objects to pursue; but that incessant toil, turmoil, and excitement wore out the weakly body.* On the 16th of January, 1767, he attended for the last time a meeting of the select committee at Calcutta. In his farewell address he told them that he could now leave the country in peace and in a flourishing state; but he strongly advised them not to be over anxious to increase the revenues, especially where increase could only be effected by oppressing the nafive landholders and tenants. He candidly expressed his great apprehension that their empire in the East might still be exposed to danger by the revival of rapacity, corruption, and insubordination, which he had put down with so much difficulty. He read them a good lesson on the necessity of reflecting well on their orders before they issued them, and of permitting no obstacle to their execution when once issued. He strongly recommended a most delicate regard to the trade, the property, and general well-being of the people of the country. In ending, he said-" I leave the country in peace: I leave the civil and military departments under discipline and subordination: it is incumbent upon you to keep them so."† A few days after - at the end of January 167—he took his final farewell of India, embarking for England in the "Britannia." He arrived at London in the month of July, was hailed with acclamations by the court of directors, was received with unusual regard by George III. and Queen Charlotte, to whom he brought letters and presents from the nabob of Oude, and was then carried by his family

"On the 30th of December, 1768, he wrote to a friend in England—"The court of directors have been very strenuous in soliciting me to coutinue another year in India. They have loaded me with compliments, and givon me as much additional power as I could have wished. But the attaction of the company's affairs does not require that I should sacrifice another year in this climate; and, even if it did call upon me to make such a sacrifice, it would be vann. The very severa attack of bile that I have been struggling with for many weeks puts it beyond a doubt that I could not survive and be of use to the company in India another year."

1 Sir John Malcolm. Political Hist. of India.—On the 23rd of January he wrote an earnest letter to the select committee with other rules or recommendations for their conduct. In this letter he said, "The people of this country have little or no idea of a divided power; they imagine all authority is vested in one man. The givernor of Bengal should always be looked upon by them in this light, as far as is consistent with the honour of the committee and council. In every vacant season, therefore, I shink it expedient that he take a tour up the country in the quality of a supervisor-goveral. Frands and oppressions of every sort, being by this means laid open to his view, will, in a great measure, be prevented, and the natives preserve a just opinion of the importance and dignity of your president, upon whose character and conduct much of the prosperity of the company's affairs in Bengal must depend."

2 In the chronicle of the Annual Register for the year 1787 the



VIEW OF CALSUTTA. From a Print by Daniell.

and friends to Bath, to seek a cure or an alleviation to some of the worst ills that ficsh is heir to—spasms, indigestion, loss of sleep, and hypochondriasis. The next time we shall meet Lord Clive will be as a criminal put upon his defence—as the most unpopular or the most abused man in the three kingdoms.

In the course of the year 1767 the Afghans created some alarm in Bengal by marching upon Delhi; but after devastating several provinces the invaders returned to their mountains. The presidency made a feeble attempt to restore the rajuh of Nepaul to his dominions, which had been seized by a neighbouring chief of Ghurka. The country of Nepaul, almost surrounded by mountains, was found too difficult of access by the small force sent against it; and the officer in command of the expedition thought proper to return, after a vain application for reinforcements, which the government at Calcutta could not spare, as they had heen obliged to send several large detachments to the Carnatic, where the flames of war were rekindled by Hyder Ali. This great adventurer, who became one of the most formidable of our opponents in India, had, since his expedition to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, as the ally of M. Lally, greatly increased his army, which was ori-

following entry occurs:—"July 20th. We hear that Lord Clive has brought over and presented to his majesty a fine sword set with diamonds, and a fine pearl necklape for her majesty; both of vary present from the teachest of the teachest of

ginally formed out of the freebooting bands and tribes that abounded in Western India, and that sought no other reward than the right and privilege of plunder. Instead of paying them, Ilyder, in a manner, received pay from them-for, in enrolling under his banner, they engaged to give him half of the booty they might make. By degrees he acquired more horses, camels, and elephants, more money, and the command of more men, than his benefactor and nominal master, the rajah of Mysore; and he accordingly made war upon the rajah, whose court and army had the usual number of disaffected chiefs and traitors, defeated him, took him prisoner, and, as a climax to his gratitude, kept possession of all his domi-uions, and pensioned him off with three lacs of rupces per annum. At the end of the year 1761 Hyder's authority seemed firmly established in Mysore. But his own disposition and the habits of the marauders in his service led him to look to an extension of dominion, or to the plunder of the neighbouring states; and the success which attended his banner, and the high notions entertained of his ability and lucky star, attracted others of the loose tribes that owned no sovereign, and no law or right save that of the sword. His abilities were undoubted—they were altogether surprising, considering the circumstances of his life and his total want of education—and they improved by practice, age, and experience. Still, however, he remained a barbarian, and the plaudits bestowed upon him by many European writers are

exaggerated and absurd. That such a man could ever have extended his sway over the greater part of India, or, at least, that he could ever have rendered that sway durable, appears to us a most fantastic dream; and that a character stained by the darkest treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty should have found admirers in historians pedantically moral and severe in their estimates of other actors in these wars and revolutions, must be attributable to a love of paradox and contradiction, or to the predetermined plan of praising all that prevented, and blaming all that promoted, the establishment of the British empire in India—that great result, not unattended with faults and crimes, which no conquest ever yet was, but admirable in its general operation, as conferring more happiness upon many millions of people than they ever had enjoyed, or could ever hope to enjoy, under their native Mohammedan or Hindu rulers.

The rajahs and polygars of Sera, Balapoor, Gooty, Harponelly, Chitteldroog, and other districts, who had set the power of his predecessor on the throne of Mysore at defiance, were presently reduced to submission by Hyder Ali. Then, pretending to take up the cause of a young impostor, a sort of Indian Perkin Warbeck, he marched to the conquest of Bednore, and kept that rich and prosperous country for himself. The booty he made was immense, for Bednore, situated among lofty mountains, had for a long time escaped the visitations of war. This conquest allured him on to others, and furnished him with the means of prosecuting them. Sounda, on the northern frontier of Bednore, was overrun, nor did he cease until he had extended his dominion almost to the banks of the Kistna. But here his career was checked by Madhoo Row, the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who crossed the Kistna with an immense army all of horse, defeated him in many encounters, deprived him of some of his recent acquisitions of territory, and compelled him to pay thirtytwo lacs of rupecs.* Notwithstanding these serious checks, he soon undertook and achieved the conquest of the province of Malabar, and kept that country quiet by cutting off all the nairs or Hindu chiefs. Soon, however, he was recalled to the city of Seringapatam, which he had made his capital and had already strongly fortified, by intelligence that a league had been formed against him by the English, the Mahrattas, and the ruler of the Deccan. The Deccan was no longer in the hands of Salibut Jung, the old ally of M. Bussy, and then of Colonel Forde. Fresh revolutions had been effected at Golconda and Hyderabad; Salibut Jung had been made a prisoner by his brother, Nizam Ali, who occupied his throne, and respected his life until the arrival of the treaty of Par which recognised and acknowledged Salibut as lawful sovereign, and which induced Nizam Ali to order his immediate murder. At first the new Subahdar, or, as he is more generally called by our writers, the Nizam, seemed unfavourable to the

 Colonel Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India; and History War in Mysore.

English, and he actually had invaded the Carnatic and made war upon Mohammed Ali in the most barbarous and destructive manner: but he had fled before Colonel Campbell and a small British force, and since then he had concluded a treaty with the company, confirming to them the conquests which Colonel Forde had made in the Northern Circars, on condition of their paying a small tribute or quit-rent, and holding in readiness a body of their troops for his service whenever he might want such aid. By this latter engagement, and by their conviction that it was necessary for their own safety to stop the career of Hyder Ali, the English were carried into the confederacy with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and into the war with Mysore. The first of the confederates to take the field was the Peishwa, who covered the high table-lands of Mysore with his Mahratta cavalry. Colonel Smith, after a visit to Hyderabad, followed with a small English corps and the large but disorderly army of the nabob of the Carnatic. He was joined by another large force raised by the Nizam of the Deccan, but before he could arrive near the Mahrattas the Peishwa had listened to a Brahmin, dispatched to him by Hyder Ali, and had consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees, to quit the country and break all his engagements with the Nizam and the English This defection rendered success doubtful, and Colonel Smith was soon obliged to think of his own safety by the important discovery he made, that the Nizam himself was privately negotiating a treaty with Hyder, the main scope of it being the expulsion of the company from the Carnatic, from the Circurs, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast. Colonel Smith instantly separated from the Nizam's army, and hastened to defend the Carnatic by taking possession of the ghauts or passes leading through he mountains into that country. He received some reinforcements from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, but he could not secure all the passes against three numerous armies, and his rear was soon threatened by the rapid Mahratta cavalry. Smith retreated for Changama, a town about sixty miles from Madras, but before he could reach that place he was attacked by the three armies of Hyder Ali, the Peishwa, and the Nizam. His well-disciplined infuntry stood their ground and repulsed their countless assailants; but the marauding Mahrattas got at their rice-bags and carried them off, and, to avoid starving, Smith's force were obliged to continue their retreat, and to march day and night until they reached Trinomalee, a town strongly situated on a hill and well supplied with provisions. Plundering, burning, and destroying all the open country, the enemy followed closely upon the steps of Colonel Smith, who, receiving reinforcements of sepoys, did not long remain inactive at Trinomalee, but, issuing into the open country, he endeavoured to save it from the scourges and firebrands. His efforts were not very successful, as he had scarcely any cavalry. Seizing a favourable moment, Hyder Ali detached

his son Tippoo, then a youth of seventeen, to beat up the neighbourhood of Madras with 5000 horse. Tippoo's advance was so secret and rapid that he nearly succeeded in seizing the members of the presidency and the chief and richest of the English in their country houses without the town. fortress of Madras itself, which had repulsed Lally and a French army with battering cannon, had little to fear from Mysorean cavalry; but the town, the black town, the magazines or warehouses, villas, gardens, villages, all things in its vicinity, were ransacked or destroyed, the country was laid as waste and bare as a desert, and an immense loss was sustained by the English and the poor natives, their tenants or dependants. Tippoo retired as fast as he had come, and with considerable booty; but his father and his allies were not left long unmolested, being attacked and routed by Colonel The Nizam of the Smith near Trinomalee. Deccan, who was the first to recommend this pitched battle with the English, was also the first to flee. By this time he had had enough of the war and of his new alliance, and he lost no time in signifying to Colonel Smith that he was exceedingly anxious to be restored to peace and to the friendship of the English. After very little negotiation the Nizani agreed to separate his troops from the Mahrattas and the Mysorcans, leaving the Peishwa and Hyder Ali to shift for themselves. Bolder and more persevering than he, Hyder and



Hyper Alt. From a Hindu Miniature.

the Mahrattas resolved to try the chances of another pitched battle; and in the month of December they took the field and posted themselves near Amboor, a town in the Carnatic, about 108 miles from Madras. Colonel Smith met them there and gave them another defeat, more decisive and com-

plete than the preceding one. Hyder and his ally fled to Caverypatam, on the river Panaur, and the Nizam, who had waited the event of the battle before he entirely forsook the confederacy, drew off all his troops and concluded his separate treaty with the English for which he was the more impatient from his fear that during his absence from the Deccan another loving brother might do by him as he had done by Salibut Jung. By this new compact, signed on the 23rd of February, (1768,) the company recognised the titles and rights of the Subahdar or Nizam, and agreed to assist him whenever required with two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery properly served, the Nizam agreeing on his side to re-confirm the possession of the Northern Circars to the company, and to reduce the tribute for those territories from nine lacs per annum in perpetuity to seven lacs per annum for the space of six years only; and also to grant the dewannee of Balaghaut, a country in the possession of llyder, to the English, subject to a payment of seven lacs of rupees per annum to him-self, and to the payment of chout* to the Mahrattas.

Encouraged by their successes, by the departure of the Peishwa with most of his troops, and by the despondency of Hyder, the presidency at Madras determined to carry the war into the very heart of his own dominions; and Colonel Smith, who had displayed so much bravery, rapidity, and skill, received orders to march into Mysore. Unfortunately, the civilians took it into their heads that they could direct the campaign from their sofas and easy chairs at Madras, and, instead of leaving the plan and conduct of the war to Colonel Smith, they prescribed rules for him to follow. Smith, apparently in no very good humour, informed them that in the barren territory around Bangalore, to which they ordered him to advance, he could not possibly subsist his army; and that the better mode of proceeding would be to occupy in the first instance the fertile country, not in the interior, but on the frontiers of Mysore. The president and council, obstinate in their new functions, would not give up their own plan, but, to pay some deference to the opinion of the soldier, they resolved to adopt his plan also, and they sent Smith orders to march upon Bangalore, and Colonel Wood, who was to be detached from Smith's force, orders to confine himself to operations on the frontiers. This union of two plans was worse than their first bad one, as it divided an army already of the smallest for such an enterprise; and, to make matters worse still, they sent to the army two members of council as field deputies, who were to act in concert with the presidency, and keep the war entirely under their control. Functionaries like these are sure to ruin what they meddle with. The presence and interference of the two civilians disgusted alike officers and men, and from the moment of their arrival in camp the spirit of the army seemed to evaporate.†

* A tribute, commonly consisting of a fourth part of the revenues, + Clive, in a letter to Smith, strongly expressed his sense of the absurd conduct of the presidency of Madras, whose minamagement had spotied everything. "Whoever may have been to blame," he

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To favour its operations the presidency of Bombay sent a force to the western coast to fall upon Hyder's recent conquests in Malabar and Canara. This force, favoured by the Hindu natives, captured Mangalore, Onore, and other places, and drew Hyder down to the western coast. This enabled Colonel Smith to arrive in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and Colonel Wood to overrun the fertile country near the frontiers. But Hyder, having succeeded in the west in expelling the English force from Bombay, returned rapidly to the east to face them there. He made overtures for a peace, but they were rejected by the two fielddeputies. At this juncture the presidency, moreover, dissatisfied with Colonel Smith because he treated the deputies or their opinions in war with little respect, and because he had not taken the strong city of Bangalore, recalled that able officer to Madras, and entrusted the entire commandalways, however, subject to the benumbing influence of their deputies—to Colonel Wood, who, in a very short time, was compelled to call in all the advanced forces, to abandon every place which had been taken, and to retreat before Hyder Ali. He even allowed himself to be surprised, beaten, and deprived of all his baggage. The presidency then discovered that Wood was not the man to conquer Mysore, and they superseded him by Major Fitzgerald, who arrived just in time to save the flying and confused army from annihilation. Wood was put under arrest, and sent down to Madras. By the end of the year Hyder recovered every inch of territory he had lost; and in the month of January, 1769, carefully avoiding a battle, and marching rapidly by some of the less frequented ghauts or passes, he poured down again into the Carnatic, laid waste the English provinces of Madura and Tinevelly, and penetrated into the district of Pondicherry, where the French flag was again flying, and where there were many Frenchmen indulging in the hope that time and fortune might restore their power in that part of India. As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded as the best friend of the French, and several adroit and experienced men quitted Pondicherry to join the Mysorean chief, and to give him the benefit of their advice. These Frenchmen confirmed him in the opinion he had already formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in rapid light cavalry to cut off their detachments, and plunder, burn, and destroy the country from which they and their nabob, Mohammed Ali, drew their supplies. Pursuing this scheme, Hyder surprised several English posts, took a considerable number of prisoners, whom he sent

says, "no impeachment can be laid against you. I need was enter into reflections upon the fundamental errors of the war. For the honour of the nation and the company, I wish they could be for ever buried in oblivion, or at least remembered only by ourselves, to warn us upon any future occasion. The measure of sending field-daputies has justly been condemned by everybody. Gentlemen in the civil service may be very properly employed out of the presidency in the collection of the recesses; but nothing can be more absurd and permissions than sending them to a camp, where they can only embarrass or obstruct plans and operations which they do not understand."

off to Seringapatam, where they were barbarously treated, and devastated all the country through which he passed. Having scarcely any cavalry, the English could neither come up with him nor intercept him: while they were wearing themselves out by forced marches on their own legs. his people on horses flitted from place to place. being seldom seen, and even seldom heard of. until they had plundered and burnt some town The presidency of Madras, beor village. coming sensible of some of their follies, now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled the two deputies, who had long before arrived at the conviction that their proper place was not the camp or the field, but the council-They could not, however, improvise chamber. regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm Smith's operations were for the most part impeded or frustrated. Smith did all that an able officer could do: he covered and protected several rich districts, he checked the career of many of the flying squadrons; but he could not move with sufficient rapidity to prevent the execution of a plan which Hyder had formed after paying two visits to Pondicherry, and conferring with the French there. The Mysorean, having previously sent off all his plunder and heavy baggage, made a rush upon Madras with 6000 horse, and appeared, sudden and unexpected as a cloud in the Indian summer, upon the heights of St. Thomas, which overlook Madras. Fort St. George had lost none of its strength, but the town and the black town, the warehouses, the country-houses, the villages all round about, were as weak and defenceless now as at the time of Tippoo's visit, and a large amount of property lay at the mercy of Hyder, who might have destroyed or carried off everything before Colonel Smith could possibly arrive. The presidency, being noreover, dispirited by the course the war had taken, eagerly proposed terms of peace, or listened to terms proposed by Hyder, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward before Smith should draw near Madras. Negotiations were begun and finished in a very few hours. It was agreed that Hyder should restore whatever he had taken in the way of territory from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him; that he should assist the English in their future defensive wars, and that they should assist him, not in any offensive war, but in the desence of Mysore if it should be invaded by any of his neighbours. The treaty, concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the Mahrattas, whose alliance with Hyder was as little binding and of as short a duration as Indian alliances usually were. The Peishwa Madhoo Row, whose cavalry was as rapid as Hyder's and far more numerous, swept everything before him, and, burning towns, and cutting off noses and ears, this savage seemed to threaten Mysore with a far more extensive ruin than that which the Mysoreans had recently inflicted on the Carnatic. Hyder called

upon the presidency of Madras for the assistance agreed upon in the late treaty; but the presidency and apparently with perfect truth-affirmed that Hyder had brought the war upon himself by making preparations to invade the territory of the Peishwa, and by leaguing himself with some disaffected Mahratta chiefs; he was not, they said, engaged in a purely defensive war, and, therefore, they were not bound to send him aid and succour. As his difficulties increased, Hyder offered money and endeavoured to work upon the fears of the English by representing what turbulent and dangerous neighbours the Mahrattas would prove to them—and near neighbours they must be, if allowed to conquer and occupy Mysore. The war, he said, was now purely defensive on his part. Still the English evaded his demands, not directly refusing compliance with them, but declining to send a single gun or a single sepoy. At this moment there was as mischievous a splitting of authority and opinion in the council at Madras as there had recently been in the camp of Colonel Smith. From the opinion entertained of his address and abilities, Warren Hastings had been appointed second in council at Madras in March, 1769, and he had arrived at Fort St. George in the autumn of that year. He remained at Madras till the beginning of 1772, but his time appears to have been chiefly occupied with the subjects of the nabob of Arcot's debts and the investments of the company. He was not in the country when some of the worst things were done; and his opinion was overruled in many things while he was there. The English ministry had sent out Sir John Lindsay (in 1770) with some frigates " to give countenance and protection to the company's settlements and affairs;" the company themselves had put all their vessels of war in the Indian seas under the command of Sir John, who was further appointed, by commission under the great seal, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, with powers to negotiate and conclude arrangements with the sovereigns of India in With all these appointments and powers, Sir John Lindsay assumed an authority to which the presidency very unwillingly and very imperfectly submitted; quarrels arose, and each party determined to see as black what the other saw as white. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas, forgetting how short a time had elapsed since he broke his treaty with the English and the Nizam, and laughed in the face of Colonel Todd, who was dispatched to remonstrate and to prove the sanctity of such engagements, courted a new alliance with the

e It appears, indeed, that Hyder's first application to the English was to sid and assist him in an offensive war against the Peishwa.

† The appointment of Sir John Lindsay proceeded in part from a conviction in the mind of George III. and his ministers that a mercantile body like the company ought not to be vested with the right of keeping up diplomatior relations with sovereign princes in India, and in part from the representations and intrigues of the Nabob Mohammed All himself, who for a considerable time had had a party and a sort of agency in London, where his enormous debts both to the company and to individuals were n subject of almost daily discussion, long before they attracted the notice of parliament. Mohammed All was generally called in Europe—from the name of his capital—All was generally called in Europe—from the name of his capital—All was generally called in Europe—from the name of his capital—All was generally called in Europe—from the name of his capital—the Nabob of Arcot. "The debts of the Nabob of Arcot" became a cuckoo-nete in England.

English, and intimated to Mohammed Ali that the Carnatic should be swept by the Mahratta cavalry from end to end, and from the ghauts to the sea, if he and his friends the English did not agree to an immediate treaty. Sir John Lindsay embraced the opinion of Mohammed Ali that the Mahrattas should be gratified; the president and the council insisted that the English ought to remain neutral, and refuse the alliance proposed by the Peishwa. Violent altercations ensued, but Sir John was unable to enforce his will, and the Mahrattas and Mysoreans were left to fight out their own battles. Hyder and his son Tippoo were defeated in several encounters; once the father owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, and once the son saved himself by putting on the disguise of a beggar. Seringapatam, their capital, was surrounded and besieged, but could scarcely be taken by an army of horse without battering cannon and without the skill to use them. On the loud complaints of the presidency of Madras and the directors in Leadenhall-street, ministers recalled Sir John Lindsay, and sent out Sir Robert Harland, without restricting his powers. Harland, who is described as rather more violent and headstrong, took up the plans, notions, and prejudices of his predecessor. He represented the state of neutrality as disgraceful and highly dangerous; and, as in the month of November, 1771, shortly after his arrival on the coast, the Mahrattas seemed in possession of all Mysore except Seringapatam and some of the strongest forts, and were certainly pressing upon and plundering the frontiers of the Carnatic, Harland hotly urged the presidency to conclude the alliance the Peishwa demanded. But the president and council of Madras, supported by the other presidencies, steadily refused to take part in the war against Hyder, or to form any new treaty with the Peishwa. The king's commissioner could not dispose of the company's land forces. The presidency sent an army towards the frontiers, and the Mahrattas, who had only entered upon the skirts of the Carnatic in small plundering squadrons, withdrew altogether from that neighbourhood. Afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder, distressed by want of provisions in the country which he had ravaged, and now not unfrequently harassed or defeated by the Mysoreans, who had recovered heart, the Peishwa listened to the mediating voice of Mohammed Ali, accepted some money from him, and finally agreed to make peace with Hyder. The treaty was concluded in the month of July, 1772: the Mahrattas obtained a considerable portion of the more northern and inland provinces of Mysore, together with fifteen lacs of rupees in hand, and the promise of fifteen For a time Hyder remained humbled and quiet. During the war between him and the Mahrattas the rajah of Tanjore attempted to seize some territory belonging to, or claimed by, Mohammed Ali, who called upon his allies, the English, for assistance and vengeance. The rajah then courted by turns Hyder and the Peishwa. The

nabob of the Carnatic, after inducing the presidency to make some hostile demonstrations near the Tanjore frontier, became apprehensive that the English might conquer that country for themselves, instead of conquering it for him. offered to give the company a good round sum for the dominion; and after some hesitation his offer was accepted, and an agreement was concluded by which Tanjore was to be annexed to the Carnatic, to which by nature it certainly belonged. An army assembled at Trichinopoly was ready to march on the 12th of September (1771); but it was found, upon inspection, that Mohammed Ali's own son, who had been intrusted with the department, of provisions, had betrayed his trust, and that there was not rice in the camp for the consumption of a single day.* By extraordinary exertions supplies were procured, and the army, being put in motion, crossed the Tanjore frontier, gained possession of Vellum, one of the bulwarks of the country, and by the 23rd encamped before the city of Tanjore, on the very ground on which Lally had been so unfortunate. As the place was still very strong and numerously garrisoned, it was necessary to besiege it in a regular manner. On the 27th of October the English engineer officers reported that the breach would be practicable next morning. But on that very day another son of the nabob of the Carnatic-not his second son, who had played false with the rice, but his eldest son, Omdut-ul-Omrah, called by the English the young nabob-who had accompanied the expedition, signed a peace with the rajah of Tanjore, who engaged to pay an immense sum of money, to surrender the districts which the nabob claimed, and which were assumed to be the original cause of the quarrel, to defray all the expenses of the expedition, to aid the nabob with his troops in all future wars, and to demolish, if required, the fortress of Vellum, + The presidency of Madras were incensed at these proceedings, and they sent orders not to evacuate Vellum or withdraw the batteries from Tanjore until the rajah should have made good one of his promised payments in money and jewels. They foresaw that the rajah would not be punctual; and when the paying time was past it was declared that he had broken the treaty. prevent the renewal of hostilities the rajah consented to leave the fort of Vellum to the English, and to cede to them two districts in the neighbourhood of Madura. But these confessions of weakness soon tempted another attack; and in the month of March of the next year (1772) another army marched from Trichinopoly to reduce the polygars of the Marawars, who paid the rajah a doubtful allegiance, as they had formerly done to the nabobs of the Carnatic. The invading force consistent of

* Letter of Colonel Smith, as cited by Mill, Hist. Brit. Inc. † Hefore putting an end to hostilities in this way, Omdut-ul-Omrah had had a serious quarrel with his English allies. He was informed that, by the usages of war, the plunder of places taken by storm belonged to the captors, and it was the prospect of this very plunder that had allured him to Tanjore. He offered a fixed sum of money to the troops in lieu of it; but it was equaldered a Jew's bargain; the offer was rejected, and violent altercations took place.

520 British, infantry and artillery, three battalions of the company's sepoys, six battering cannon, some of the nabob's horse, and two battalions of sepoys in his pay. Omdut-ul-Omrah, the young nabob, accompanied the expedition, having previously been bound by the English not to make any more treaties without their knowledge and consent. By another bargain, however, he was to be allowed the plunder of the towns taken, upon contract, i. e. he was to pay a fixed sum to the troops. Ramanadporam, the capital of the greater Marawar, was taken by storm early in April, and in it was captured the polygar, a boy of twelve years, with his mother and his treasury. By the middle of June the troops of the nabob of the Carnatic were put in possession of all the other forts in that country. But the conquest of the lesser Marawar was a work of greater difficulty, and the inhabitants, being dispossessed of their lands and barbarously treated both by the troops of the company and the troops of the nabob, continued their resistance after their polygar had been betrayed and killed. The whole war in the Marawars left a dark stain on the reputation of the English. Before it was finished Mohammed Ali, greedy for more conquests, complained to the president of Madras that the rajah of Tanjore had violated the recent treaty, by delaying payment of money, by applying to the Mahrattas and to Hyder Ali for assistance, and by encouraging the Cooleries to descend from their hills and ravage the frontiers of the Carnatic. He offered ten lacs of pagodas and other advantages if the English would only assist him in another expedition against Tanjore. The president and council soon concluded that the existence of the rajah of Tanjore was incompatible with their own safety; that it was dangerous to have such a power in the heart of the Carnatic; that the rajah, in case of a wathould be sure to join the French; and, finally, " that the propriety and expediency of embracing the present opportunity of reducing him cutirely, before such an event took place, were evident." They then engaged that Mohammed Ali should provide all the money, stores, and provisions necessary for the expedition, and pay the presidency for 10,000 sepoys instead of 7000. The nabob again bargained with the troops for the plunder; and on the 3rd of August, 1773, the army marched from Trichinopoly to the often assailed city of Tanjore, which was taken by assault on the 16th of September, though defended by 20,000 fighting men. The unfortunate rajah and his family were made prisoners, and were allowed to be treated in a barbarous manner by the son and the people of the nabob of the Carnatic, in whom was now vested the long-coveted sovereignty of Tanjore, although the company, by the treaty of 1762, had given the rajah security for his throne.*

In all these transactions the presidency of Madras had proceeded on their own responsibility, without orders from the court of directors in

[·] Colonel Wilks .- Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

Leadenhall-street, who were not informed of their plans and projects until after their execution. Yet, even when duly informed of all that had taken place in Tanjore, the directors seemed to feel no anxiety about the matter; and it was not until the beginning of the year 1775 that, in the course of electing a new governor of Madras, attention was called to the subject. In the court of directors a small majority carried the nomination of Mr. Rumbold; but it was afterwards voted at a court of proprietors, also by a small majority, that the directors should be recommended to appoint Lord Pigot, who had signed the treaty of 1762, and who disapproved of all that had been done in infraction of it. Pigot, the correspondent and friend of Clive, had held the post of governor down to the year 1763, when he had returned to England with wealth, consideration, and influence, which had raised him first to a baronetcy and then to an Irish peerage. He wished to reform the presidency of Madras, which certainly cried for reformation, as his friend Clive had reformed Bengal. His election was secured, and before he departed for India the court of directors passed sentence of condemnation on the policy which had been pursued by the presidency, and declared their opinion that, on account of oppressions constantly exercised by the nabob of the Carnatic, the Tanjorcans would submit to any power rather than to his. Lord Pigot arrived at Fort St. George on the 11th of December, 1775; and, though obstructed by all kinds of difficulties and intrigues, he proceeded forthwith to undo what the presidency had done, and to arrange the restoration of the rajah. The English garrison that remained in Tanjore was reinforced; the rajah and his family were set at liberty; and in the month of April, Lord Pigot having repaired in person to that city, the rajah was re-proclaimed in his capital. But in this new shuffling of the cards each party accused the other of foul play and of personal and the most interested motives. quarrels ensued, and some of the revolutionary tricks which they had been playing in the divans of nabobs and rajahs came to be repeated in their own council-chamber. The end of all this was, that the council deposed Lord Pigot, arrested him in his carriage, and placed him in confinement, suspending at the same time every member of the council that had voted with him.* These summary proceedings excited not merely the courts of directors and proprietors, where not a few approved of them, or at least disapproved of the policy and conduct of Pigot, but they also raised a storm in both Houses of Parliament which was heard in long echoes through every part of the After various proceedings, difficult to describe with brevity, and difficult to be understood if given even in the fullest detail, the company recalled the members of the council who had displaced and imprisoned Lord Pigot, and restored his lordship to his office, but commanded him at the same time to return to England immediately, and deliver over the government to his successor, Rumbold, his old opponent. But before these orders reached Madras Lord Pigot was in his grave: his imprisonment had preyed upon his health and spirits, and he had died about eight months after his arrest.* Sir Thomas Rumbold, a most moneymaking man, arrived at Madras in February, 1778, and took the civil government upon himself, Major-General Hector Monro having the chief command of the forces. By this time the Carnatic was again threatened by the arms of Hyder Ali, and of his now close allies, the French: but, before bringing the Mysorean through the ghauts, with his. 100,000 men, it will be necessary to narrate some

important proceedings in other parts.

Shortly after Clive's return to England the affairs of the company attracted universal attention. and the territorial acquisitions made in India, being exaggerated even beyond their real extent and importance, were forced upon the serious consideration of the ministry of the day, whose chief business for some time past had been the John Wilkes war. In April, 1769, an act was passed confirming to the company the revenues of the countries they had obtained in India for five years to come, upon consideration of their paying the British government 400,000l. per annum, and exporting to India certain quantities of British manufactures, &c. At the same time the court of directors resolved to send out to Calcutta three supervisors, to complete the work of reformation, and to put the revenues and finances of Bengal under better management. The three individuals selected were, Mr. Vansittart, who had so miserably misgoverned Bengal before; Mr. Scrafton, whose abilities and local knowledge and acquaintance with the language of the country were of inestimable value; and Colonel Forde, who had conquered the Northern Circars and disposed of the Dutch at Bedarra. Government was applied to for two ships of the line and some frigates, and ministers gratified them with two frigates and a small squadron to check piracy in the Persian Messrs. Vansittart and Scrafton and Co-Gulf. lonel Forde took their departure in the 'Aurora,' one of the frigates, which is supposed to have foundered at sea with every soul on board, for she never reached Bengal, and was never heard of anywhere else after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. +

^{*} Admiral Pigot declared in the House of Commons that his brother had been offered a bribe, amounting in English money to \$00,000%, if he would only defer the reinstatement of the Bajah of

^{*} In April, 1770, Admiral Pigot, the brother of his lordship, moved and carried a series of resolutions in the House of Commons, among which was an address to the throns for the prosecution of four of the members of the Madras council, who had returned to England. The delinquents were tried in the courts of law, but only for a muschemeanor; and the verdict of a special jury was obtained against them. When brought up for judgment their only panishment against them. When brought up for judgment their only panishment as a flaw of 1000. each, which, to men so wealthy, was soarcely a panish ment at all—was not so severe as taking 5s. from a poor man fo being drunk and disorderly.

† In a letter written to a friend at the time the supervisorship wa, appointed Clive says, "The severe blow given the old directors last year, by the admission of Sulivan and so many of his patiy, has been the occasion of all that has happened; and we were obliged to compound with Vansittart for his being supervisor jointly with Secator and Fords, to prevent his going out governor to Bengal, or, governer general, which was the thing simed at. Mr. Vansittart received

Without supervisors, the government of Bengal was left in the hands of Mr. Cartier; but in less than two years it was notified by the court of directors to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had continued to rise in estimation, that he was nominated to the place of second in council at Calcutta; and that, as soon as Mr. Cartier should retire, it was their wish that he should take upon himself the charge of government till further orders. The transactions in India, which for a long period were regarded with indifference, or with the feeling that it was impossible for people in England to comprehend them,

all the support which the ministry the court, and the princess dowager could gire, and was very near succeeding in his ambitious designs." It was through the influence and exertions of Cuve that those two able men Scrafton and Forde were joined with Vansittart.

A few days later, writing to another fittend in India Clive, who seems to have been pretty equally disgusted with the weak govern ment in Downing-street and the government in Leadenland street says—"Anarchy and confusion seem to have pervaited every part of the British empire. In vain can we expect our affairs shall flourish abroad when all is going to ruin at home. The directors are so divided among themselves, and so much taken up in stringling for power at each general election, that they have quite lost sight of the company's interest, which is daily sacrified to their own views and the views of particular proprietors, to answer their purposes."

were now daily attracting more and more attention. Orme, the friend of Clive, who had himself taken no inactive or unimportant part in those affairs, had published the first part of his History of the Military Transactions in Hindustan, and had spread the renown of Clive, the real hero of the romantic story, making known at the same time the vastness and importance of that Indian world. Other works of less name had treated the same subject, and many pens and tongues had been engaged in demonstrating that the glory acquired by British arms was now tarnished by abuses and corruption; and that the splendid fabric, like a Fata Morgana, was disappearing faster than it had risen. Moreover, few men not holders of India stock could reconcile themselves to the anomaly presented in Leadenhall-street, nor possibly conceive how a dozen or two of plain citizens called directors, and some hundreds of shareholders called proprietors, could be competent to the management of 15,000,000 of people at the distance of many thousands of miles. Nor was there much faith



OID EAST INDIA HOUSE, LEADENHALL STREET.

in the disinterestedness or moderation of a body so constituted, nor any confidence that their uncontrolled power could be exercised upon pure principles of right and wrong. People heard the court of directors accused of ignorance and obstinacy, fraud and rapacity, cruelty and gross injustice; and they were disposed to give credit to the corst of these reports.

Indeed, in opening the session of parliament in January 1772, the speech from the throne had, by implication, recommended to attention the subject of India, as being among the dependencies of the empire of which it was said that "some of them,

as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, are so peculiarly liable to abuses and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the legislature for their protection may become necessary." And about two months after this speech, and about four months before the first application of the directors to the Bank of England for money, Clive's old antagonist, Mr. Sulivan, then deputychairman of the court of directors, moved in his place in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill "for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in

Bengal." Sulivan's principal object in the speech with which he introduced and supported this motion, was to shift all blame from the court of directors, and to throw it wholly and solely upon the servants of the company abroad. He did not spare the great Clive himself; but pointed at him more or less directly as the fountain-head of mischief. There was little danger in pursuing this course, as Sulivan well knew that the conqueror of Bengal was hated at the India House, was now unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided parliament, was considered too proud and unbending to procure the support of the court and ministry, and was rendered by various arts and practices an object of popular odium and detestation. These practices had begun on the same day with his stern reforms at Calcutta, and they had been kept up ever since by many heads, hands, and purses. His old enemies at the India Housethe Sulivan party-always powerful, had been reinforced by men still more violent and implacable. "The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors, from whom he had rescued Bengal," says the writer in the Edinburgh Review, "persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock merely that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him; and the temper of the public mind was then such that these arts, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression. The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who had never quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connexion, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the advantages which they pos-Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquis. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned 'the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth." According to the same able sketch According to the same able sketch of what the rich men of the East were, or rather what they were considered to be, in their palmy days, the nabobs, whose exploits and services were little understood in England, were universally odious: the humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, and the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it; they were accused of raising the price of everything where they settled, "from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs,"—the latter a commodity in which they dealt largely; they were hated by the class from which they had sprung, and by that into which they attempted to force themselves; the foibles of comedy, the extravagant absurdities of farce, and the darkest crimes of tragedy, were mixed up in the popular conception of a nabob; and writers. the most unlike in sentiment and style—methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons-joined in decrying the whole class, filling sermons and jest-hooks, essays, farces, and novels, with denunciations, satire, strictures, lampoons, and every kind of abuse directed against them. Such was the popular estimate of nabobs; and Clive, the greatest of them all, was held to be the worst. It was in vain that he was kind and liberal to his servants, bountiful to his friends, generous on all occasions, affectionate to his family, kind-hearted and hospitable; men persisted in considering him as an incarnate fiend, laying to his charge all the had acts of all the English in India-acts committed when he was absent, nay, acts which he had manfully put down, and severely punished—and believing every story that could be invented against him. The peasantry in the neighbourhood of Claremont, in Surrey, where he had raised one stately mansion, were perfectly convinced that the devil would one day carry him away bodily, in spite of his strong, thick walls; and that they could hear, in the wind that eighed among the park trees, the

in the wind that sighed among the park trees, the

Art. on Malcolm's Life of Clive.

† It is to be noticed, however, that not a few of these men from the East, called, and treated as, percents, could boast good stock and lineage. The family of Clive, for example, though fallen upon poverty and evil days, was ancient and of good reputs in Shrupshire, where they had possessed the estate of Styche (the hero's birthplace), in the pursh of Moreton Say, near Markes Drayton, for many generations. It is said that the first estublishment of the Clives in those parts dates from the reign of Henry II The family of Warren Hastings claimed a still more ancient descent. His own grandfather, who is said to have been an antiquary of no mean reputation, pretended to trace back their pedigree to Hastings, the Daves, and to a period long preceding the Norman coaquest—the starting point of most of our proudest genealogies. This may have been a mere dream of the old antiquary; but it is said to be estrain that the Hastings held the manor of Daylesford, in Woreestershire, in the reign of Cldward I. But Clive's father, having a family of six sons and seven daughters, and much less than \$00t. syear to support them (the estate not being worth more than that thirty years after, when the value of such property had risen, and when the fortunate soldler had paid off certain mortgages and from the more of the law, and practised as a country lawyer for many years. As for Hastings, his family estate had been alienated or reduced to weak and ruin during the great clyli were, the grandfather, the antiquary, was a poor country parson, and his father, Pyniston Hastings, who married in his state-rait year, was, as might be expected, still poorer than his grandisther. The future governor-general of Hengal was indeed crailed in wretchedness, and brought up in equalor and poverty, until an unsle, who had a piece in the Custom-house, took charge of him, got him admitted a king schalar at Westminster-school, and afterwards procared him the applications

moans of the Indian princes he had tortured to get at their treasure.

Sulivan and his party, which had now become the stronger in Leadenhall-street, were alarmed and exasperated by reports, not unfounded, that the premier, Lord North, and Lord Rochford, then secretary of state for the colonies, had invited Clive, through his friend Wedderburn, to aid them with his counsel and experience in settling some plan for the better government of India; and it was no secret that Clive on all occasions insisted that the cause of what was wrong lay rather in the court of directors than in their servants abroad; that all attempts at reformation abroad, until a thorough reformation took place at home, could only be temporary, and in the end futile; that if an able, honest, and independent court of directors could not be procured at home, there was no salvation for the company.* Under these feelings the directors had recently put every engine in play to blacken his reputation; and about a fortnight before the opening of the present session of parliament they had, by the company's secretary, informed him that the court of directors had lately received several papers containing charges respecting his management of affairs in Bengal, and that copies of these papers were enclosed. These charges were signed by no one, and they were vague as well as anonymous. Clive proudly replied, that upon the public records of the company, where the whole of his conduct was stated, they might find a sufficient confutation of the papers they had transmitted to him; and that he could not but suppose, that if any part of his conduct had been injurious to the service, contradictory to his engagements, or even mysterious, four years and a half since his return to England would not have elapsed without his being called to account. These charges, however, were known to the public before parliament met, and Sulivan in his speech hinted at them. Clive, who was in the House, rose to speak in his own defence, and he delivered a speech which astonished every one, by its strong sense, high spirit, and even high cloquence. He had seldom spoken before, and on those few occasions in a brief and homely, or negligent, manner; but this time he had prepared himself for the defence of his honour and his property, which were equally aimed at, and he convinced the most practised and most applauded speakers that he might easily have made himself a great orator. The first Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and he declared that it was " one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in that House." "The House," said Clive, "will give me leave to remove evil impressions, and to endeavour to restore myself to its favourable nion. Nor do I wish to lay my conduct before this House only; I speak likewise to my country in general, upon whom I put myself, not only without reluctance but with alacrity." He rapidly sketched the history of his proceedings during his

· Clive's Letters, in Life by Sir John Malcolm.

last mission to Calcutta, which the directors, after all their plaudits, had selected for their hostile charges; he told the House how he had cleansed that Augean stable, and how this conduct had raised him a host of enemies. "It is that conduct," he exclaimed, "which has occasioned the public papers to teem with scurrility and abuse against me ever since my return to England. It is that conduct which has occasioned these charges. But it is that conduct which enables me now. when the day of judgment is come, to look my judges in the face. It is that conduct which enables me to lay my hand upon my heart and most solemnly to declare to this House, to the gallery, and to the whole world at large, that I never, in a single instance, lost sight of what I thought the honour and true interest of my country and the company; that I was never guilty of any acts of violence or oppression, unless the bringing offenders to justice can be deemed so; that, as to extortion, such an idea never entered into my mind; that I did not suffer those under me to commit any acts of violence, oppression, or extortion; that my influence was never employed for the advantage of any man, contrary to the strictest principles of honour and justice; and that, so far from reaping any benefit myself from the expedition, I returned to England many thousand pounds out of pocket." One of the charges in the anonymous papers was, that during that mission he had made money by monopolizing cotton. To this he replied, in evident irritation and pride,-" Trade was not my profession. My line has been military and political. I owe all I have in the world to my having been at the head of an army; and, as to cotton, I know no more about it than the pope of Rome." Another of the charges was, that he had monopolized diamonds. After observing that at that period there were only two sys by which a servant of the company could rennt his fortune to England—by bills on the company, or by diamonds—that, in consequence of his exertions, the treasury at Calcutta was so rich, that it would not receive money for such bills, and that therefore he had sent an agent into a distant and independent part of India to invest his money in precious stones; he added-" Those diamonds were not sent home clandestinely. I caused them to be registered; I paid the duties upon them; and these remittances turned out three per cent. worse than bills of ex-This is all I know of change upon the company. a monopoly of diamonds." By a surprising boldness, on the part of those who made it, another charge was that he had occasioned the late famine in Bengal by establishing "a monopoly of salt, betel-nut, tohacco, and other commodities." "How," said Clive, "a monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, in the years 1765 and 1766, could occasion a want of rain and scarcity of rice in the year 1770 is past my comprehension. I confess I cannot answer that part of this article; and as to the other commodities, as they have not been specified, I cannot say anything to them." He

defended the appropriation of the salt trade to the payment of proper salaries, and his acceptance of Meer Jaffier's legacy, of which he had made a donation for improving the company's military service, and for providing for the unfortunate. From defending his own conduct he proceeded to attack the conduct of others, and to throw back the blame on his accusers. "I attribute," he said, "the present bad situation of affairs to four causes: a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts." He argued that all the evils were aggravated by the system of annual elections at Leadenhall-street; that one-half of the year was employed by the directors in discharging obligations contracted by their last election, and the second half of the year spent in incurring new obligations for securing their election the next year by clandestine bargains with proprietors and others, and the daily sacrifice of some interest of the company. Hence, he said, the orders sent out to India had been so fluctuating, and in many instances so unintelligible, that the servants in the country, who, to say the truth, had generally understood the interests of the company much better than the directors, had in many instances followed their own opinior rather than their orders.*

One effect of this remarkable speech was that Clive's enemies changed their mode of attack, and, leaving his last administration in India as unassailable, turned their arms against the events and deeds of his earlier life. Sulivan obtained leave to bring in the bill without a division, but, although it was afterwards read a first and second time, and also committed, it was ultimately dropped. Meanwhile, on the 13th of April, three days before the bill was brought in, it was represented by the opposition that the suspicions of the country were excited, and that a full inquiry into the past ought to precede any legislation for the future, and a motion was made and carried for the appointing a select committee to make the necessary inquiry. The members of the select committee, thirty-one in number, were appointed by ballot, and Colonel Burgoyne, who had proposed it, was chosen chairman. Burgoyne, who was distinguishing himself as a debater, and giving that trouble to ministers which is said to have led to their employing him in America a few years after, was exceedingly hostile to Clive, and exceedingly anxious to collect materials for a grand opposition speech. Governor Johnstone, another leading orator in the house, and brother to Johnstone the member of council at Calcutta, whose face Clive had made pale and long, was also a member of the committee, and took a There were leading part in their proceedings. other men in it almost equally hostile to Clive; but his lordship himself was a member, as was also his

friend and dependant, Mr. Strachey, who had accompanied him in his last mission to Calcutta. The most violent personal feelings instantly showed themselves: instead of inquiring, in the words of Burgoyne's motion, into the nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies generally, the select committee directed their inquiry almost exclusively to the conduct of Lord Clive, carefully shunning his last administration, and going back fifteen years to the dethronement of Suraj-u-Dowlah. But, notwithstanding an evident disposition to hurry over the business and to receive any evidence against Clive, the committee had made little progress when parliament rose, and, though they had engaged to sit during the summer, they could seldom collect a quorum. The parliament had hardly risen when the pecuniary embarrassments of the company became too great and pressing to be concealed. On the 17th of March, in their anxiety to captivate the shareholders, the court of directors had recommended an augmentation of the dividend from twelve to twelve and a half, and the necessary votes were carried through both courts by overwhelming majorities, and this, too, though many must have known there was not money in the treasury to meet the bills that were falling due. But at the beginning of the month of July their cashier drew Mr. Sulivan's attention to this important fact. A committee of treasury was called forthwith, and, upon an estimate of receipts and payments for the months of July, August, September, and October, it appeared there would be a deficit of 1,293,000/. On the 15th of July the directors applied to the Bank of England for a loan of 400,000l. for two months, which was granted; and on the 29th of July they asked a further loan of 300,000%. but only got 200,000l., the bank directors being somewhat alarmed. On the 10th of August Mr. Sulivan and the chairman waited upon the minister, and announced the insolvency and ruin of the company as inevitable if they were not allowed to borrow at least a million more from the public. It happened to them as to other men when reduced to the disagreeable condition of borrowers. Those from whom they asked money thought proper to give them advice, and to interfere in their affairs. They were in a manner at the mercy of ministers, and ministers soon determined to remodel their constitution, and make several important changes, notwithstanding the letter of their charters, which had been granted under totally different circumstances—to a body of traders and merchant adventurers, and not to merchant princes, and lords and masters of provinces and kingdoms. For the present, however, Lord North received the chairman and deputy-chairman with dryness and reserve. merely referring them to parliament for the aid and assistance they wanted. By a strange perversion of reason or argument Clive has been accused of being the main cause of the company's difficulties, from his predicting to them that an immense surplus would accrue annually from Bengal,

The speech, which, with the documents read in the course of it, fills nearly forty columns of the Parliamentary History, is there stated to be given from Cilve's own corrected copy.

after his settling affairs and correcting abuses there. This sanguine promise, it is said, rendered the directors careless and extravagant, and induced them to raise their dividends, and to agree to pay the 400,000/. per annum into the national exchequer. But Clive's system of economy, regularity, and vigilance had been abandoned as soon as he left India, and circumstances which he could neither foresee nor control had occurred in that country. remple, the presidency of Madras, by engaging in and shamefully mismanaging the new wars in the Carnatic, had acted as a continual drain on the treasury at Calcutta; extensive fortifications and cantonments which Clive considered wholly unnecessary had been undertaken at Calcutta and other places in Bengal, the engineers, contractors, and all engaged in their construction being allowed to make the most extravagant bargains; the most nefarious abuses, which Clive would have stopped with the strong hand in an instant, had crept into the commissariat and all other departments of the public service; and finally the rich plains of Bengal had been depopulated by a terrible famine. To use a familiar illustration, Clive may be compared to a merchant who makes over a fine business to another, showing by his books that it is worth 10,000l. a-year, and may be made worth more by industry, intelligence, and economy. And is that merchant to be blamed if the successor in his business, by negligence, stupidity, and extravagance, by making had debts, by allowing his clerks and servants to plunder him, by building town-houses and country-houses, starves his business, reduces its value, and then, by a fearful visitation of nature -a famine, a cholera, or a plague-finds one-third of his customers swept away, and himself in a state of insolvency?

During the recess Clive had an audience of the king upon being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Salop,* and his majesty talked with him in private upon Indian affairs for nearly half an hour, and with much interest and kindness. His lordship also saw the procrastinating premier :-"But," said he, in a letter written after the interview, " Lord North seemed industriously to avoid entering upon the subject of Indian affairs, and I do verily believe, from sheer indolence of temper, he wishes to leave everything to Providence and the directors."† These little incidents are interesting, as helping to make out the character both of the minister and the sovereign, and as showing, what is every day becoming more apparent, George III.'s confirmed habit of consulting, scheming, and acting by himself, and without the presence or concurrence of his ministers. It was no doubt on the king's own movement, and not through any impatient activity on the part of Lord Northattat

parliament was assembled much earlier than usual.* and that the speech from the throne acquainted the houses that he wished to give them an early opportunity of informing themselves fully of the true state of the company's affairs, and of making such provisions for the common benefit and security of all the various interests concerned as they should find best adapted to the exigencies of the case. anticipate government, whose aid they wanted without its interference, the company had once more had recourse to the plan of appointing supervisors, with full powers for the regulation of their affairs abroad; and before the meeting of parliament they had actually named six gentlemen to the difficult office. The supervisors, however, had not taken their departure for India, and ministers were determined to annul their powers. On the very day on which the address was voted in the House of Commons, Lord North, who was dissatisfied with the select committee appointed in the preceding session, moved that, for the better ascertaining the distresses and the real condition of the company, a secret committee of only thirteen members should be appointed, with power to inspect the books and accounts of the said company. In spite of a violent opposition from the East India directors and others this committee of secrecy was appointed. + At the same time Burgoyne vindicated the proceedings of the select committee; declared that its inquiries would disclose such a scene of iniquity, rapine, and injustice, such unheard-of cruelties, as were never before discovered; and insisted that its proceedings ought on no account to be interrupted. Ministers were not disposed to any invidious exertion in favour of Clive; it was agreed that the select committee should be continucd; and thus there were two committees of inquiry proceeding with their investigations at the same time. In a very few days the committee of secrecy recommended that the company should instantly be stopped from sending out the new supervisors they had appointed, and a bill to this effect, after another sharp struggle, was carried through both houses, to the great disappointment and vexation of the court of directors, who still pretended that they alone had the competency and the right to regulate the affairs of India. Clive, who spoke in the debate on the bill, said he regretted to find the company contending with parliament, because whenever their rights to their great territorial possessions should be examined they would be disputed, and might become the actual possession not of the company but of the crown. He regretted that the company and parliament had not agreed to share the labours and honours of the good work between them. "I consider," said he, "the interests of the company and the interests of this nation as inseparable; and, with respect to the supervisors, I was and continue to be against them. I consider this bill as an exertion indeed of parliamentary authority, yet an extremely

[•] In the following month of December he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Montgomeryshire. In the course of the same year he was installed a Knight of the Bath, the king having conferred the honour upon him some time before. Other honours were not wanting. The queen had stood godmother to his second daughter, Charlotte, and the University of Oxford had conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.
† Letter to Mr. Strachey.

^{*} On the 26th of November, † See ante, vol. 1. p. 148.

necessary one, and I could wish that the company had met this House half way instead of petitioning and quarrelling with the mouth that is to feed them. With respect to the gentlemen nominated for the supervision, they are themselves the best judges whether their abilities and integrity are equal to the important service in which they were to engage. Had they, Sir, known the East Indies as well as I do, they would shudder at the bare idea of such a perplexing and difficult service. The most rigid integrity with the greatest disinterestedness—the greatest abilities with resolution and perseverance -must be united in the man or men who undertake to reform the accumulating evils which exist in Bengal, and which threaten to involve the nation and the company in one common ruin."

The dissatisfied court of directors had still no resource but in parliament; and on the 24th of February (1773), after having reduced their dividend from 121 to 6 per cent., a general court passed a vote that application should be made to the Commons for a loan of one million and a half for four years, at 4 per cent interest. This demand, or humble petition, was presented on the 9th of March. Ministers, making some material alterations in the company's propositions, offered to lend 1,400,000f, at 4 per cent., and to give up the claim of 400,000l. a-year, which the company had been paying from their territorial revenues, till this debt should be discharged; but insisted upon binding them strictly never to raise their dividends above 6 per cent., until this debt should be discharged. By complying with these and some other restrictions and conditions the company were to remain in possession of all the territories they had acquired for six years to come, when their charter would expire.* company petitioned against these terms, as harsh, arbitrary, and illegal; their orators in the House harangued vehemently; but all was of no use; they could not do without the money, the minister was determined to let them have it only on his own conditions, and everything he proposed was carried by a large majority. Nor did Lord North cease his interference here. Clive and others had represented to the minister, and also to the king, who was neither without previous information nor the previous determination or wish to un-democratize the constitution of the East India House, that the court of proprietors was a bear-garden ever full of noise, confusion, anarchy, and the lowest and most selfish intrigues, and that their mode of checking the court of directors, and the direct influence and intimidation they exercised over the directors when elected, must for ever prove an obstacle to all good and permanent management and government. As if to prepare his way by an act of kindness, the minister, on the 27th of April, granted the company that fatal leave to export tea to America duty-free-a bonus which led to the tea riots at Boston, and which assuredly hurried on the American revolution -- and then on the 3rd of May, he introduced a series of propositions, tending to an entire, and, as we think, beneficial change in the constitution of the company. The principal of these were:—1st. That the court of directors should in future, instead of being chosen annually, be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold their seats for longer than four years; 2nd. That the qualification stock should be 10001. instead of 5001.; that 3000/. should give two votes, and 6000/. three votes; 3rd. That, in lieu of the mayor's court at Calcutta, the jurisdiction of which was limited to small mercantile causes, a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, should be appointed by the crown, with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the subjects of England, their servants and dependants, residing within the company's territories in Bengal; 4th. That a governor-general, with four counsellors, should be appointed to Fort William, and vested with full powers over the other presidencies. When any differences occurred the opinion of the majority was to be decisive; and this board was to be directed by the act to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the directors, who were, within fourteen days of the receipt of their dispatches, to furnish copies of them to one of his majesty's secretaries of state, to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinations which they made; and these were, if disapproved by his majesty, to become null and void. It was further proposed that the nomination of the first governor-general and members of council should be vested in parliament by the act, and should be for five years, after which the nomination to those high offices should revert to the court of directors, but still subject to the approbation of the crown. Lastly, it was to be enacted that no person in India, in the service either of the king or of the company, should henceforth be allowed to receive any presents from the native nabobs, rajahs, ministers, agents, or others; and that the governor-general, members of council, and judges should be excluded from all commercial pursuits and profits. These "Regulating Acts," as they are called, were to come into operation, in England on the 1st of October, 1773, and in India on the 1st of August, 1774.

The court of directors, the court of proprietors, and nearly all men interested in the affairs of the East Indies raised a storm ten times louder than before; and they courted and obtained the influence of the corporation of the city of London, which was then in the most determined opposition to government, and to everything done or proposed by Lord North. Remonstrances and petitions poured in upon parliament, but did not affect the votes of the large ministerial majority. It was curious to hear that anomalous body, the company, which assumed to exercise an absolute authority

[•] See also ante, vol. i. pp. 148 and \$64.

over fifteen millions of men, and which certainly had not yet learned the slow and difficult task of exercising that authority with moderation and wisdom, and for the greater happiness of the natives, resting one of their greatest complaints on the injury that would be done by the ministerial alterations to constitutional liberty, the rights of election, &c. The raising of the qualification of the voters, by which about 1200 proprietors were disfranchised, was held up as a political enormity then, and it appears to have been considered in the same light many years after the struggle, the excitement, and the violence were over. Mr. Mill seems to deplore it as a blow struck at the power of the democracy. "In one respect," says he, "the present experiment fulfilled the purpose very completely for which it was intended. It followed the current of that policy which for many reasons has run with perfect regularity and considerable strength, diminishing the influence of numbers in affairs of government, and reducing things as much as possible to the oligarchical state."* To this lamentation may be opposed the unruly, blundering, selfish, and corrupt conduct of the court of proprictors, and the very serious facts that they, from the immediate and incessant control they exercised over the directors, were almost as much an executive as an elective body; that such a numerous executive had never been known to go right and straight; that they were as far as possible from promising to be an exception to this unchanged and unchangeable rule; and that their mistakes and faults directly affected the prosperity of thousands of individuals at home and of millions abroad. Complaints were also made that, by rendering the situation of director of four years' duration instead of one, and free for that time from the control of the court of proprietors, the influence and operation of the ministry would be great and certain: but then, on the other hand, the annual elections had been proved most mischievous; they had, as Clive affirmed, swallowed up nearly all the time and attention of the directors, and new members of that body were liable to be outvoted and turned out of office just as they were beginning to learn its duties, or to know something of the complicated machine which was to be superintended. There were defects, and of a serious nature, in the measure proposed by ministers, who do not appear to have considered it as final, but rather in the light of an experiment which might be modified and altered as time and experience should point out. Such as they were, their proposals were embodied in two acts, which were carried through both houses by immense majorities, and received the royal assent forthwith. The company continued their complaints and lamentations, but xcept among the Wilkites in the city, they found very little sympathy. They had, in fact, grown unpopular as a body, and, whatever doubts may have been entertained in some quarters as to the wisdom of the new measures, or the propriety of

· Hist, Brit, Ind.

augmenting the authority of parliament, which then signified little more than the influence of the court and ministry, the universal feeling appears to have been that some interference was indispensable, and that what was no longer a group of factories, but an empire, ought not to be trusted to the sole management of a trading company, who bought and sold fractions of principalities and powers in 'Change Alley.

In proceeding to the choice of the first governorgeneral of Bengal there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the responsible, delicate, and difficult post. Long experience, proved ability, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who was accordingly named by



WARREN HARTINGS.

the new parliamentary authority. Clive, though he had not invariably had cause to be pleased with the conduct of Hastings, once his protégé, considered him the best man that could be selected, and he hastened to congratulate him on the honour of being the First Governor-General. In so doing, however, Clive expressed a doubt, in the shape of a hope, and this was, whether his colleagues in the council would act in harmony with him. It is especially deserving of observation that the principal misgiving Clive entertained with regard to Warren Hastings was, that he might err through overmuch good-nature and easiness and amiability of temper.* The four members of coun-

Some time before this, when Hastings was removed from his secondary post in the council of Madras to be head of the council and governor of Calcutta, Clive said to him, in a lotter full of practical wisdom and proper rules for his conduct—"From the knowledge I have of you I am convinced that you have not only abilities and person that the proper of the property of

cil appointed with Warren Hastings, and each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell,

and Mr. Philip Francis.

In the mean while, both Indian committees of the House of Commons, the select and the secret, had continued their occupations; and the first of the two, urged on by Burgoyne, the chairman, by Governor Johnstone, and by other men from whom impartiality and candour were as little to be expected, had taken a still more inquisitorial and personal turn. Clive was subjected to incessant examinations and cross-examinations; mutilated evidence, taken out of the company's records by the company's own servants, was received as good evidence, upon the plea that it was impossible to spare time sufficient to search for facts among the vast mass of papers at the India House. When Clive referred to the votes of approbation and the long sounding votes of thanks passed in a series of years by courts of directors and general courts, recorded and preserved in the same depôt in Leadenhall-street, he was no more regarded than if they had been passed and registered in the moon. We shall have executed our task very inefficiently if we have not impressed on the reader's mind a deep conviction of the money-getting spirit, the greed, the corruption, the jobbery of our public men, patriots included, at this low and mean period of our history; or if we have not conveyed the notion that strict honour, disinterestedness, a superiority to temptation, and an incapability of treachery and baseness were things not to be expected in so distant and so peculiar a field as India, when they had no recognisable existence in any of the high places in England. The palms of the patriots sitting in either committee must have itched at the long array upon paper of rupecs and lacs of rupees; and it may be pretty safely doubted whether there was one of Clive's accusers and tormentors that would, at Moorshedabad, have rested satisfied with the large sum he took when it was so casy to make it larger, when there was absolutely no limit to his acquisitions but his own modera-

tings, after the first departure of Clive from Calcutta, had attrached himself to Governor Vanvittart, with whom he returned to Europe before Clive's return to Calcutta in 1765, and through whom he became, to a considerable extent, connected with Sulivan, the mortal enemy of Clive. Hastings had been so little influenced by the money-making spirit that he had not been long in England ere he found himself almost penniles. A common friend (Mr. Sykea), who had accompanied Clive to India on his reforming mission, and who had remained there as a member of the select committee, wrote to his lordship in March, 1768—"Your lordship knows my regard for Mr. Hastings..... I have now brought his affairs nearly to a conclusion, and sorry I am to say they turn out more to the credit of his moderation than knowledge of the world. He is almost literally worth nothing, and must return to India, or weat bread. I therefore make it my earnest request to your lordship, that, even if you cannot consistently promote his re-appointment to the company's service, you will at least not give any opposition thereto." Forgetting his personal piques, Clive, more powerful then than Sulivan, who could not have prevented the prolongation of Hastings's distressing embarrasments, instantly used all his condeavours to get him out to Madras in a high and lucrative office; and it was through Clive that Hastings was made second in council at that presidency. And afterwards, when Vansittart and the other supervisors had gone to the bottom of the ocean in the Aurora frigate, it was Clive that actively recommended Hastings to be governor of Calcutta, as the man in India the best fitted for the post. It was on seeing this appointment secured that Clive wrote the remarkable letter from which the paragraph at the best fitted for the post. the beginning of this note is taken.

tion.* On one occasion, when irritated in the extreme, and when the scenes of the past were forced upon his mind and upon his vision as a present reality, he vividly described his entrance into Moorshedabad and into the rich treasury of the flying tyrant Suraj-u-Dowlah: -there was the new nabob, Meer Jaffier, a creature of his making. and absolutely dependent on his will; there was a populous and opulent city offering immense sums to be saved from a plunder which was never intended; there were the Hindu seits or bankers bidding against each other for his favour; there were vaults piled with gold and crowned with rubics and diamonds, and he was at liberty to help himself:-and then, bursting away from a picture as dazzling as Sinbad's valley of diamonds, he exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!" He had unquestionably been guilty in the east of deception, subterfuge, and fraud; but these practices were alien to his frank and fiery nature. Both before the committee and before the whole House he was candid, bold, open, communicative even to excess, making no attempts either at concealment or palliation, but insisting that what he had done was no more than he was bound to do under all the circumstances of the case, and that what he had received was lawful for him to take.

On the 10th of May of the following year, 1773, on the order of the day being read for taking into consideration the report of the select committee appointed in the preceding session, and also certain reports lately presented from a similar committee appointed in the present session, Colonel Burgoyne, who, as chairman, had brought them up, declared the said reports contained an account of the most atrocious and most revolting crimes. The black-hole and its horrors were all forgotten; the crucity, the perfidy of Suraj-u-Dowlah were consigned to the same charitable oblivion; and it was represented by the military orator, who had had no friend or brother in the horrible catastrophe at Calcutta, that the dethronement of that prince was the greatest of crimes, and the real cause of all the revolutions and mischiefs which had ensued since then. Upon better ground, Burgoyne denounced the fictitious treaty with Omichund; yet he took an incorrect view of the subject of Admiral Watson's signature, and throughout the transaction laid the whole blame upon Clive, although nothing was more notorious, or more capable of proof by written and every other kind of evidence, than that the whole council had concurred and cooperated in that deception as in all other parts of the revolution of 1757. He maintained that Clive ought to be stripped of his wealth, as it had been extorted by military force, and as, like all acquisitions made from foreign powers, it of right belonged to the state; and he moved three resolutions to this effect, winding up with the avowal

^{*} Edin. Review.
† The three resolutions were—"I. That all acquisitions, made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the state; II. That to appropriate ac-

of an intention not to stop here, but to compel all who had acquired sums of money in the way alluded to to make full and complete restitution to the public. Clive made another very able speech, but a speech not calculated to conciliate any party. According to one who was present, and who was friendly to him, "he laid about him on all sides; he reprehended the court of directors past and present, the court of proprictors, the citizens of London, the country gentlemen of England, the servants of the company abroad, the secret and select committees, the opposition, the minister and ministry. He paid a compliment to the king. He declared he would support government where he could do it honourably. He offended the opposition without gaining the minister." These were not the parliamentary tactics of a mean low mind, of one to whom truckling, duplicity, and deception cost nothing when they suited his interest and purpose. He complained of the slander and abuse thrown upon him by the newspaper press, which had called him, and which kept calling him, villain, scoundrel, thief, murderer, assassin, &c.; he explained the circumstances of the revolution undertaken against Suraj-u-Dowlah, so far as he was concerned in itfor, in fact, while he was thousands or many hundred miles off, absent in England or serving on the Coromandel coast, events had occurred which hardly left any other alternative than the deposition of that nabob or the retreat and flight of the English from Bengal; and, if there were anything wrong or impolitic in the conduct of the English there previous to Suraj-u-Dowlah's march and siege, he had as little to do with that conduct as Burgoyne or any other member of the House of Commons; he defended the legality of the presents he had accepted of, both in point of law and of justice; he once more referred to the honours he had received, not merely from the company but also from the crown, in consequence of the very exploits and acts for which they were now arraigning him like a culprit and felon; and he concluded by saying-"If the record of my services at the India House,* . if the defence I have twice made in this House, and if the approbation I have already met with, is not an answer to the attack that has been made upon mc, I certainly can make none "- IIIs friend quisitions o made to the private emolument of persons intrusted with any civil on military power of the state is lilegal; III. That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal, from princes and others of that country, by persons intrusted with the military and civil powers of the state, by means of such powers; which sums of money and valuable property have been appropriated to the private use of such persons."

While Civic was on his last voyage from Calcutta—on the 18th of March, 1767—it was moved in a general court, that the important services rendered to the country by Loid Civic menited a general acknowledgment and return, and that a grant to his lordship and his personal representatives, of an additional term in the pather of then years, communcing from the termination of his lordship is present rights therein, would be a proper acknowledgment and return for such important services. This was carried by 456 against. The and on the 84th of the same mouth the grant for ton years was made and declared.

A According to the account in the Parliamentary History, these upon me, I certainly can make none "+ His friend

declared.

† According to the account in the Parliamentary Hustory, these last words were the whole speech that Clive made on this occasion. When he rose, it is stated, immediately after Weitlieburn sate down, M. Ongley rose at the same time, and exclaimed that the noble lord was a long speech-maker, and perhaps the House might have another speech of two hours and twenty minutes; upon which Clive assured the House that he should trouble them not five minutes—and then delivered the few sentences quoted in the text.

Wedderburn, who was at issue with Thurlow, the attorney-general, but backed by the other great lawyers, made an eloquent and argumentative speech against Burgoyne's resolutions, representing that they were founded in envy and illiberality, narrow, pointed at individuals, and not at that future reformation of our management of Indian affairs which ought to have been the grand object of the committee's inquiry; and that, above all, the cvidence on which some of the facts rested was indecisive and defective, and the conclusions drawn from other facts erroneous and unjust as far as concerned Lord Clive personally and without the council. Thurlow, who is said to have been previously consulted, and to have recommended the spoliatory process as a good means of making up part of the deficiencies in the Leadenhall-street treasury, replied as a lawyer to Wedderburn; and in the end Burgoyne's resolutions were carried without a division. Just one week after this—on the 17th of May,* 1773-Burgoyne followed up his successes by pointing his charges directly against Clive. He protested that he wished not to plunder or impoverish his lordship; yet nothing was so clear as that he must reduce him to poverty as well as disgrace, if he could command the majorities which had hitherto gone along with him. After deploring the inordinate and sinful appetite for money which had shown itself of late, and the national disgrace brought upon us by acts of plunder and injustice in the east, Burgoyne re-affirmed the principle—a principle which had never been admitted by any one Englishman in India from the commencement of our intercourse down to the time of Clive's last administration, when he manfully enforced the new order of the company to that effect-that no civil or military servant, in treating with a foreign prince or state, could law-fully bargain for or acquire planty for himself. Thus the donation at Moorshedabad was to be annulled, thus the jaghire was to be made void! But it entered not into Burgoyne's law or morality, or into the notions of any of them, that the money and rents ought to be restored, or the right of the nabob to give them questioned. With a boldness which must have astonished some men in the House acquainted with the real state of the case. the orator proclaimed that Suraj-u-Dowlah's treaties merited confidence, and would have given to the English in the country all the security that was requisite, and condemned Clive's attack on the French at Chandernagore, and insisted that his capture of that place was a breach of neutrality, a breach of treaty, and an act of gross injustice and provocation to the nabob, forgetting that in that very treaty Suraj-u-Dowlah contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with the English, engaging to consider their enemies as his own; and that, before the attack on Chandernagore, the daring rhetoric, not of Clive, but of Admiral Watson, had obtained the shuffling nabob's assent. We were at open war with the French when Chandernagore

The Parl. Hist. says, on the 19th.

was attacked, so that that question had merely reference to the sovereign rights of the nabob: we were at peace—at least in Europe—with the Dutch, when they sent their armament up the Hooghly; but Burgoyne, not feeling himself called upon in the working out of his plan of attack to refine upon international law, acknowledged that Lord Clive in the Dutch affair had shown perfect magnanimity and disinterestedness. But everything that happened after that event and during Clive's five years' absence in England was laid to his charge. dethronement of Meer Jaffier, which Clive would never have permitted if he had been in the country, the setting up of Meer Cossim, and then the dethroning Meer Cossim and the setting up again of Meer Jaffier,-all the blunders or worse of Governor Vansittart, all the doings and the undoings, the ravellings and unravellings, the malversations and oppressions of that council which Clive put down, in spite of Mr. Johnstone and of every cabal and opposition, were laid to his charge. Nay, more, he was to bear the blame of those very offences, and at the same time to be punished for having corrected the offenders without - as was said—a sufficient attention to the delicacies and considerations of the English law, which would have been about as applicable to the case as the British constitution would have been suitable to the atmosphere of Moorshedabad or Delhi. Burgoyne, acknowledging that he was happy and proud to be esteemed the friend of Governor Johnstone, the relative of one whose name had been mixed up in these transactions, declared that this should have no influence on his judgment-that he would not colour and conceal the conduct of that council, which he held to be unjustifiable-but then the orator, who had set all the ordinary rules of evidence at defiance in England, condemned Clive for the mode in which he had procured evidence in Bengal, compared his proceedings to those of the Inquisition, and called the letter written by Clive and the select committee acting with him. which contained the details of the delinquencies of Mr. Johnstone and his colleagues, an "infamous letter." Burgoyne concluded by moving the following resolution : - " That it appears to this House that the Right Honourable Robert Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, &c., about the time of the deposition of Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the establishment of Meer Jaffier on the musnud, through the influence of the powers with which he was intrusted as a member of the select committee and commanderin-chief of the British forces, did obtain and possess himself of two lacs of rupees as commander-inchief, a further sum of two lacs and 80,000 rupees as member of the select committee, and a further sum of sixteen lacs or more under the denomination of a private donation; which sums, amounting together to twenty lacs and 80,000 rupees, were of the value, in English money, of 234,000/.; and that, in so doing, the said Robert Lord Clive abused the power with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public, and

to the dishonour and detriment of the state."-Wedderburn again took an active part in the debate, strenuously opposing the motion on grounds both of law and equity. He said that the House was in danger of being led to commit rashly and inconsiderately an act of crying injustice against one of the most illustrious men of the age. He argued that the acceptance of presents by Clive was justifiable by the ancient laws and usages of India; that there was no law, order, or by-rule of the company prohibiting their servants from accepting them; and that to adopt the present resolution would be to condemn his lordship upon an ex-post-facto law. He treated the select committee with very little respect; said that the evidence they had gone upon was of the most unsatisfactory kind, that their report was necessarily a prejudiced one, and that for the House to proceed upon it would be an act of flagrant injustice. Mr. Rose Fuller spoke qui e as freely of the select committee and its performances, declaring, as of his own knowledge, that the latter part of their report was undoubtedly not true. Lord North, in delivering a commonplace remark about the equality of justice, and the propriety of punishing great and splendid as well as mean and paltry offenders, hinted that it was very necessary to sift and examine the evidence. In the course of the debate Clive once more spoke for himself, and with the same uncompromising, unconciliating tone as on the previous occasions. He said, "After rendering my country the service which I think I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of, and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment for the public welfare and the particular benefit of the East India Company, I little thought that such transactions would have agitated the minds of my countrymen in proceedings like the present, tending to deprive me not only of my property and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me —my honour and reputation." He pointed out ably and clearly the discrepancies and inaccuracies in the reports, justified his whole conduct, civil and political, as open and undisguised, legal and above blame. He read extracts from his correspondence with Meer Jaffier and the India House, and finally the letter of the court of directors which contained their full approbation of his proceedings. He observed that, trained in the school of war and politics as he had been for twenty years, he was now improving in the school of philosophy, and, if patience was a virtue, he had no doubt of soon being very virtuous indeed. But in reality this long-enduring patience was foreign to his nature, and was incompatible with his present state of bodily suffering. Always quick and susceptible, he had become morbidly sensitive and irritable, from the continuance of mental torture and bodily disease, in reciprocal action and reaction. The insults he had received from the select committee had gone through him like an Indian arrow, and as he spoke he seemed to show the barb with the poison and his heart's blood upon it. "I have served my country,"

said he, "and the company faithfully; and, had it been my fortune to be employed by the crown, I should not have been in the situation I am in at present; I should have been differently rewarded: no retrospect would have been had to sixteen years past, and I should not have been forced to plead for what is dearer than life—my reputation. My situation has not been an easy one for these twelve months past; and, though my conscience never could accuse me, yet I felt for my friends, who were involved in the same censure as myself. Not a stone has been left unturned where the least probability could arise of discovering something of a criminal nature against me. The two committees seem to have bent the whole of their inquiries to the conduct of their humble servant the Baron of Plassey, and I have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this House."* After making some bitter reflections on the persevering animosity and unfair proceedings of the deputy-chairman of the India Company (Sulivan), and condemning some portions of the new ministerial regulations for India, he spoke again on the subject of presents. He was firmly of opinion that, as for presents, in honourable cases it was not dishonourable to receive them—they were only dishonourable or improper in dishonourable cases—they had been received uninterruptedly for the space of 150 years, and by men who sat in the direction or held high places in the company's service or in the king's service—they were a lawful part of the social system of the East. "In the early part of my life," he continued, " my labours were without emolument or laurels; and I hope this House will not think that I ought not to be rewarded for my services to my country in the latter part of When I was first employed by the company their affairs abroad were in a condition much to be lamented. Misfortunes attended them in every part of their settlements, and the nabobs looked with a jealous eye upon the small privileges and possessions they then enjoyed; though small, in danger every day of being wrested from them. Their fears and weakness were surrounded by dangers on every side. In this critical situation it pleased God to make me the instrument of their deliverance."† With a proper and almost unavoidable compliment to the known good-nature and humanity of Lord North, he said he was sure that, if that noble lord had foreseen the dreadful consequences that would attend them, he would never have consented to the passing of the three previous resolutions. He continued-" I cannot say that I rest easy when I find by those extensive resolutions that

all I have in the world is confiscated, and that no man will now take my security for a shilling. These are dreadful apprehensions to remain under; and I cannot look upon myself but as a bankrupt. I have not anything left that I can call my own, except my paternal fortune of 500/. per annum, and which has been in the family for ages past." After some debate, further consideration of the motion was deferred till Friday the 21st. On that day the active Burgoyne moved that certain witnesses should then be examined. The examination was ordered, and Clive's own evidence before the committee was read; upon which his lordship said a few words, concluding with-" Take my fortune. but save my honour,"-and then retired from the Burgoyne's triumphant course stopped here: the House would not follow him from generalities to special facts and to individuals; would not, upon loose and defective and for the most part ex-parte evidence, find a distinguished man guilty, and then apply to him an ex-post-facto law. There was a spontaneous reaction in favour of Clive, a reaction apparently not expli-cable by any of the then ordinary rules of parliamentary management and manœuvre. There were no doubt hidden springs or calculated motives which had no reference to abstract notions of guilt or innocence, or to any sympathy or generous feeling; yet collectively the House appears to have been actuated by the conviction that the persecution was a malicious and most interested one; that the accusers of the hero of Plassey would never have raised a voice or a whisper against him if he had adapted himself to their views, instead of opposing them; that his conduct indeed was not free from faults, nor, perhaps, even from some shade of political crime: but that his position in India, unprecedented and impossible to have been provided for by any laws or rules, had been one of the most difficult in which a soldier had ever been placed, and his temptations the greatest to which an Englishman had ever been exposed. And, when not dinned by the flourishes of oratory, no doubt many on both sides of that House felt that the ruling passion of the day was the auri sacra fames, and that Clive was a prodigy of abstinence and moderation. There was also another consideration: in the very highest flourishes of that oratory, in all that virtuous indignation expressed in well-rounded and sonorous periods, there was not a hint dropped of the propriety or possibility of restoring the splendid fruits of those crimes, or of those things which were called crimes, and which, notwithstanding the temporary embarrassment of the company, had mainly tended to double within a few years the annual exports of goods from England to India, and nearly to double the tonnage of our shipping employed in that trade. "I had the mortification," says a cool listener to these long debates, " to hear the transactions in India for these last sixteen years treated, without distinction, as a disgrace to this nation, but without the smallest idea of restoring to the injured natives of India the territories and revenues said

This, according to the Parl. Hist., is part of a speech which Clave delivered on the 3rd of May, in the debate on Lord North's motion for leave to bring in his bill for the better management of of the East India Company.

He maintained that Suiaj-u-Dowlah's dethronoment was a necessary and lawful measure of self-defence; and that Omichund after all was only entangled in the meshes of the intrigue and treachery which he himself had woven. He showed—what we have before explained—rhat Admiral Watson had thoroughly approved of that revolution, and of the means by which it was obtained; and he read the letter signed by Watson, in common with the rest of the council at Calcutta, to that effect.

to have been so unjustly acquired." This consideration ran contrary to any indulgence in strict abstract principles of right and wrong: it called the mind rather to reflect upon what conquests have been, are, and ever must be. Whatever were the mingled considerations, feelings, and motives of the members of the House of Commons, when the question itself came on, and the direct charges against Clive were before them, their march was quick and decisive. Mr. Stanley moved that the words about abuse of powers, evil example, dishonour, &c., should be omitted; Mr. R. Fuller seconded the motion, and then proposed that other criminatory epithets should be struck out from Burgoyne's resolution. The motion was then put to the House in a form as meck and inoffensive as a sucking dove-that is to say, it merely specified that the Right Honourable Robert Lord Clive, &c., had, about the time of the deposition of Suraj-u-Dowlah and the establishment of Meer Jaffier, obtained, at various times, as commander-in-chief and member of the select committee, rupees amounting in English money to 234,000%. "On this point," says the account in the Annual Register, "the grand struggle was made. Those who speculate observed an extraordinary division of those who, on all other occasions, acted together. The minister declared in favour of the words of censure on Lord Clive, and divided in the minority. The attorney-general was a principal in the attack; the solicitorgeneral managed the defence. The courtiers went different ways. The most considerable part of the opposition supported Lord Clive, though he had joined the administration and supported them in their proceedings against the company." the end, the motion, as shortened and dulcified by Stanley and Fuller, was carried by a majority of sixty, the numbers being 155 against 95. Burgoyne then moved-" That Lord Clive did, in so doing, abuse the powers with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public;" but this motion was rejected. † By this time it was near four o'clock in the morning: many members had gone home to bed, and some of those who remained were nodding on their scats—dreaming possibly of rupees and jaghires; but another and the last motion was made by Wedderburn-"That Robert Lord Clive did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country;" and this passed in the affirmative. So shifting were the winds of parliament, and so sudden their changes from hot to cold. And thus terminated all these proceedings as far as Clive was concerned. But "the be all and the end all" was not there, nor could depend any further on resolutions, motions, and votes. "The Daring in War" had received his death-blow from orators' tongues, or, at the least, his mind and body had

MS. notes, as cited by Sir John Malcolm, Life of Clive.
 So says the Annual Register; but, according to the more detailed account in the Parliamentary History, Burgoyne's motion was carried, after the previous question, moved by Mr. Stanley, had been negatived without a division.

been so harassed for many months, and his cruel maladies so exacerbated, that there no longer remained a gleam of health, or hope, or cheerfulness. He had been acquitted—he had been applauded; some of the highest in the land and some of the most liberal and intellectual abroad-men like Voltaire, who had the right of genius to be the real dispensers of fame—testified their admiration and admired him the more for the ordeal he had gone through; but he could not take these flattering unctions to his soul, he brooded over the indignity of having been accused, charged in the eyes of the whole world, not only with horrible crimes, but with mean petty vices most hateful and maddening to his pride.* He sought some alleviation to his sufferings in a visit to Bath as soon as parliament rose, and then in a short excursion on the continent; but he returned worse than he went. His liver was entirely deranged, his attacks of bile were frequent and dreadful; he suffered the excruciating agonies of gall-stones, and he had long had recourse to the dangerous aid of opium, which in many cases maddens or depresses in the morning more than it soothes or exhibitrates at night. He had begun the use of the drug when he first went to India, and apparently had never abandoned it. but, like all opium-eaters, had gone on increasing his dose. He had always been subject to dreadful fits of depression. In one of these, when cooped up in Fort St. George a poor moody lad, he twice attempted to destroy himself, and twice the pistol missed fire; upon which, it is added, he examined the pistol, saw that it was really well loaded, and then threw it from him with an exclamation that he must certainly be destined for something great or extraordinary. In the month of November of the year which followed his acquittal by the Commons (1774), being at his splendid town mansion in Berkeley-square, he had a violent access of his most painful malady. On the 21st and 22nd he endured extreme agony, and had recourse for relief to additionally powerful doses of laudanum: the drug did not soothe, and a paroxysm of irritability and impatience was added to the paroxysm of the disease: in the course of the 22nd he died by his own hand. He had only just completed his forty-ninth year. If ever there was a case where suicide could be accounted

^{*} Voltaire expressed a desire to Dr. John Moore, the well-known author, and father of General Sir John Moore, to obtain the perusal of the most important papers connected with Indian affairs, with a view to celebrate the great deeds which had been done in that part of the world.—See Letter from Wedderburn to Clice in Sir John Malcolm's Life.

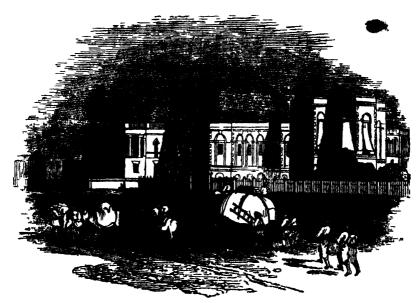
of the world.—See Letter from We can design to the world.—See Letter from We cannot be conduct, or very shortly after its termination, that overtures were made to Lord Clive to accept of the chief command in America, then on the verge or rather within the verge of the revolution. Clive had declared, with his usual angacity, at the very beginning of these toubles, that they must end sooner or later in the independence of America. But the plea of bud health was the excuss he is said to have proffered. "Had he," it has been said, "still been what he was when he raised the siege of Patna and annihilated the Datch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the colonies would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been delerred for a few years."—Art. on Clive is Edia. Rev. The wasted shadow, the mere ghost of the defender of Arcot and here of Plassey, would assuredly have done more than the Howes, Bargoynes, and Clintons.

for by an accumulation of causes, it was this; but the world rounded off its story by assuming and indisting that Clive had fallen a victim to a guilty conscience and to the just vengeance of God. And this remained for years not merely the tale of the vulgar and uninformed, but the opinion of many preachers and moral philosophers of the highest pretensions; and some physicians who ventured to doubt whether, if a single cause were to be assigned for the deplorable act, Clive's self-destruction had not proceeded rather from a diseased liver than from a diseased conscience, were treated as impious scoffers or downright atheists Dr. Johnson, who might have arrived nearer to the truth by reflecting on the circumstances of his own life and unfortunate physical constitution, on his own morbid sensibility and the melancholy which had filled many of his hours with horror, though he had no blood or cruckty or serious crime upon his conscience, gave his sanction to the damning and unjust rumour by saying that Lord Clive, loaded with wealth and honours, had acquired his fortune by such crimes that his consciousness of them impelled him to cut his own throat !* This

"It is generally understood that he put a period to his exist ence by shooting himself through the head "Bayley's Lond m and Middle ve it 737 Fvery reader of Johnson must fact that there is a strong distinction to be drawn between his opinious as set down deliberately in his writings and in the quet of his study and his opinions as delivered in conversation where he indulged in para dox and contradiction—his usual rule, indeed contradict everything ulvanced by anoth r livered about the were conversational ones Dr Robertson, the Scottish history in, chanced one evening over a dinner table, to de liver an encomium upon the hero of Plussey, whom he described as one of the strongest minded men that ever lived. This slove was enough to call belief became a tradition and a part of the faith of the land; and it is only at a very recent date that the facts of the case have been put in their proper light, and that justice has been done to the genius and personal character of Clive In the words of one who has done much to clear his fame-" Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and if, on the whole, the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts."*

Warren Hastings, who extended and consolidated

up the incurable spirit of contradiction in the "Grest Moralist" who, in spite of some pretty expressions, had small affection for the historian, or for his country or his politics, and who probably was the less careful of spinking strongly against Clive, as Clive was a moderate Whig To Robertson's cull spirin Johnson rejoined—' Yet this man cut his own throat, ' and the then spoke in a fact tious strain about the King of Plussia and hottles of wine, and the necessity of a man being great in great things and elegant in little things. This table the King of Prinsis and notices of wine, and the necessity of a man being gre it in great things and elegant in little things. This table talk is not to be taken for more than table talk the imputation of bad tast, for making wit out of so sad a catastrophe, which was then a recent event, may rest upon Johnson; but it would be unjust to him to take it as his deliber the opinion on the tase of Chrw. The nim to take it as his derived the epinion on the take of Clive. The next time he is reported speaking of Clive was late one upit, " after Mrs I hrde was gone to bed, when Boswell was boring him with moral cummonph test, and when he was contactleding at this roundest rate, and using arguments which would scare and terrify our modern proprieties and this was the time and the occusion on which he attributed (live s suicide to a guilty conscience! Valeat tantum. The spirit of love and charity that was in him, his strength and his weaknesses his knowledge and experience would have directed a very different opinion in places where there was no Robertson to contradict or Boswell to purvle and no auditors to be excited and * Art. in Lim Rev on Life of Chie



COUNCIL HOUSE, CALCUTTA From a View by Demical.

the empire which Clive had called into existence, and whose Indian career ended in a prosecution more famous and more formal than that to which his lordship was subjected, began his administration at Calcutta under every possible disadvantage. The famine to which more than one allusion has been made occurred in 1770, under the government of Mr. Cartier, and only a few months before Hastings succeeded him. It was a tremendous visitation; the natives, and above all the Hindu portion of them, who, on religious grounds, make fittle or no use of animal food, perished by hundreds and by thousands, and it was calculated that, in all, from one-fourth to one-third of the teeming population of Bengal was swept away. In the summer of 1769 the rains had failed; hence the earth was parched up, the tanks for the purposes of irrigation became empty, and the rivers The same natural shrank within their beds. causes had always been attended by the same dreadful consequences, and wide-wasting dearths were frequent in India long before Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape or the name of the English was But natural causes did not satisfy the popular mind in England, where it was rumoured that the company's servants had created the famine by buying up all the rice of the country, and by refusing to sell it except at ten or twelve times the price at which they had bought it. "These charges," says the Edmburgh Review, " we be-That serlieve to have been utterly unfounded. vants of the company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn-factors.*** A short time before the breaking out of the famine Syef-al-Dowla, the son and successor of Meer Jaffier, died of the small-pox; and his brother, Muharek-al-Dowla, a boy, was appointed to the musnud. Not a few had been inclined to apply to Syef the process of rapid curtailment and reduction which Regan applies to the household of old King Lear; and it appears to have been pretty generally thought that too much money was wasted upon a merely nominal nabob, a puppet, a man of straw-for so had Svefal-Dowla been designated by a leading member in the Calcutta government. But as soon as the magnates in Leadenhall-street knew that Syef was dead they sent out orders for making retrenchments on the allowance of his young brother. "We cannot," said the directors, "but observe with astonishment that an event of so much importance as the death of the Nabob Syef-al-Dowla, and the establishment of a successor in so great a

Art. on Life of Clive.

degree of nonage, should not have been attended with those advantages for the company which such a circumstance offered to your view. Convinced as we are that an allowance of sixteen lacs per annum will be sufficient for the support of the nabob's state and rank while a minor, we must consider every addition thereto as so much to be wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants, who will continually surround him; or at least be hoarded up—a consequence still more pernicious to You are, therefore, during the the company. nonage of the nabob, to reduce his annual stipend to sixteen lacs of rupees." It fell to Mr. Hastings to carry these orders into execution, and he was afterwards censured and condemned as if the acts had originated with himself. The saving made, however much it may have improved the morals of the young nabob's court, had no visible effect on the treasury at Calcutta, and Hastings was left to struggle through all the perplexities and cares resulting from an empty exchequer and a daily increasing debt, while every ship, every dispatch from his masters, brought demands for moneymoney -money. Mohammed Reza-Khan, a Mussulman, who had been appointed by English influence in opposition to the Hindu Nuncomar to administer not only the civil list or pension of the nabob, but also the revenues of all Bengal, was continued in office under the infant minor; but weighty reasons combined to induce the court of directors to deprive him of his profitable employments. In the first place, a general opinion had got abroad, and had been industriously propagated by Nuncomar and other Hindus—who had long been intriguing for his places, and who had always considered a Mohammedan minister of finance a monstrous anomaly and encroachment on the rights by prescription of the Hindus to have the sole management of the revenue and all money-matters-that Mohammed Reza-Khan must have acquired enormous wealth during the years in which the nabob's thirty-two lacs, and all the lacs raised in Bengal by taxes, duties, privileges, &c., had passed through his hands. As no Indian minister under his circumstances had been honest, it became a matter of course to accuse him of dishonesty and rapacity; and there were few customs so ancient in the East, or recommended by so many precedents, as that of making men in office disgorge all that they had swallowed, just at the moment of repletion. "When the lemon is fullest and ripest," said a Turkish despot, " I suck it and then throw away the rind," "I treat my Hindu ministers of finance," said an Indian despot, " like sponges. I give them time to absorb all that they can contain, then I press the matter out of them, and leave them as dry as a burnt stick." Adages of the same kind are common all over the East. In the second place, suspicions were entertained and they also were suggested by Nuncomar—that Mohammed Reza-Khan, who had always been very popular, was becoming a great deal too powerful, and was entertaining the idea of turning his great power against the English. To shake his popularity and the esteem in which he had been held by the poorer classes of the people, as well Hindus as Mohammedans, the Nuncomar faction had laid to his charge every act of oppression, every misfortune and calamity that had happened in the coufftry, and had accused him generally of cruelty and tyranny towards the poor. The terrible famine gave them the opportunity of being more specific, and they accused Mohammed Reza Khan—as pamphleteers, poets, and parliament orators in England accused the servants of the company—of having increased the calamities of the poor during the height of the famine by monopoly of rice and other necessaries of life. This charge, with all the other hints and suspicions, had been transmitted to Leadenhall-street chiefly through the active agency of one Huzzeramul, a creature of Nuncomar, who had an extensive acquaintance among the servants of the company. Nuncomar, indeed, by presents and promises, had made himself a strong party in Calcutta, and some of this party could influence the votes and opinions of some members of the court of directors. The embarrassments of the company quickened their cupidity, their cupidity countenanced their suspicion, and both together made them ready and eager recipients of the worst charges that could be brought against Mohammed Reza Khan, whose ruin was forthwith determined upon. As early as the 28th of August, 1771, the secret committee wrote to Warren Hastings:-" By our general orders you will be informed of the reasons we have to be dissatisfied with the administration of Mohammed Reza Khan, and will perceive the expediency of our divesting him of the rank and influence he holds as Naib Dewan of the kingdom of Bengal. But, though we have declared our resolution in this respect to our president and council, yet, as the measures to be taken in consequence thereof might be defeated by that minister, and all inquiry into his conduct rendered ineffectual, were he to have any previous intimation of our design, we, the secret committee, having the most perfect confidence in your judgment, prudence, and integrity, have thought proper to intrust to your especial care the execution of those measures which alone can render the Naib's conduct subject to the effects of a full inquiry, and secure that retribution which may be due." They proceeded to express their fear of an open arrest, and their hope that the ingenuity of Hastings would devise some means of taking Mohammed Reza Khan unawares, and of making sure of his person, without previously exciting "the resentment and revenge which he might conceive on the knowledge of the secret committee's intentions." Nor was the minister to be the only prisoner: Hastings was directed and enjoined, immedately on the receipt of this letter, to take measures and issue his private orders for securing "the person of Mohammed Reza Khan, together with his whole family and his known partisans and adherents;" and to bring them all down quietly to Calcutta by such means as his prudence should

suggest. And the secret committee further declared it to be-in a style royal or imperial-their " pleasure and command " that none of these persons should be liberated until the minister should have exculpated himself and have made full restitution of all sums which he might have appropriated to his own use, either from the public revenues or the nabob's stipends; and until he should also have satisfied the claims of all such persons as might have suffered by any act of injustice or oppression committed while he was in office. Still further they instructed Hastings " sedulously to endeavour to penctrate into the most hidden parts of his administration," and "discover the reality of the several facts with which he was charged, or the justness of the suspicions they (the secret committee) had of his conduct." These, indeed, were instructions worthy of the so-called Holy Officethese duties expected at the hands of Hastings were worthy of an officer or familiar of the Inquisition. But, like the orders of the inquisitor-general, they were imperative, and left no choice to their paid servant, which Hastings was, but implicit obedience or disgrace and dismissal. Continuing in the same strain, the secret committee said, "We cannot forbear recommending to you to avail yourself of the intelligence which Nuncomar may be able to give respecting the naib's administration; and, while the envy which Nuncomar is supposed to bear this minister may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge, we are persuaded that no scrutable part of the nail's conduct can have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetrating rival. Hence we cannot doubt but that the abilities and disposition of Nuncomar may be successfully employed in the investigation of Mohammed Reza Khan's administration." secret committee knew Nuncom be a liar and a scoundrel, and therefore it was that they expected scoundrel's work from him. They gave Hastings no hint to be on his guard against his lies and malice-that was not their cue, for they wanted evidence, and cared not of what kind—but they warned Hastings not to give the villain too much for his services, or not to promise him the office of naib dewan. "While we assure ourselves," said they in this memorable letter, "that you will make the necessary use of Nuncomar's intelligence, we have such confidence in your wisdom and caution, that we have nothing to fear from any secret motives or designs which may induce him to detect the mal-administration of one whose power has been the object of his envy, and whose office the aim of his ambition; for we have the satisfaction to reflect that you are too well apprised of the subtlety and disposition of Nuncomar to yield him any trust or authority which may be turned to his own advantage, or prove detrimental to the company's interest." As, however, they could not expect that profoundly selfish Hindu to perform the work of iniquity without some of its wages, the secret committee told Hastings that,

though they were not disposed to delegate any power or influence to Nuncomar, he might yield him "such encouragement and reward as his trouble and the extent of his services might deserve." There had been nothing open, and there was to be nothing open in these transactions. The charge about starving the people, which would have been at the head of this long letter if the secret committee had had other feelings and motives, was brought in, almost as a postscript, at the very end of Their fears and their contrivances the epistle. and subterfuges might find some excuse if Mohammed Reza Khan had been as powerful as Suraj-u-Dowlah or Meer Cossim; but the English authority was established and dreaded throughout Bengal, and the naib was in reality so weak that a single company of sepoys might at any time have seized him and carried him down to Calcutta without opposition and without any necessity of dark schemes and stratagems. It might be somewhat different farther off, at Patna; but such appears to have been the case at Moorshedabad, where Mohammed Reza Khan was residing. " In our general address," said the secret committee, "we deemed it advisable to mention only that we had received information of Mohammed Reza Khan's having increased the calamities of the poor during the height of the famine by a monopoly of rice and other necessaries of life. We were, indeed, restrained from an open communication on this subject, fearing the consequences which might ensue from the minister's revenge should he learn by whom such accusation had been brought against him; but, persuaded as we are of your secrecy and discretion, we herewith transmit to you an extract of a letter from Huzzeramul to Robert Gregory, Esq., wherein Mohammed Reza Khan is charged with a crime of so atrocious a nature, and we the rather advise you of Huzzeramul's information, as we rely on your endeavours to obtain full evidence respecting the truth of this allegation, as well as of such others as are the objects of the scrutiny we have directed to be made into the naib's conduct."

The charge or charges thus confidentially committed to Hastings he was to keep a profound secret from his colleagues in India; and he was told that the company did him high honour by the separate trust thus reposed in him. dered the signal and essential services expected of him he would prove himself worthy of their choice, and of presiding in the administration of the government of Bengal-or so said his "loving friends," the secret committee sitting in Leadenhall-street. Now Warren Hastings had several strong reasons for feeling embarrassed at the notion of inveigling, imprisoning, and ruining Mohammed Reza Khan, and courting the confidence and intimacy of Nuncomar: he had formerly concurred in opinion with Clive that Mohammed Reza Khan was the best man in the country and Nuncomar the worst, and, if he had not been a member of the council which appointed the former to his high offices, and which received presents on that account to the amount of

twenty lacs of rupees, he had on many occasions. both in England and in India, personally and by means of letters, testified his esteem for the Mohammedan, and his thorough detestation of the Hindu.* Moreover Nuncomar had, long ago, in the days of Suraj-u-Dowlah and Meer Jaffier, rendered himself peculiarly odious to the English at Calcutta, who, when their time of power and vengeance arrived, had treated him as a felon, keeping him some time a prisoner in Fort William. During the administration of Vansittart, the directors, convinced by the frequent representations of Hast ings, had declared their conviction that Nuncomar was capable of forgery and all other frauds and crimes, and must be kept under a constant surveillance.† Nevertheless Hastings proceeded with the task set down for him. " As your commands, says he in a letter to the secret committee, "were peremptory, and addressed to myself alone, I carefully concealed them from every person except Mr. Middleton, whose assistance was necessary for their execution, until I was informed by him that Mohammed Reza Khan was actually in arrest, and on his way to Calcutta. To have consulted the board on a point on which your authoritative commands had left me without a choice, or to have desired their assistance when I had sufficient power to act without it, would have been equally improper. But I will confess that there were other cogent reasons for this reserve. I was yet but a stranger to the characters and dispositions of the members of your administration. I knew that Mohammed Reza Khan had enjoyed the sovereignty of this province for seven years past, had possessed an allowed annual stipend of nine lacs of rupees. the uncontrolled disposal of thirty-two lacs entrusted to him for the use of the nabob, the absolute command of every branch of the nizamut, and the chief authority in the dewannee. To speak more plainly, he was in everything but the name the nazim of the province, and in real authority more than the nazim. I could not suppose him so inattentive to his own security, nor so ill versed in the maxims of eastern policy, as to have ne-glected the due means of establishing an interest with such of the company's agents as by actual authority or by representation to the honourable com-

^{*} He had even accused Nuncomar of plotting against him, and seeking his life or his absolute ruin. "From the year 1799," said he in one of his letters, "to the time when I lett Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man, because I judged him to be adverse to the welfare of my employers, and I had received sufficient indications of his ill will to myself."

† "From the whole of your proceedings with respect to Nuncommr," wrote the directors, "there seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring by forgery and false accusations to ruin Ram Churn; that he has been guilty of carrying on correspondence with the country powers hurtful to the company's interests, and instrumental in conveying letters between the slauzada and the French governor-greatral of Pondicherry In short it appears he is of that wicked and turbulent disposition that no harmony can subsist in society where he has the opportunity of interfering. We therefore most readily concur with you, that Nuncomar is a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in our settlements, and capable of doing mischief if he is permitted to go out of the province, either to the sorthward or to the Decoan We shall therefore depend upon your keeping such a watch over all his actions as may be the means of preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public, or injuring individuals for the future."—Letter to the Precident and Consatil, dated 22nd February, 1784."

pany might be able to promote or obstruct his I chose therefore to avoid the risk of an opposition, to put the matter beyond dispute, and then to record what I had done. The same reflections occurred to me when I proposed to intrust Mr. Middleton with the execution of your commands, which might with more certainty have been effected by an order to the commanding officer of the brigade stationed at Burrampoor. But this would have been productive of much disturbance. I was convinced that I might securely rely on Mr. Middleton, and his behaviour justified that confidence." Hastings did not mention how the naib had been inveigled into captivity, but said merely "Mohammed Reza Khan was brought without delay to Calcutta, where he has been detained ever since in an easy confinement." In the same paragraph of his letter he said that he had judged it advisable and consistent with the tenor of their commands to cause also Rajah Shitab Roy to be arrested and brought down to Calcutta. This Shitab Roy had been naib dewan at Patna, and had exercised in Bahar the same extensive authority that Mohammed Reza Khan had exercised in Bengal: he also had been appointed through the English interest, and, like the khan, had stood high in the estimation of his countrymen of both religions. Shitab Roy, who had more sensibility than is common among Indians, was deeply affected by his arrest, and scemed to pine away under "the easy confinement" to which he was subjected. In his case as in that of the khan the evidence of personal rivals and bitter enemies was sought for. To meet some present murmurs raised by his colleagues, and to anticipate and defend himself against any future blame, Hastings declared that in all that he had done he had been solely guided by the several instructions of the secret committee of the court of directors. " To the service of the company," said he in one of his letters, "and to your commands, I have sacrificed my own feelings, and have combated those of others joined with me in the administration of your affairs. I claim your approbation of what I have done, not as a recompense of integrity, but as the confirmation of the authority which you have been pleased to confide in me, and of your own which is involved in it." It appears that the members of the special committee at Calcutta strongly opposed some of these measures, while they were merely points of debate, but afterwards bowed to the sanction of the council, and concurred with Hastings and co-operated in the execution of them, as if they had never dissented. But it was found easier work to arrest the two naib dewans than to bring them to trial; and months and seasons clapsed before Mol Reza Khan and Shitab Roy knew specifically of what they were accused. Before ordering their arrest the company had come to the determination that, innocent or guilty, they should be the last naib dewans, and that, as a completion of the company's authority, the departments of revenue and finance, together with the department of law and justice,

should be managed no longer, for them, by natives, but by their own English servants. Mohammed Reza Khan's influence continued for some time to prevail generally throughout Bengal; in the nabob's household, and at Moorshedabad, the capital, it seemed scarcely affected by his disgrace and imprisonment: his favour was still courted and his anger dreaded: his agents, friends, and dependants filled every office of the dewannee and nizamut. But Hastings attacked all parts of the system at once :the nabob's household was reformed, or at least revolutionized and changed; leading men in the capital were won over to the new system; the treasury and the courts of law were swept clean of their old occupants; and the influence of the last naib dewan of Bengal was completely broken by removing all his dependants, and placing the secondary direction of affairs in the hands of the most powerful or active of his enemies, that is to say, the agents and creatures of Nuncomar.*

Ahteram-ul-Dowlah, uncle of the young nabob, and the eldest existing male of the family, claimed or petitioned for the vacant offices of naib, which would have constituted him chief minister and guardian of his young nephew: but one so near the musnud might make plots and rebellions to get possession of it for himself; he was a man of mature years, and neither without a party nor without a certain portion of spirit and ability; and, as an inevitable deduction, Hastings concluded that Ahteram-ul-Dowlah must have no place or authority in the remodeled court. + A woman, it was considered, would be less troublesome, or at least less dangerous, and there seemed besides plausible reasons for entrusting the care of the son to his natural guardian, his own mother. Accordingly Munny Begum or Minnee Begum, a second wife, or rather a concubine, of Meer Jaffier, who had been originally a dancing-girl, was preferred to the place. The council of Calcutta thus explained and justified the nomination in one of their minutes :-- "We know no person so fit for the trust of guardian to the nabob as the widow of the late nabob Meer Jaffier Alı Khan, Minnee Begum; her rank may give her a claim to this pre-eminence without hazard to our own policy; nor will it be found incompatible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of her country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the nabob's palace, and the (new) dewan will act, of course, in all cases in which she

*Warren Hastinge's own Letter to the secret committee.

*Hestings Munes! fild not rate very high either the abilities or the ambition of Alteran-ul Dowlah; but he thought the following sufficient reasons for keeping him or any other man of the family at a distance:—"He is included a man of no dangerous solities, or organizes ambition, but the father of a numerous tamily, who by his being brought so night to the musend would have acquired a right of inheritance to the subabship; and if only one of his zons, whe are all in the prime of life, should have reased his hopes to the succession, it would have been in his power at any time to remove the single obstacle which the naboh's life opposed to the advancement of his family. The guardian at least would have been the nazim while the mindrity lasted, and all the advantages which the company may hope to derive from it is the confirmation of their power would have been lost, or could only have been maintained by a contention heartful to their rights, or by a violence yet more exceptionable. The case needs he much the same wore any other man places is that station."

cannot personally appear." The new dewan, who was to act in public where the lady could not appear, was Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncomar. In a minute signed Warren Hastings, it is said-" The president proposes Rajah Goordass for the office of dewan to the nabob's household. The inveterate and rooted enmity which has long subsisted between Mohammed Reza Khan and Nuncomar, and the necessity of employing the vigilance and activity of so penetrating a rival to counteract the designs of Mohammed Reza Khan, and to eradicate that influence which he still retains in the government of this province, and more especially in the family of the nabob, are the sole motives for this recommendation." Goordass, of course, was to be strictly confined to the household, and to have nothing to do with the public revenues or any of the public business of Bengal; and even in the department of the household he was to be kept in check by the Begum, and to have but the partial management of only sixteen lacs of rupees, whereas his powerful predecessor, Mohammed Reza-Khan, had had the sole management of thirty-two lac- in that department alone. Nothing it appears was to be feared from Goordass, who had no "dangerous abilities;" and his father, Nuncomar, was to be vigilantly watched, and not permitted to act for him except in conformity with the wishes and views of Warren Hustings and the interests of the company. At the same time Hestings considered that Nuncomar, satisfied with his son's promotion, would remain quiet or be active only in getting up charges against his old rival. was, however, considerable opposition in the council at Calcutta to the nomination of Goordass, which was esteemed in effect the nomination of Nuncomar. To these objections Hastings replied, that it might be indeed unsafe to trust Nuncomar, but that, as he would hold no office, and would remain a subject of the company, it would be easy to remove him and his son also without eclat, or the least appearance of violence, whenever it should be proved or even suspected that he had abused the trust; -- that it was not pretended that the abilities of Goordass could either administer the reduced stipend of the nabob with discretion, or root out the old power and influence of Mohammed Reza Khan-" his youth and inexperience would render him inadequate to these the real purposes of his appointment, but his father had all the abilities, perseverance, and temper, requisite for such ends, in a degree, perhaps, exceeding any man in Bengal; "-and finally, that Nuncomar would be subjected in all times and places to a surveillance that would prevent his doing mischief. "I still dislike him," said Hastings in a private letter, " although I countenance him and employ him. I had secret

They add in their minute—" Great abilities are not to be expected in a zenana, but in these she is very far from being deficient; nor is any extraordinary understanding requisite for so limited an employ. She is said to have acquired a great ascendant over the spirit of the nabob, being the only person of whom he stands in any kind of awe; a circumstance highly necessary for fulfilling the chief part of her duty, in directing his aducation and conduct, which appear to have been hitherto much neglected."

motives in addition to those which I assigned for the promotion of his son." The secret committees expressed their entire approbation of his conduct in this and in every other particular. "The use you intend making of Nuncomar," wrote the Machiavellis of Leadenhall-street, "is very proper, and it affords us great satisfaction to find that you could at once determine to suppress all personal feeling when the public welfare seemed to clash with your private sentiments relative to Nuncomar." To arrange all these difficult matters, to settle the collection of the revenue and the young nabob's household, Hastings, attended by the special committee of Calcutta, made a tour in the provinces, and resided some time at Moorshedabad. The settlement of the household, and the endeavour to make a court that had been spending thirtytwo lacs per unnum rest satisfied with sixteen. appear to have been the most difficult part of the business, and to have called most for the personal interference and exertions of the governor and president. It had been previously resolved in the nabob's council that he should solemnly protest against these sweeping changes, which would deprive him of the last semblance of sovereignty; that he should claim the administration of his own affairs. and upon the rejection of such claim abdicate the government and retire to Calcutta. was, moreover, a fierce feud and jealousy between Minnee Begum and another Begum of the zenana; and the boy nabob was wholly in the hands of women and eunuchs, or adherents of Mohammed Reza Khan. Yet Hastings overcame all these difficulties with great art and infinite manœuvring, but without the least appearance of violence or even of disrespect. It was impossible to dethrone a prince with more gentleness and politeness, or to deprive courtiers of half their gains with more courtesy. Not a single English soldier, not a sepoy, was called into action. "However," savs

**Supply, was called into action. "However," says

**Letter to Josiss Dupré, Esq.

† Among many other tirades which Hastings made at this period against Nuncomar, are the following:—"He stands convicted of treason against the company, while he was the servant of Meer Jaffier, and I helped to convict him. The man never was a fixourite of mine, and was engaged in doing me many ill offices for seven years together. But I found him the only man who could enable me to fulfil the expectations of the company with respect to Mohammed Reza Khan; and I had other reasons which would fully justify me when I can make them known. For these and those I supported his son, who is to benefit by his abilities and influence, but the father is to be allowed no authority."—Letter to Beger, "To the latter (the nomination of Goordass) I was indeed principally inclined by your commands. I hope it will appear that I have adopted almost the only expedient in which they could be exactly fulfilled. You directed that "if the assistance and information of Nuscomar should be serviceable to me, I should yield him such encouragements and rewards as the trouble and extent of his services might deserve." There is no doubt that he is capable of affording me great services by his information and advice; but it is on his abilities, and on the activity of his ambition and hatred to Mohammed Reza Khea, that I depend for investigating the conduct of the latter, and, by eradicating his influence, for confirming the authority which you have beautivity of his ambitiartation of the affairs of this country. The reward which has been assigned him (through his son) will put it in his power to answer those expectations, and will be an endouragement to him to exert all his abilities for the accomplishment of them. Had I not been georded by the carriors which you have been pleased to expine me, yet my own knowledge of the character of Nuscomer would have restrained to the company's interests. He himself has no trust or authority and the procederications, and wit

Hastings, "by avoiding every appearance of violence, and by a proper address to the nabob's counsellors, he was easily induced, with a very good grace and without opposition, to give his assent to the new appointments, which were conferred in form in the presence of the committee. I had the honour some time afterwards to reconcile the two ladies, and to bring about a meeting between them; an event for which I claim some merit, al-'though I do not imagine there is a grain of affection subsisting between them."* This Minnee Begum -"a woman incapable of passing the bounds assigned her "-was left as guardian at Moorshedabad, with Goordass, whose place could no longer be considered as anything more than a mere treasurcrship of the household; the dewannee, or public treasury, was removed to Calcutta and placed under English management; and thither also were carried the superior courts of justice. Hastings, quite jubilant, exclaimed - "By these arrangements the whole power and government of the province will centre in Calcutta, which may now be considered as the capital of Bengal. The establishment of the courts of justice in Calcutta is almost an act of injustice, the criminal judicature being a branch of the nizamut (which the company had agreed to leave the nabob); but it was so connected with the revenue, and the Mohammedan courts are so abominably venal, that it was necessary: it met with no opposition."†

It must be borne in mind that these transactions, together with many subsequent and important ones, took place while Warren Hastings was merely governor and president, not governor-general, and many months before the new constitution by act of parliament came into operation in India. Indeed it was the object of Hastings, and the constant order of his masters or employers, the court of directors, to do the work of reform or change by anticipation, so as to show that there was no need of the interference of parliament or of the ministry-an interference they considered as destructive of their rights and power. In hastening the organization of the superior courts of justice at Calcutta, Hastings's only dread was that a new judicature and a new code of laws might be framing in England, upon principles diametrically opposite to his, which were, that the laws and forms established of old in the country should be renewed, with no other variation than such as was necessary to give them their due effect, and such as the people understood and were likely to be pleased with. He maintained that, if laws and regulations were made in the English parliament by gentlemen who knew nothing of India, though good lawyers in West-

* Letter to Dupré.

† Hastings clearly foresaw the high destinies of Calcutta.

† Hastings clearly foresaw the high destinies of Calcutta.

† the translation of the treasury, by the exercise of the dewannee without intermediate agent, by the present superintendency of the nabob's household, and by the establishment of the new courts of justice under the control of our own government, the authority of the company is fixed in this gountry without any possibility of a competition, and beyond the power of any but themselves to alanke it. The nabob is a mere name, and the seat of government most effectually and visibly transferred from Moorahedabad to Calcutta, which I do not despair of seeing the first city in Axia, if I live and am supported but a few years longer."—Letter to Mr. Sykes.

minster Hall, the operation of their code would be in part disastrous and in part impracticable. Hence he pursued his task with a degree of application and intelligence of which few men not bred to the legal profession would have been capable. "If," said he, "the lord chief justice and his judges should come amongst us with their institutes, the Lord have mercy upon us! We shall be in a complete state of confusion here and we shall be cruelly mauled at home, especially if the parliament should lay hold on our code; for we have not a lawyer among us!" And, while he was codifying, erecting courts, and finding out men proper to fill them, he was also engaged in systematizing the revenue, establishing the new treasury, and finding men proper to put in it or in the important offices of district collectors; in devising means for placing both the internal trade of the country and the external trade of the company upon a better footing; in making reforms or alterations among all classes of the company's servants in India; and in preparing the trials of Mohammed Reza Khan and Rajah Shitab Roy, as he said himself, " without materials and without much hope of assistance; for, On ne pend pas des gens qui ont une million dans leur poche."* As to the reforms among the servants of the company, he complained that he had received a dangerous mark of distinction in being alone intrusted with their execution, and that the effect was, his hand was against every man, and every man's against him! And to all these laborious and trying occupations were superadded the constant cares and anxieties arising out of the company's connexions with the nabob of Oude and Shah Alum, and the encroachment of the Mahrattas, who occupied or overran for uncertain seasons the whole of the interior of India from Delhi to the frontiers of Oude, from the

ghauts of the Carnatic to the ghauthind Bombay.

After a long confinement, which certainly did not appear so "easy" to them as it did to the governor, Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy were brought to trial in Calcutta; and, although the court was of Hastings's own forming, and such extraordinary means had been adopted in the beginning to prove their guilt, they were both acquitted. † This seems the more strange, as not only Nuncomar, but hundreds of natives, always indifferent about false oaths, might, for considerations, have been made to swear whatsoever was wanted on the side of the prosecution. It does not appear, however, that either the secret committee or the governor, who was acting under their peremptory orders, ever desired the death of these two ministers. They had probably discovered that their wealth was far less, or had been acquired by more legitimate means, than reported; and that the squeezing of the sponges

e "Men are not hanged who have get a million of more in their pockets."—Jetter to Jestes Depré.

† In addition to the charges already mentioned, Mohammed Resa Khan was accused of a treacherous correspondence with the Moguland the Mahrattas. "But." says Hastings, with carious sang froid, "this last is a see and accedented obarge."

‡ Hastings says, in one of his letters, that there were two hundred witnesses to swear for Mohammed Resa-Khan, and two hundred to swear for Mohammed Resa-Khan, and two hundred to

would bring them more odium than money. They may also have been satisfied with discovering that the reports of their political power had been monstrously exaggerated; for Hastings had put them down, abolished their offices for ever, and changed the whole system of law, revenue, and finance without the slightest difficulty, and not only without difficulty, but, to all appearance, to the satisfaction of the common people of Bengal. Both prisoners were enlarged, which would scarcely have happened if they had been considered as any longer dangerous. is at least probable that both left Calcutta poorer men than they entered it. The sensitive Shitab Roy returned to Patna, where he died shortly after, it was said of a broken heart. Mohammed, being made of storner stuff, lived on to be again and again involved in political intrigues and troubles. There is the evidence of his own letters to prove that Hastings considered that an unjust or too severe a measure had been dealt out to Shitab Roy: on his visiting Patna some time after that naib's death, he gave his son Roy-Royan a secondary but profitable post in the treasury of Bahar, declaring that he did so " from an entire conviction of the merits and faithful services, and in consideration of the late sufferings, of his deceased father." The governor may have felt additional remorse or tenderness from the circumstance of his having taken the arrest of Shitab Roy upon himself. With Mohammed Reza Khan he had no alternative save the desperate one we have mentioned:—the select committee commanded the seizure of that chief, and the turning the infernal malice and ingenuity of Nunconiar against him; but in their memorable letter they had not mentioned the name or said one word in allusion to Shitab Roy-they had only approved and applauded Hastings's doings in this respect months after when they received his own report of what he had done. There can be no mistake or possibility of doubt as to these facts. In a letter to the secret committee, Hastings said that he had judged it advisable, and consistent with the tenor of their commands, to have Shitab Roy arrested and brought down to Calcutta. In a private letter to his close friend Josias Dupré, he says, after mentioning the orders he had received to arrest Mohammed Reza Khan, and to accuse him of frauds, embezzlements, &c .- "Rajah Shitab Roy, the dewan of Patna, being nearly in the same predicament with respect to the suspicion of embezzling the revenue, it was judged necessary to extend the same orders to him." Nothing, however, could be more complete than the sanction afterwards given to the proceeding by the secret committee. "The extirpation of Mohammed Reza Khan's influence," said they in a letter to their governor, " was absolutely necessary, and the apprehending of Shitab Roy equally so, as the

• Letters, Minutes, &c., as given by Scott, Hist. Bengal; Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.; and Gleig, Life of Hastings.

In a private better to Mr. Sykes, written while the trial was in progress, Hastings says. "We have entered on the inquiry of Rajah Shitab Roy, who will escape with credit. Indeed, I scarce know why he was called to an account." This is the more startling as it was Hastings himself who had called the poor Hindu to account, and who had arrested or tropanned him.

latter had been too long connected with Mohammed Reza Khan to be independent of him; but if that had not been the case, it would have been absurd to continue a naib-dewan in the province of Bahar after abolishing that office in Bengal.

. . . . The company's affairs must be put in the hands of persons who may be rendered responsible in England for their conduct in India." In other places the secret committee and the directors in general declared that nothing could have been more prompt, energetic, wise, and altogether admirable, than the self-inspired conduct of Has-

tings in this particular.

Clive in his treaty with the Emperor Shah Alum had guaranteed to that poor and forlorn potentate the quiet possession of Corah and Allahabad, and the annual tribute or stipend from the company of twenty-six lacs of rupees—about 260,000/. sterling. In the profundity of their own debts and embarrassments the court of directors and the court of proprietors at home, and the impoverished people of Bengal abroad, had long grudged this money. It appears that the lacs were at no time very punctually paid, and that for considerably more than two years payment had been withheld altogether. Hastings had good reasons to plead for stopping the stipend, though it unfortunately happened that the cases were not specified or provided for in Clive's treaty, or, as it is usually called, the Treaty of Allahabad. In spite of the disapprobation of the government of Calcutta, Shah Alum had thrown himself into the arms of the Mahrattas, and, quitting his territorics of Allahabad and Corah, the only possessions he had, and which he owed entirely to the English, he, in the beginning of the year 1771, took the field with a mixed but numerous army. It is said that he was secretly encouraged by Sujah Dowla, vizier and nabob of Oude, who wished to be free of his presence, in order to recover possession of Corah and Allahabad, which had formerly belonged to Oude, and which he calculated might be restored to his dominion with permission of the English, and upon a pecuniary bargain with them. By the end of the year 1771 the Mahratta chiefa carried the poor Mogul in triumph into Delhi; but, though in the palace of Aurungzebe, Shah Alum found that he was a mere state prisoner, compelled to do whatever the turbulent chiefs required of him. He was soon hurried into the field by these Mahrattas, who were eager for the plunder, if not for the permanent possession, of Rohilcund, a country which was equally coveted by the nabob of Oude, who had for some time kept his eye upon it in the hope of obtaining it by the assistance of English troops or English-trained sepoys. The Rohillas, however, found themselves obliged to apply for the insidious aid of this vizier-nabob, and they obtained his promise not only to assist them himself, but also to procure for them the more potent co-operation of the company. At the same time he intimated to Sir Robert Barker, the general commanding the company's forces, and to the governor and council at Calcutta, that to allow any stipend or tribute to

the Mogul would be only sending money to the rapacious and turbulent Mahrattas, who were deadly enemies to him, the close ally of the English, and who were, or soon would be, the most powerful enemies of the company itself. But long before this intimation, and apparently before Shah Alum



SMAN ALUM. From a Hindu Picture engraved in Francklin's History of Shah Alum.

marched away from Allahabad with the Mahrattas, the payment of the tribute had been suspended, upon the cogent pleas that the trade and revenue of the English provinces suffered a visible decay by this annual diminution of their specie; that the company were compelled to borrow money for their own uses at high interest; and finally, that, the provinces of Bengal and Bahar having lost nearly onehalf of their inhabitants by the famine of 1769-70, and the survivors in many parts being unable to pay their rents and taxes to the company through the absence of purchasers and the want of money in the country, they could no longer possibly bear the annual drainage of the twenty-six lacs, which never returned into the English provinces either by way of trade or otherwise.* But, if this had been held sufficient cause to suspend the Mogul's allowance, his departure with the Mahrattas was considered a a throwing up on his part of all right or claim to English money and English protection, and the strong arguments of the Nabob of Oude had no doubt presented themselves to the mind of Hastings

before he received that nabob's letters and mes-

At this critical juncture, and while the ministry and parliament at home were calling in question the territorial rights of the company, and making it doubtful, at least for a time, whether the crown, or nation, would not take those rights to itself and reduce the company to its original condition of a mere trading body, a dissatisfied English officer, who had a turn for bold projects and political intrigues, conceived a plan that evidently brought a cold perspiration upon Hastings and the council. This officer was John Morrison, who had held the rank of captain in the king's service, and of major in the company's service, but who had resigned the latter commission in 1770, and then repaired to Allahabad to try his fortune with Shah Alum, from whom he at once obtained the rank of general When the Mogul began to complain of the nonpayment of the lacs, Morrison made him understand the real nature and character of the company, which few natives, whether princes or peasants, could ever comprehend; and he persuaded him that, if he, John Morrison, were only appointed ambassador and plenipotentiary from the Great Mogul to his Britannic Majesty George III., he would obtain for Shah Alum, not only the tribute of twenty-six lacs and more, but many other advantages-and all these not from a corporation of traders and traffickers, but from a crowned head. Shah Alum gave him the diplomatic rank he required, and Morrison came down the Ganges to the Dutch settlement of Chinchura on the Hooghly, with his credentials, and the Mogul's proposals neatly written in Persian. The chief of the proposals was simply this: - The Great Mogul Shah Alum, as undoubted lord and sovereign of Hindustan, &c., and as having full right so to do, would transfer to his Britannic majesty Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with all that the company possessed in those parts, and which was all forfeited by them, upon condition that his Britannic majesty would pay the pecuniary homage of thirtytwo lacs, and aid the Great Mogul with troops and arms. On arriving at Chinchura, John Morrison wrote a letter to Hastings, formally notifying his high appointment, asking whether he would receive him in his public capacity, and demanding a passage to England in one of the company's ships. Hastings, who saw through a hundred eyes and heard through a hundred ears—for the company had its agents or spies everywhere-knew the contents of Morrison's papers, and the full extent of his audacious plan, which was regarded as nothing less than treason against the company. Apparently in no very courteous terms, and with the advice of the select committee, he wrote in reply, that he would neither receive him in his public capacity of the Mogul's ambassador, nor allow him a passage in any ship belonging to the company or to the port of Calcutta. This letter was addressed to Major John Morrison, and was returned unopened, as the diplomatic soldier would not waive his claim to the title of amhassador. The next step of Hastings

⁶ Letter from Hastings to Sir George Colebrooke, in Gleig's Memours of Warren Hastings.

was to prevent Morrison's embarking for England under any other flag. "At any other period, he, in detailing these transactions to a director and friend, "such a project, and the authors of it, would have been treated with contempt; but I confess I see so near a similitude between the offers of the king (Shah Alum), and the claims of the ministers of our own court on the government of Fort St. George, that I could not but be alarmed for the consequences with which they might be attended, and I judged it of the most essential importance to prevent Major Morrison, if possible, from arriving in England before the court of directors could be furnished with full intelligence of his errand, and take the necessary measures for obviating its effect." In another letter, written to the same important correspondent in England, he said-" What I have written to you upon the subject of Major Morrison will appear trifling, if his project should not meet with a favourable reception from the ministry. It appears to me a direct violation of the laws, but he is said to have a warm patron in Lord North, and the grant of the dewannee of Bengal to the crown may be deemed a valid plea for dispossessing the present proprietors of it." Having ascertained that the dangerous major had engaged a passage in a Danish ship, he applied to M. Bic, a gentleman of the superior council of Tranquebar, a Danish settlement in the southern Carnatic, deputed to regulate the affairs of the Danes in Bengal, and through his means he obtained a positive order that Morrison should not be admitted into any Danish ship. Hastings knew quite enough of law to be aware that some of these proceedings were not quite legal; but he took the responsibility upon himself, thinking it better to incur personal blame and the chances of heavy damages than to allow Morrison to get to England before the court of directors could be put on their guard. It appears that except the Dane there was no other foreign ship that could sail for Europe that season. This one embargo on the major was therefore enough -Hastings's private letters and public dispatches would be in Leadenhall-street before the Mogul ambassador could by any apparent possibility sail from India. "I do not consider it necessary," wrote he, with a moderation which cost him nothing, "to take any further steps in this business; what I have done is sufficient for the purpose which I intended. I neither wish to keep Major Morrison in India, nor indeed is it possible. As I know not what construction may be put on this detention of Major Morrison, in England, I have taken no notice of it on our proceedings, choosing rather to hazard the consequences of it than, by making it an act of our government, in-

* Letter to Sir George Colebrooke, as given by Mr. Gleig, Messets of Warren Hustings.
† Id. Hastings adds that he had promised the Danish agent to represent to the court of directors at London this instance of the ready attention shown by the Danish gentlemen in India to the interests of the English company. But the lance were in no condition to refuse compliance with the will of the determined English governor, who could easily have done them many ill offices, and who knew that in their weakness and isolation they could only exist or prosecute their trade through English sufference.

volve the company in trouble by my indiscretion.". The major's adventure ended in smoke.

It was perfectly clear that twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum was too great a price to pay for the merely ceremonial investiture of the company in the dewannee of Bengal, over which neither the reigning Mogul nor his predecessor had ever had the least control; and the state of mutual obligations between Shah Alum and the English appears to be not unfairly described by Hastings, who taxes the Mogul with the basest treachery and ingratitude. and says-" Of all the powers of Hindustan the English alone had really acknowledged his authority; they invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory; they paid him an annual tribute, the only pledge of fealty which he has ever received." The territory here spoken of was Allahabad and Corah; and shortly after detaining Major Morrison Hastings learned that the helpless Mogul had ceded both Corah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas, who were declaring their intention of taking immediate possession. This was considered as equivalent to a complete discharge from all the obligations of Clive's treaty. Moreover the nabob of Oude, as the faithful ally of the English, claimed their assistance in preventing the Mahrattas from obtaining a settlement in provinces that lay in the heart of his own country, and that would bring them close upon the frontiers of the company's territories. The English at once threw a garrison into Allahabad, where the Mogul's deputy or governor received them with a welcome, declaring that his master was no longer a free agent but a prisoner to the Mahratta chiefs, who were in the habit of subjecting him even to the degradation of blows and other personal chastisement when he hesitated to sign such grants, firmans, or decrees as they required. Hastings, who was most anxious for the preservation of peace, as the only possible means of restoring the prosperity and trade of Bengal, would gladly have stopped here, and for some time he was deaf to the prayers and representations of Sujah Dowla, who continued to believe. or rather to wish the English to believe, that the Mahrattas, after subduing the Rohillas, would overrun the whole of Oude, and then, descending the Ganges, spread haves over Bahar and Bengal. As a little episode, however, Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive the Bootans. a resolute and during people, out of Cooch-Bahar, and to annex that healthy and fertile province to the company's dominious, to which, geographically considered, it belonged. At the same time the attention of the governor was called to the inroads and devastations of the Senassie fakeers, an assemblage of men who united the several characters of saints, living martyrs, jugglers, robbers, and cutthroats, which, according to Indian notions and superstitions, were not irreconcilable. Tribes and

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^{*} Letter to Sir George Colebrooke, as given by Mr. Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings. t Id. Id.

hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, musilening, and committing every act of obscenity and violence. A host of this kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurungzebe, and caused that emperor, when at the height of his power, to tremble on his throne at Delhi. They were not the least of the many scourges and curses to which the country was periodically liable under the weak and divided empire, and imbecile government of the native princes. The present swarm fell upon Bengal, rapidly and silently, like a flight of locusts. They rushed in search of their prey in bodies each two or three thousand strong, and wherever they penetrated they burned and destroyed the villages, and committed every abomination. Five battalions of sepoys were sent in pursuit of them, but they moved at a speed that defied the pursuit of any regular infantry; and Hastings, to save the company money, had discharged the greater part of the native cavalry—the only cavalry, except a troop or two, the English had in that part of India. When it was reported and believed that the marauders had crossed the Bramapootra River they turned aside and re-appeared unexpectedly in different parts of the interior. "In spite of the strictest orders issued," wrote Hastings, " and the severest penalties threatened to the inhabitants, in case they fail in giving intelligence of the approach of the Senassics, they are so infatuated by superstition as to be backward in giving the information, so that the banditti are

sometimes advanced into the very heart of our provinces before we know anything of their motions; as if they dropped from heaven to punish the inhabitants for their folly." * One of these parties fell in with a small detachment of newly-raised sepoys, defeated them, and killed Captain Edwards as he was attempting to rally them. Elated by this success the fakeers extended their ravages. Another British officer, with an entire battalion of sepoys, was vigilant in their pursuit wherever he could hear of them; but to no purpose,—they were always gone before he could reach the place to which he was directed. Hastings hurried on another detachment to assist in the pursuit, and ordered another to follow the track which the fakeers usually took on their return. Yet, after every possible exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and mountains, got back to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China. Their visit and their various depredations proved a serious blow to the revenues of the company, as well from real as from pretended losses.

Soon after the departure of the fakeers, Hastings set out on a visit to Oude, for various circumstances had induced him to change or modify his pacific policy, and to give a more ready ear to the prayers, plans, and suggestions of the ambitious nabob of that country, who now earnestly solicited a personal conference at Benarcs, in order to arrange new bargains and treatics with the English.† The Mah-

Another letter to Sir George Colebrooke, dated March, 1773.
Hastings states the following as some of the motives for this journey into Oude.—' Hitherto he (the viziei nabob) has been entirely managed by our military, who have contrived to keep him.



SEPOYS. From Hunter's Picturesque Views in India.

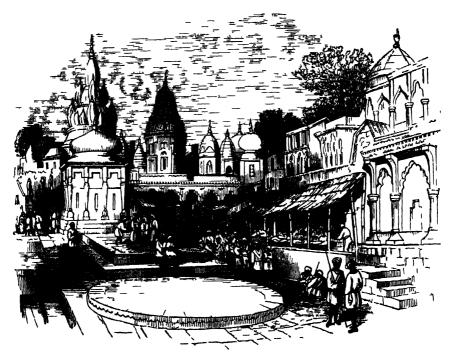
rattas too were really making war upon the Rohillas, the allies of Oude, and a considerable part of the English army, under Sir Robert Barker, had marched into Rohilcund, where they found the Mahrattas more inclined to a retreat than to fight, and the Rohillas more disposed to regard the English or the troops of the Nabob of Oude as enemies than as friends. And, in fact, the sovereign of Oude had conceived, and had some time before this communicated to the English goso weak that his alliance is of no manner of use to us, but obliges us in every alarm to send our army to prevent his being overpowered by his enemies, which has been usually done at the company a expense, little being required for reimbursement and that little paid after long delays. I wish to establish a new and more rational alliance between hims and the company, and more creditable, to both and to establish his dependence on the government invited of the military influence which has hitherto ruled him "-Letter to Josus Dupré, dated with March, 1773.

It appears that Sir Robert Barker, the general and the head of this military influence had drawn pretty largely from the nabob of Oude a treasury, though the company had been getting little or nothing from it.

vernor at Calcutta, a plan of conquering the Rohilla country and annexing it to his dominions, and the correspondence upon this subject, more than anything else, had introduced the proposal of an interview. Hastings left Calcutta on the 24th of June. and arrived at Benares on the 19th of August. He found the vizier-nabob waiting his arrival, and eager for business. The affairs and interests to be arranged were numerous and mighty; and, though no time was lost in idleness or ceremonies, the negotiations occupied three whole weeks * The considerations, final resolutions, and agreements were these :-

I The Rohilla chiefs, when attacked by the Mahrattas, made an offer of forty lace of rupees to the vizier for his assistance, and the vizier had promised to give half of this money to the company

Various Letters of Warren Hastings —Scott, Hist of Bengal.



BENARES

for the services of the English troops and sepoys. The troops of Oude had been of little service, but the troops of the company had cleared the country of the Mahrattas; and yet the Rohilla chiefs, though bound by a solemn treaty with the vizier-nabob, refused to pay the forty lacs of rupees, or any part of them. The Rohillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oude, and must keep the nabob poor and in constant need of English assistance, unless those powerful allies, by one great effort, for which he was willing to pay a liberal price—and he knew how much the company wanted

money-should conquer that Afghan race, who were themselves but conquerors of a recent date, without any right but that of the sword, and without any consideration or mercy for the original and peaceful occupants of the soil, who were still tenfold more numerous than themselves Hastings ingeniously compared Robilcund to Scotland before the union with England; but the Scots were one race thinly scattered over a poor country which had no other inhabitants, while the Rohillas were scattered over a rich country peopled by a different race, who regarded them as intruders and harsh task-masters,

and heartily wished for their expulsion. In other respects the comparison was sufficiently correct for the occasion. "The Rohilla country," says Hastings, " is bounded on the west by the Ganges, and on the north and east by the mountains of Tartary. It is to the province of Oude, in respect both to its geographical and political relation, exactly what Scotland was to England before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It lies open on the south where it The reduction of this territory touches Oude. would complete the defensive line of the vizier's dominions, and of course leave us less to defend, as he subsists on our strength entirely. It would add much to his income, in which we should have our share." * Upon all these, and other considerations, Hastings consented to employ an army against the Rohillas, and to unite the country to Oude, the vizier nabob engaging to pay the entire expenses of the army, according to a liberal scale fixed by the English themselves, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees. It is quite evident that this last consideration was the weightiest of all, and that Hastings would not have embarked in the Rohilla war but for the lacs and the necessities and urgent demands of the court of directors. In his dispatches to the India House, as well as in his private letters, he spoke of this journey to Benares as a financial and money-making expedition—only not wholly so.

II. The Nabob of Oude was as anxious to recover possession of Corah and Allahabad, which had formerly belonged to his dominions, and which stood within his frontier, as he was to annex Rohilcund. Only a few years before he had treacherously murdered a near relative in order to get the two fair provinces. It was impossible to allow the fulfilment of the grant extorted from the Mogul or the settlement of the Mahrattas in Corah and Allahabad; and it was held to be equally impossible for the Mogul to maintain himself in them, even if he could escape from the Mahratta thraldom and be pardoned and reinstated by the company whom he had so grievously offended. No regard was paid to the glaring fact that the Nabob of Oude would scarcely be more able to defend the two provinces than was the Mogul without the aid of the company. But the nabob had money, the Mogul had none; and for fifty lacs of rupres-twenty paid down on the spot, and thirty to be paid in two years-Hastings sold Corah and Allahabad to Sujah Dowla. † According to his own accounts, which on several points are rather ambiguous or confused, Hastings wrote to Shah Alum in pressing terms to send to Benares a person in his confidence to treat on the subject of these provinces and about other affairs in which he might be concerned, he (Hastings) wishing for his

• Letter to Mr. Sulivan.

† "Knowing," says Hantings, "that to give up these lands to him
(the Mogal) would in reality be to give them up to the Mahratas,
our enemies, and to spose the dominions of the vizic our ally to almost certain rain, I resolved to sesert the right of the company to
the possession of them, and to convert them to such uses a value and the necessistes of the company required."—Letter to Bir George
Colebrake.

concurrence in whatever plan might be adopted for the disposal of the provinces. "He appointed," says Hastings, "a man of distinction to appear at the meeting, but afterwards recalled him and referred me to Sujah Dowla as his vizier, and to his naib Moneer-u-Dowla, who had had the government of those districts, to whom the only orders which he gave were to demand the arrears of the tribute due from Bengal, the punctual payment of it in future, and the restitution of Corah and Allahabad."* This asking of money from the company was like testing the patience of the devil with holy water; the arrears alone must by this time have amounted to seventy-eight lacs of rupees, or more !--and, to use his own words, the public treasury at Calcutta, when Hastings left it, "had scarce a rupee in it, and was loaded with a debt of a crore and a half of rupees." Even the smooth and placid Hastings took fire. "As," said he, "I saw no use in excuses and evasions which all the world can see through, I replied to a peremptory demand of the Mogul for the tribute of Bengal by a peremptory declaration that not a rupee should pass through our provinces till they had recovered from the distresses to which the lavish payments made to him had principally contributed. The board have supported this declaration by a resolution to pay him no more till they shall receive the company's orders for it." §

III. As the unauthorised residence even of British subjects was frequently embarrassing or provocative of suspicion to the government of Calcuttaand perhaps the more so since John Morrison's adventure—it was agreed that no Europeans whatsoever should be permitted to reside in any of the territories of the Nabob of Oude without the know-

ledge and consent of the company.

V. Cheyte Sing, the young Rajah of Benares, and son and successor of Bulwant Sing, was included in some of the arrangements between the company and the Nabob of Oude, Benares, the holy city, and the dependent district were geographically included in the province of Allahabad, and Sujah Dowla had long aimed at the destruction of the young rajah, whom the English by previous engagements were bound to support. Hastings insisted that all the rights of his father Bulwant Sing should be confirmed to Cheyte Sing, " to continue unchanged to his posterily for ever," and that he should be confirmed in the zemindaries of Ghazipoor, &c., about which there had been some disputes. A plan of equal duties was also settled with the young rajah, who agreed to exempt from duties broadcloth, copper, and lead. Sujah Dowla, as a matter of course, was diplomatically bound to respect his young and weak neighbour, Cheyte Sing.

^{*} Letter to Sir George Colebrooke.

† Id. A crore is a hundred lacs of rupees, or, estimating the rupee at two shillings, a stillion of pounds sterling.

† Here the governor and president chose to overlook the horrisise famine and depopulation, the wasting incursions of the Fakeers and other maranders, the corronous drains made upon the species of Basagia for the wars in the Carastic and other purposes. He, however, relictates this argument, and seems to have considered that main ought to believe that the poverty of Bengal had been alsees: wielly seesaloned by paying for two or three years the annual tribute or stipend of westly alse. — See Letter to Sir George Colebrooks.

§ Letter to Sulivan.

All these and some other collateral matters were settled when the Nabob of Oude was seized with a money panic, and, fearing that he had engaged beyond his ability, he desired to decline for the present the conquest of Rohilaund, for which he was to pay the forty lacs of rupees and all the expenses of the company's troops. To this postponement Hastings readily agreed. He clearly foresaw that the Rohilcund enterprise would be open to severe animadversion, and that people in England would not comprehend the real condition of the Rohillas, who, in sober truth, were little better than a great association of brigands and freebooters, who might be compared to the moss-troopers of our borders in the sixteenth century. "I was glad," said he, " a few days after he had finished his arrangements, to be freed from the Rohilla expedition, because I was doubtful of the judgment which would have been passed upon it at home, where I see too much stress laid upon general maxims, and too little attention given to the circumstances which require an exception to be made from them. On the other hand, however, the absence of the Mahrattas and the weak state of the Rohillas promised an easy conquest of them; and I own that, such was my idea of the company's distress at home, added to my knowledge of their wants, abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, which would save so much of their pay and expenses." † But in consenting to put off the grand expedition he obliged the nabob to agree that, whenever or for whatsoever occasion he might require the assistance of the company's troops, he would pay for it at the rate of 210,000 rupees a-month per brigade, which was the rate fixed at the commencement of the conference, when Sujah Dowla was contemplating immediate operations against the Robillas. Hastings considered as a grand coup de finance, for hitherto the nabob had been constantly calling English troops to his assistance without paying anything to the company. The agreement respecting the Rohillas was kept out of the treaty, which was finally adjusted and signed on the 7th of September, 1773. It has been said that Hastings withheld from the court of directors intelligence of the project, which after all was only suspended; but this can scarcely have been the case, and we have his letters to two of the principal directors-Sulivan and Colebrooke-minutely detailing what passed on the subject. It is, indeed, from these very letters to directors that the foregoing details are taken.

When the meeting at Benares broke up, Sujah Dowla proceeded to reduce some forts and districts in his neighbourhood that were still held by the Mahrattas, and Hastings returned to Cal-

cutta rejoicing in the money he had made and in the money he had saved. In the article of saving alone without counting the pay in prospective for the troops—the suspension of the Mogul's tribute, being added to the reduction of the young Nabob of Bengal's stipend and the stoppage of Mohammed Reza Khan's and Shitab Rov's allowances, amounted to fifty-seven lacs per annum.* Speaking of the suppression of the tribute or stipend to Shah Alum, he says-" I am not apt to attribute a large share of merit to my own actions, but I own that this is one of the few to which I can with confidence affix my own approbation." With respect to his other proceedings at Benares he says-" If the court of directors shall think it proper to disclaim what I have done, they must also point out the means of undoing it. They must cancel the treaty (which God forbid!); they must repay what they shall have received from the vizier, and relinquish their claim to the rest; they must discharge the arrears of the tribute and punctually pay the future yearly demands of twentysix lacs to the king. But from what fund these great things are to be done I am sure they will be unable to direct."†

Hastings now applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal -to the establishment of something like an efficient police, to the posting detachments so as to prevent the incursions of the Fakeers and other marauders, to the formation of local courts in the districts, to the regulation of taxes and of the collection of the revenue—a tremendous task!—to the protection of native trade and industry; to the removing absurd regulations and impolitic taxes, duties, and fees upon native marriages; to the suppression of peculation and rapacity in the company's servants up the country or in remote districts; and to other cares and occupations almost innumerable. Some of the means adopted may not have been of the purest or highest kind, several may not be reconcilable either with our modern notions of political economy or of morals and of justice, some may have been pro tempore expedients; but the present end attained was most indisputably a great benefit and a wonderful improvement on the immediately preceding state of things. Even those who were no encomiasts of Warren Hastings confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal (in 1771) the whole country had assumed or was rapidly assuming a different as-The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease began to be filled up by the

OI appears from his own letters that, while the immediate conquest of Robilcund remained part of the bargain, Hastings had agreed to take forty-five lass for Corah and Allahabad, and that he raised this price on the nabab's asking for a delay to the Robilla expedition. "As," says he, "the nabab would have less to pay and less to lay out, the asknewledgment for Corah, he, was increased to Afry less."—Id. The times of payment were also brought closer.

† Id.

Letter to Sykes.
† Lotter to Six George Colebrooke. At this time the constant and pressing advice of the company to their servant Hastings is. "Get money, get money, at all events get money;" and they servely can be said to add the parenthetical part of the old adage—" honersly if you can."

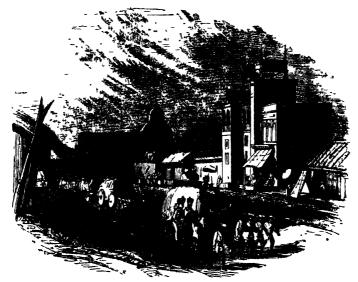
can."

In allusion to this and some other reforms he says—" Of my foreign policy I have no cause to be sahamed; but that on which I chiefly congratulate myself is the abrogation of laws and usages oppressive to the popple, and of one most destructive to population, which, though requiring little more than the stroke of a pen to remove it, I particularly manufon, because though little known, and perhaps forgetten, it is one to which my mind ever recurre with self-satisfartion—the abolition of the duties and fees on marriage."

removal of the impolitic checks upon marriage, by the improved condition and more abundant food of the natives, and by the frequent immigrations of quiet laborious people from other parts of India, who sought and found that protection and encouragement under the government of Hastings which they could find scarcely anywhere else in a country kept almost in a constant state of anarchy and mipery by revolutions, petty feuds, and the ravages of flying Mahratta hordes, or of hordes of a still more destructive and murderous description-Afghans, Jeats, Decoits, Thugs, Beels, and others of that long array of monstrosity which gives to the authentic story of Hindustan the appearance of fable or of a horrid dream. With rajahs and nabobs, with khans and other grandees, the case may have been somewhat different; but the native merchant, manufacturer, weaver, tiller of the soil, artisan, all that we call people, throughout the wide extent of

Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were brought to consider Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name.

It was probably to this period he alluded when he said in private conversation many years after, when nearly all England was accusing him of monstrous cruelty and oppression-" I could have gone from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and from Moorshedabad to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to he found in the good will and affection of the natives." In the multiplicity of his employments he found time to devote to sundry speculations and inquiries, and to an expansive scheme for enlarging our geographical knowledge of Asia, and extending our commercial intercourse to regions which had scarcely been traversed by any European since the days of Marco Polo. The detachment which he had sent into Cooch Bahar had cleared that country of the



ROAD NEAR CALCUTTA-TROOPS ON MARCH. From a Drawing by Thomas Daniell.

Bootans, though not without some hard fighting, for that singular race of men were robust and bold, and resolute in keeping what they had once got. But, being reinforced, Captain Jones followed the Bootans into their own country and took their strong fortress of Dellamcotta by storm. The Daeb Rajah, or secular governor of Bootan, then implored the peace, and sent an ambassador with presents to Calcuta. Hastings acceded to conditions, treated the ambassador, apparently a bonze or priest of the Bogdo-Lama, with great kindness, and engerly grasped at what he considered a favourable oppor-

tunity for exploring the countries of Bootan, Tibet, and Cashmere, and for making inquiries respecting a direct land communication with China. He selected Mr. Bogle for this mission, and he carefully prepared for him a paper of instructions showing the objects to which he ought more particularly to direct his attention and inquiries. Well furnished with presents and samples of English goods and manufactures, and instructed by Hastings not to be sparing of his money where money could do good, or procure curious and interesting specimens of the natural history and industry of the terra in-

cognita he was about to visit, Mr. Bogle started on his adventurous journey in May, 1774. He penetrated as far as Tassisudon, the capital of Bootan Proper, but there he was stopped by the jealousies of the Dharma Rajah, or Bogdo-Lama, the spiritual and supreme ruler of Bootan, and a supposed incarnation of the deity; and by the old and revered customs of the people, who are as exclusive and as averse to the visits of strangers as are the Chinese themselves, whom they nearly resemble in features and other particulars. Thus the Himalaya was not passed, no intercourse was established even with the interior of Bootan, and no great addition was made to our knowledge; but the attempt was highly honourable to Hastings, and the care he devoted to the subject extraordinary in one so harassed and oppressed by business of all kinds."

He was not deceived in his anticipation that the Nabob of Oude would soon want his assistance. At the end of the year 1773 that prince was so terrified at rumours of invasion by the Abdallies, another numerous and warlike Afghan tribe, that he applied to Hastings for some place of shelter within the limits of the British dominions wherein his own women and children, and those belonging to the principal families of Oude, might have a secure asylum. The governor promptly granted this request, considering it as honourable to the English, and as tending to increase the population of the company's provinces as well indirectly as directly; for-so Hastings calculated—the women and children of these great men would be sure to be accompanied by multitudes of retainers and attendants, male and femule, and these would be sure to draw in their train another multitude of artisans, who might settle and remain within the English limits, and attract other immigrants by their example. As the Abdallies did not come this time, the nabob and his chiefs kept their wives and children at home at Lucknow and Fyzabad, and the whole scheme evaporated, to the no small disappointment of Hastings. But very shortly after this strange application, the sovereign of Oude made another of a very different kind. Encouraged by some successes he had obtained over the Mahrattas, and by a new league he had struck up with Shah Alum, who had escaped from his Mahratta bondage, and had actually engaged to assist the nabob with his small army in the reduction of Rohilcund, Sujah Dowla applied eagerly for the instant marching of the English brigade which was quartered at Allahabad. Though the 210,000 rupees per month were acceptable, the suddenness of this application rather disconcerted Hastings. No time, however, was lost, and the brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to march into the province of Oude with the de-

clared purpose of invading the Rohilla country. Hastings did not think that the vizier-nabob, who was with the Mogul in the neighbourhood of Delhi, could possibly be ready to take the field so soon; "but," said he, "the brigade will gain in its discipline by being on actual service, and its expense will be saved." From the middle of February till the middle of April the brigade remained in Oude doing nothing; but then the visier-nabob with his forces joined Colonel Champion, and the open southern frontier of Rohilcund was immediately crossed. The Robilla chiefs, who would long have defied the nabob and his host, were appalled at the approach of the company's brigade, and they expressed an earnest inclination to come to an amicable accommodation. Sujah Dowla demanded, as the price of peace, two crore of rupees, which was, probably, more than the whole country contained in specie. The Rohillas then took up a good position on the side of Babul Nulla: nearly their entire force, which probably amounted to about 25,000 fighting men, was collected on that spot; and they had cavalry, artillery, and rockets. But when they were attacked by the British brigade, on the morning of the 23rd of April, superior discipline and tactics, and better arms, led to the usual result. They were thoroughly defeated and routed; but their valour and stamina were proved by their fighting at unusually close quarters for two hours and twenty minutes, and leaving 2000 of their number on the field before they broke and fled. Several of their sirdars, or chiefs, were slain, and among them Hafez Ramet, the head of the confederacy, who was killed while bravely rallying his people. One of his sons was also killed, and two were taken prisoners and consigned to the tender mercies of Sujah Dowla. That nabob behaved as nabobs always did in battle : he kept at a great distance behind a river, surrounded by his cavalry and a great train of attillery; he refused Champion the use of some of his guns and some of his cavalry, nor would he move from his safe abidingplace till the news of the enemy's defeat reached him.* Then he and his unwarlike rabble moved forward with alacrity, but it was only to plunder the Rohilla camp, which Champion considered as the fair booty of his brigade. "We had the honour of the day," said he, "and these banditti the profit."+ Hence there arose a soreness and bitterness between the nabob and the English commander, who certainly betrayed an over anxiety for booty and prizemoney, and that too in cases where his right, or that of his brigade, was more questionable than on the present occasion. Both nabob and colonel complained of one another to Hastings, and in their rancorous feelings each exaggerated the faults of the other. One consequence of this was, that the reports of the horrors of the war which reached Europe through English channels, through Champion and the officers serving with him, and all, like himself, incensed against the nabob for his

Notes of Hastings, as quoted in Gleig's Memoirs.—Another little circumstance, but proper to assist in our estimate of this versatile, indefaugable, and remarkable man, is this. At his busiest time, just after his taking upon himself the government at Calcutta, he paid the greatest attention to the machinery, operations, and projects of a Mr. Wits, who, apparently, had been sent out by the company to establish silk-works in Bengal, and to improve the tedious processes of the natives in the preparation of silk-thread. Ris blogmapher gives one long letter on this subject, and no doubt others exist.

[•] Letter from Colonel Champion to Hastings.





ENCAMPMENT OF ROYAL ARTILLERY.

appropriating all the plunder, were considerably over coloured. Hastings felt, to his cost, the consequences of this over-colouring, when the case came to be taken up by the ardent imagination of Still, however unduly excited, Champion and his officers had too much English honour and veracity wholly to invent facts, circumstances, and details; and it must remain upon record as an unquestionable truth that many horrors and cruelties were committed in this Rohilla war-not by the English and their sepoys, who had all the fighting, but by the nabob's rabble, who never fought at all-not with the connivance of Hastings, but in spite of his loud and repeated remonstrances. The natural disposition, the habits, the policy, the cool calculations for the interest of the company, and of the chances of profit and loss from the Rohilcund expedition, all joined in making the English governor averse to cruelty, bloodshed, and Upon being informed by Champion devastation. that the nabob's troops were plundering and burning the villages of the quiet Hindu inhabitants, who, so far from making common cause with the Rohillas, their oppressors, were ready to render all the services against them that their weakness and timidity allowed of, he wrote to the colonel to express his abhorrence of these proceedings and to point out how impolitic they were and how prejudicial to Sujah Dowla's own interest. "I cannot," said he, writing to Champion, "omit to take notice of the sensible and humane counsel which you gave to the vizier on the orders issued by him for laying waste the Rohilla country,

a measure which would have reflected equal dishonour on our arms, and reproach on his authority, had it been continued. You wisely judged that, to effect the conquest of the country, it was almost as necessary to conciliate the minds of the people as to defeat the actual rulers" Many days later he wrote again-"The picture you have given of the vizier's conduct is shocking to humanity; but surely your adviced strenuous remonstrance against acts of oppression and wanton cruelty ought to prove some restraint, and, if not, would be a justification of bolder conduct. You have afforded an instance at the commencement of the present operations, where the vizier put a stop to the ravages of the country at your intercession. I have addressed the vizier himself in the strongest terms on the subject of his general conduct." the same time Hastings kept writing to Mr. Middleton, the confidential agent of his own appointing, and who was in Sujah Dowla's camp; and the chief purport of his letters to this functionary was, to recommend and to insist upon mercy and moderation. In speaking of the captive family of Hafez Ramet, whose blood Burke accused him of selling to Sujah Dowla for gold, he said, in a tone which would have done honour to the eloquence and humanity of Burke himself-" Tell the vizier that the English manners are abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression, and enjoin the gentlest treatment of a vanquished enemy. Require and entreat his observance of this principle towards the family of Hafez. Tell him my instructions to you generally, but urgently

enforce the same maxims; and that no part of his conduct will operate so powerfully in winning the affections of the English as instances of benevolence and feeling for others. If these arguments don't prevail, you may inform him directly that you have my orders to insist upon a proper treatment of the family of Hafez Ramet; since in our alliance with him our national character is involved in every act which subjects his own to reproach; that I shall publicly exculpate this government from the imputation of assenting to such a procedure, and shall reserve it as an objection to any future engagements with him when the present service shall have been accomplished." The necessity of clearing the whole region of the Rohilla chiefs and their bands, who neither tilled nor spun, who despised every occupation but that of war and plunder, was understood from the first; but, if the nabob devastated the country and destroyed or scared away its old and peaceful inhabitants, whose industry paid the revenues, and if the English troops were to be allowed to appropriate the spoils of the vanquished Robillas, how would the nabob be able to make his large payments to the company? Hastings reminded Colonel Champion of these difficulties, and strongly condemned him for attempting to search for treasures and booty in the captured town of Pelibect. The Rohillas had exhausted all their strength or spirit in one wellcontested battle; they never again made head against the Euglish, and the rest of the war consisted of skirmishes and pursuit. At Bissoulah, the principal city, in the very centre of Rohilcund, the English found the army of Shah Alum, which, according to the Mogul's agreement with the Nabob of Oude, had penetrated the country from the side of Delhi. This force had done nothing, and had now nothing to do, as the English had in reality finished the war; but, to the astonishment of Champion, Nujeef Khan, the commander of it, demanded a part of the plunder and a part of the conquered territory for his master, the emperor, in right of the treaty which he had concluded with Sujah Dowla. The nabob-vizier could not dispute the treaty, as Shah Alum sent the English commander a copy of it; but he pretended that the counterpart, which was in his own possession, stipulated that the emperor should take the field in person, and that, as he had not done so, but merely sent Nujeef Khan, the whole bargain was broken, and he had no right either to spoil or to territory. Champion obtained a sight of this curious counterpart, and ascertained, by means of the interpreter to his army, that there was no such variation in it; and Nujeef Khan and others affirmed that the emperor had never made such a stipulation even verbally. Champion would gladly have gratified the Mogul at the expense of the nabob, whom he so cordially hated; but Hastings and the council at Calcutta decided that the whole of the country should and must remain to Sujah Dowla, accord-

• Letters to Middleton, as given in Gleig's Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

ing to their own treaty with him, in which the emperor was certainly neither named nor thought of. Fyzoola Khan collected the greater part of the dispossessed, fugitive Rohillas, and took up a very strong post near the frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family, to which he and his Rohillas belonged. It was also apprehended by Sujah Dowla that the Mahrattas would come down also; and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khan. This turn of affairs was promoted by the temper of the English troops, who, disgusted with their ally and all his concerns, dispirited by long marches, short commons, and the total absence of prize-money and of any chance of it, were not very anxious to attack a bold enemy in a formidable position among rocks and hills, and defended by trenches, stockades, and other works. A treaty was, therefore, hurried to a conclusion, Fyzoola Khan surrendering one-half of all his effects to the Nabob of Oude, and that nabob granting him a jaghire in Rohilcund. Some few chiefs remained on the frontiers with Fyzoola Khan; but the large majority, with their vassals or followers, went into other countries to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghan race might almost be said to be rooted out of Robilcand. Their entire number probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes, and men, women and children. The Hindu population that remained under the rule of the Nabob of Oude was estimated at 2,000,000.

Just as the first Rohilla war came to this conclusion, the new constitution, as framed by parliament, commenced its operation. General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis arrived at Calcutta (Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before) on the 19th of October, 1774. On the following day the existing government was dis-solved by proclamation, and the new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings with the rank of Governor-general of Bengal, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues not one was very acceptable to Hastings. Three seemed to have come with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three-Francis—hated him from the beginning with an intensity of which few English natures are capable. But among the judges who had arrived with the members of this new council Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old and dear friend of the governor-general. They had been schoolfellows at Westminster. Hastings, delighted at his appointment, had written to Impey-"The news of your appointment to preside over the high court of justice affords me every cause of satisfaction without a circumstance of regret to allay it. In truth, my friend, nothing else could have reconciled me to that part of the act, which, if any latitude is left to you in its first establishment, may, and I am sure will, be made a source of the most valuable benefits to this country." The general letter of the court of directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended above all

things unaminity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated: it required them to do all in their power to preserve pence in India; it required them to meet in council 'twice every week at least; it committed to Hastings, as governor-general, the charge of carrying on all correspondence with the country powers; but at the same time it prescribed that he should disputch no letters without the previous sunction of . the council, and that all letters received by him from the country powers should be submitted to the council at their first meeting: it recommended a careful revision of all the company's affairs, alliances, connexions, &c., formed or likely to be formed with the Indian states in the neighbourhood of the three presidencies; and, as by the act they alone had the power of peace or war in the country, it exhorted them to be careful and cautious in the extreme in committing themselves by any alliances, or compacts, with the native powers or with the Europeans settled in India.

As the company had fully approved of Hastings's system of letting the lands on farm, and of other parts of his fiscal regulations, the council were instructed to leave those things as they were; but they urged an inquiry into all past abuses and oppressions with the view of preventing the possibility of their recurrence. The letter finished, as it began, with an earnest exhortation to unanimity and concord. That unanimity was incompatible with a body so constituted, and with tempers, interests, and views so diametrically opposed. The temper of Francis alone was enough to introduce discord into a paradise—and Calcutta was far from being any such sojourn of beatified, peaceful spirits. Besides, he, and Clavering, and Monson, who had never been in India before, had come out to detect and reform abuses, which the long local knowledge of Hastings and Barwell viewed in a different light, or with a better acquaintance with the primary causes of them, and the difficulty of making any sudden change. Correctors of abuses and reformers, particularly when deficient in information. find more abuses than really exist; and no class of men are more intolerant. Hastings, too, conscious of his own superior knowledge of Indian affairs and the Indian character, and accustomed for some time to an almost undivided authority, was not likely to descend very willingly from a whole to be only a fifth, or to entertain an implicit deference to the opinions of men who had passed their lives in such a different sphere. The natural love of power, and, perhaps not less, the intimate and unselfish conviction that such a system was the only one that could work well with the native princes, who had no idea of a divided rule, had led him to act upon the recommendation of Clive, and, at least inchis political negotiations, to assume a high and most single authority. In conformity with this plan of action he had of his own accord appointed his friend Middleton to be resident and agent at the court of the Nabob of Oude, with instructions on all secret and important matters to corre-

spond with himself alone, without communicating to the council at Calcutta, who did not invariably preserve the secrecy considered necessary to the success of his schemes and diplomacy.* And this was the first point to which Francis, Clavering, and Monson directed their attack. They demanded that the whole of Middleton's correspondence from his first appointment should be laid before them. Hastings refused to produce more than a part of it. saying that the other portions had reference to merely private matters or opinions; and hereupon they began to assert, by implication, that he had embarked in an unnecessary and unjustifiable war -the war with the Rohillas-for private and sordid motives; and that his whole connexion with Sujah Dowla had been a series of bad actions, fraud, and selfishness. As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were unjust to the utmost extent of injustice: Hastings was actually a poorer man now than when he quitted his inferior employment at Madras in 1771! He had made savings and gathered large contributions, and perhaps neither the economy nor the gain had proceeded upon strict principles of justice; but he had made them solely for the company's benefit, and mostly at the company's express command. was above the motives imputed to him: he was, as many other men have been, and are, constitutionally undifferent to money, for himself. Francis—we must put this name first, as he was ever the most active and by far the most able of the trio-Clavering, and Monson constituted the majority of the council, they assumed all the powers of government, and for a time reduced Hastings, with his adherent Barwell, to the condition of a cipher. Of course they soon turned the government into an anarchy. They voted the immediate recall of Middleton from Oude, although Hastings declared that such a measure would be attended with the very worst effects, as proclaiming to the natives that the English authorities were no longer agreed among themselves, and that the government of Calcutta was falling into a state of revolution. Sujah Dowla, who in truth had no conception of a division of power, and who had always looked to Hastings, and to none other, was utterly confounded; and, when Middleton showed him his letter of recall, he burst into tears, regarding it as the beginning of hostilities intended against himself. Other differences arose daily in the supreme council; and Hassings began to complain bitterly of the precipitancy and violence of the majority. the beginning of December he wrote to one of the most powerful members of the court of directors: -"I am afraid you will see too close a resemblance in the disputes in which I am engaged to those between our late friend (Mr. Vansittart) and his council; but I trust that, by the benefit of his example and my own experience, and by a temper which, in spite of nature, I have brought under pro-

• Hastings insisted that the immemorial usage of the service had left the whole correspondence with the country powers in the hands of the governor; and that Mr. Middleton in that light could only receive his orders from, and address his letters to him.

per subjection, I shall be able to prevent the same dreadful extremities which attended the former quarrels. . . . Without friends, without any kind of personal interest, I have but a discouraging prospect; but I am prepared for the worst, and shall return quietly and even contentedly to England the moment I hear of my recall, for there is no room for palliatives. I hope that my reputation will be spared; but, if it is to be blackened for the sake of giving a fair colour to the severity which is to be exercised towards me, I will most certainly defend myself, and I am sure that I shall be able to do it to the shame of my calumniators." And in a letter, dated the same day, to the English premier, he said-"The public dispatches will inform you of the division which prevails in our councils. I do not mean in this letter to enter into a detail of its rise and progress, but will beg leave to refer to those dispatches for the particulars, and for the defence both of my measures and opinions. I shall here only assure your lordship that this unhappy difference did not spring from me, and that, had General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr Francis brought with them the same conciliatory spirit which I had adopted, your lordship would not have been embarrassed with the appeals of a disjointed administration, nor the public business here retarded by discordant councils."+ One long-continued cause of quarrel was the Rohilla war. The majority declared that war to be monstrous, and the dispossessed and tyrannical tribes to be a brave but meek and inoffensive people, who had particular claims on the sympathics of generous minds. The Rohillas were what we have described them; and to their qualities remain to be added those of craft and treachery in a degree excessive even for India, and a bloodthirstiness like that of famishing tigers. But, though the war was to be reprobated and the Rohillas pitied, though Champion and his brigade were to be instantly ordered to evacuate Rohilcund, the price of the war was to be poured into the company's exchequer, the Nabob of Oude was to be made to pay to the last rupee of what he had promised, and he was to be threatened and bullied into earlier payments than he had stipulated for. Thus, if they considered the war as diabolical work, they could still love the devil's money. In vain Hastings and Barwell remonstrated and protested; they were but two to three, and the determinations of Francis and his colleagues were carried forthwith into execution. Their behaviour vexed and terrified Sujah Dowla, and may have contributed to hasten his departure from the cares of this world, for he died a few months after their arrival, at the very beginning of the year 1775, dictating in his last moments a letter to Hastings to implore his friendship and protection for his son. This son, who took the name of Asoff-ul-Dowla, succeeded without opposition to Oude and its dependencies, which now in-

cluded the country of the Robillas. The majority in council were as harsh towards the son as they had been towards the father: they called upon him for prompt payment of all that was owing, and at the same time they declared that their treaty was dissolved by the death of the old nabob. Mr. Middleton had been succeeded at the court of Oude by Mr. Bristow, who took his orders from. and acted entirely in the spirit of, Francis, Clavering, and Monson. Bristow compelled the young nabob to accede to a treaty which contained as an essential article an incomparably more questionable arrangement than Hastings's engagement for the expulsion of the Rohillas. By this treaty the company guaranteed to Asoff-ul-Dowla the possession of Corah and Allahabad; but the nabob, in return, ceded to the company the territory of Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, which was not his to cede, and which had been solemnly guaranteed to the rajah by Hastings. The revenue of Cheyte Sing's territory thus alienated was estimated at 22,000,000 of rupees; but, as this took nothing out of the pocket of the young Nabob of Oude, he was bound in the same treaty to discharge all his father's debts and engagements whatsoever with the company, and to raise greatly the allowance to the company's brigade. Hastings indignantly refused to sanction this treaty, which nevertheless met the warm approbation of the court of directors at home, who, as usual, looked at the money clauses without reflecting on the injustice of the conditions. or the ability or inability of the young nabob to

The supreme council, as provided by the act, and required from each of them a full report of its actual condition, political, financial, and com-The political status of the presidency of Bombay, which had long been so quiet and removed from the struggles of war, was at this moment as troublous as war and politics could make it, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and incomprehensible sea of Mahratta politics. The first temptation had been Salsette, that rich island that lay in their immediate neighbourhood, and that had been coveted for more than a hundred years by the English at Bombay. The directors at home had fully partaken in this desire, and in 1769 had greatly applauded an attempt made to obtain Salsette by negotiation with the Mahrattas. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Row and the election of a new peishwa: the presidency of Bombay dispatched a considerable force to Salsette, which carried the principal fort by assault and then took quiet possession of the island. To secure this valuable possession and to obtain future advantages and cessions of territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the presidency concluded a treaty with Ragoba, whom, for the occasion, they chose to consider legitimate Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who were themselves much divided in opinion whether the

^{*} Letter to Sulivan.

Letter to Lord North, as given by Mr. Gleig.

The real objects of pity in Rohilound were rather the poor Hindus than the Rohilles.

right or the might lay with Ragoba, or Futtee-Sing, or some other Sing or Row, and who were cutting one another's throats to decide the question. Ragoba, who counted upon English troops and sepays as certain to give him the superiority, made a grant of Salsette, Bassein, and other places, to the presidency: and the presidency sent Colonel Keatang with 500 European infantry, 80 European artillerymen, 1400 sepoys, and 160 lascars, with a field-train and some heavier pieces, to assist Ragoba, who had himself a large army of horse.* On the 18th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Mahratta confederacies hostile to Ragoba; but he lost a considerable number of men, and found his future movements impeded by the discontents of the Peishwa's troops, who refused to cross the Nerbuddah until they should be paid their arrears. But in the month of July, when Ragoba had got money and had weakened the hostile confederacy by detaching some of its most powerful members, the road to Poona, which was a kind of Mahratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies. At this point the supreme council at Calcutta judged it proper to strike in; and they did so with the same temper they had displayed on other occasions. They rated the members of the council of Bombay as if they had been a set of clerks or schoolboys; they called them to account for daring to enter upon such important negotiations and operations without their consent and sanction; they ordered them instantly to withdraw their troops and to recall their resident from Poona; and after this they sent an agent of their own to undertake treaties and pursue a line of policy the very opposite to that hitherto pursued. Colonel Upton, this new agent, did not reach Poona till the end of His instructions were to treat the year 1775. with the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, which the supreme council considered as likely to be the stronger party in the end; but he was also furnished with a letter from the council to Ragoba, in case he should prove the stronger. If the confederacy prevailed the letter might be burned, but if they should be defeated then it would serve as an introduction to negotiations with Ragoba. But Upton had been only a few days at Poona ere he found that the Mahrattas were much in the same uncertain state of mind as the supreme council. "For," said her" the chiefs of this country are quite at a loss which side to take, and are waiting to see what the English do."† The pertinacity of the Mahratta chiefs confederated against Ragoba, in inguisting on the immediate restoration of Salsette, Bassein, and all that had been acquired by the recent treaty with Ragoba, removed the doubts and vacillations of the supreme council, who finally, determined that the Peishwa recognised by the pas sidency of Bombay was to be recognised by them also as the rightful sovereign, and that the cause of

Ragoba was to be supported "with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India." But Ragoba gained nothing by this high-sounding resolution. His enemies jockeyed him when he thought himself close to the winning-post. " Seeing that they would not be satisfied with less, the confederates agreed to yield Salactte and the small islands nearit, upon which the majority of the supreme council agreed to abandon the cause of Ragoba and give up their claims to Bassein and the other territory which the lawful then and unlawful now Peishwa had given to the presidency of Bombay as part of the price of their assistance. A treaty to this effect was concluded by Colonel Upton; and then Ragoba, knowing that his life was in danger, prayed for an asylum in Bombay. That presidency granted his prayer, but the supreme council sent orders from Calcutta that they were not to receive him, as such a measure would give umbrage to the party with whom the treaty had been concluded, and Ragoba was therefore condemned for some time to lead a vagahond life.

While these events were passing in Western India other hosts of Mahrattas descended into the valley of the Ganges from Agra and Delhi, and plundered the more northern parts of the dominions of the young Nabob of Oude, who is described as being as great a coward as his father, and destitute of ability, which his father These devastations, which went to stop the current of supplies to a treasury which the supreme council had emptied, were accompanied by rumours of a new coalition between the emperor, the Mahrattas, the Seiks, the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes, for the purpose of conquering the whole of Oude. The plans adopted by the supreme council to break or resist this league were not very wise or consistent and Asoff-ul-Dowla owed his safety for the present to quarrels which broke out among the members of the coalition, and to the poverty and indecision of Shah Alum. In all consultations in council the voice the least heeded was that of the governor-general. Irritated and hopeless of any change there, Hastings remitted a load of papers, said by him to be complete and literal copies of his correspondence with Mr. Middleton, to Lord North, in vindication of his own character; and announced to his friends in England that he should certainly return home by the next ship unless he received the approbation of the court of directors to his past conduct. The hostile majority continued to heap accusations against him. "These men," said he, " began their opposition on the second day of our meeting. The symptoms of it betrayed themselves on the very first. They condemned me before they could have read any part of the proceedings, and all the study of the public records since, all the informations they have raked up out of the dirt of Calcutta, and the encouragement given to the greatest villains in the province, are for the sole purpose of finding grounds to vilify my character and undo

^{*} Forbas, Oriental Memoirs. Mr. Forbes was at this time private secretary to Colonel Keeting, the commanding officer.

† Letter to the council, as quoted by Mill, Hist. Brit. Ind.

all the labours of my government, 114, Francis Clavering, and Monson had got hold of the great informer or arch-devil of Bengal, the notorious Nuncomer, and were now inciting him to collect evidence and bring charges against Hastings, as Hastings had encouraged him, by command of the secret committee of the court of directors, to produce charges against Mohammed Reza Knowing as he did the depth of the craft and malignity of that Hindu's nature, Hastings had sufficient reason to feel disquieted. "Nuncomar," said he, "whom I have thus long protected and supported, whom against my nature I have cherished like a serpent till he has stung me, is now in close connexion with my adversaries, and the prime mover of all their intrigues; but he will sting them too, or I am mistaken, before he quits them. I have expelled him from my gates, and while I live will never re-admit him."+ At the prompting of Nuncomar, Francis and his friends called in the further aid of a Hindu woman, the Ranee or Rana of Burdwan, whom Hastings had turned out of Calcutta as an intriguing violent woman. The Rance, with proper assistance, sent in circumstantial charges, accusing Hastings of extorting 1,500,000 rupees; his banyan, or native secretary, who was resident in Burdwan, and others of his servants, of extorting a great deal more; the fabulous total being set down by the Rance and hen accountants and advisers at considerably above nine millions of rupees. She produced witnesses to prove some of the facts; but they were Indian witnesses, and as such entitled to no credit. Upon examination the hostile majority felt obliged to drop these accusations. Nevertheless in the presence of Hastings they proceeded to vote certain honours and distinctions to the Rance. At this gross insult he broke up the council, which as its president he conceived that he had a clear right to do. The trio then passed the resolution that a vote of adjournment could be passed only by the majurity, voted one of themselves into the president's chair, and continued their sittings. The next great charge they entertained was that Hastings had appropriated to himself two-thirds of the salary of the Phousdar or governor of Hooghly-a place which had, once been held by Nuncomar. Hastings was ready to refer this business to the English judges, but he denied the competency of the council to take it up; and, it seems to us that no man in his. senses, however conscious be might be of his innocence, would have submitted to the judgment of three implacable enomies who had determined that they were omnipotent in their majority. He was supported, as on all other occasions, by Mr. Barwell. . The trio insisted on the right of proceeding. He then declared that he would not sit there to be confronted with such vile acqueers, or suffer a judicial inquiry into his conduct at a board of which he was president; and as president, as governor-

 Letter to Sullvan, dated 25th February, 1775, as given by Gleig, Memoirs of Werren Hastings.
 † Id. Id. general, he again dissolved the council. But one of the trio again took the chair, and the business was continued by themselves when Hastings and Barwell were gone. This charge was even worse supported than those made by the revengeful Range. Two letters of most doubtful authenticity and two Indian witnesses were all the evidence produced. But other charges came flying in to the supreme council, for the great informer was indefstigable in his calling. "The trumpet," said Hastings, " has been sounded, and the whole host of informers will soon crowd to Calcutta with their complaints and ready depositions. Nuncomar holds his durbar in complete state, sends for zemindars and their vakeels, coaxing and threatening them for complaints, which no doubt he will get in abundance, besides what he forges himself. The avetem which they have laid down for conducting their affairs is, as I am told, after this manner. The General rummages the consultations for disputable matter with the aid of old Fowke. Colonel Monson receives, and I have been assured, descends even to solicit, accusations. Francis torites." [And with what gall the pen of Junius could write, or, if there be any unconvinced of the identity, what gall Francis put in his avowed letters, paniphlets, and speeches, is pretty well known.] "Goring is employed as their agent with Mohammed Reza Khan, and Fowke with Nuncomer. Was it for this that the legislature of Great Britain formed this new system of government for Bengal, and armed it with powers extending to every part of the British empire in India?" Three or four days after writing these words Hastings informed the same correspondents that one of the principal native witnesses had waited upon him and affirmed with: the most solemn asseverations that Nuncomer. Mr. Fowke, and others, were guilty of conspiracy against him; that this native had offered to produce evidence to that effect; and that, consequently, he (Hastings) had resolved on the prosecution of Fowke, Nuncomar; and the rest. And he accordingly sought redress from the judges of the newly elected supreme court, where his friend and schoolfellow Impey presided. The judges, after a long examination of the case, made Nuncomar and Fowke give bail, and bound over the governor-general to prosecute them for a conspiracy. Immediately after this General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis reade a visit of honour to Nuncowar, a compliment which had never been paid him before either by themselves or by the members of any preceding administration. But on the 41th of March. a menth previous to his appearance before the judges, and a week or ten days previous to the visit of the native witness to Hastings, the great informer had accused the governor-general of procuring the acquittal of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy for large sums of money; and had further accused him of accepting or extorting more than three millions and a half of rupees for the appointment of

* Letter to Mr. Graham and Colonel Mac Leane, dated 28th March, 1775, as given by Gleig.

the Bagum and of Nuncomar's own son Goordass. These charges had all the wildness of an oriental fiction; but the majority had not only determined that they should be discussed, but had even, upon evidence which ought not to have been allowed to injure the character of a dog, declared Hastings guilty of one fraction of them and called upon him to refund two lacs of rupees, not, however, to the Begum at Moorshedabad, from whom it was said he had received them, but to the company's treasury at Calcutta! The visit of the trio was intended to support ---what the mighty Himalaya itself could not have propped up—the character and veracity of Nuncomar, and to intimate that the governor-general's proceedings with the judges were intended to get id of a troublesome witness whom Hastings had refused to meet in the council-chamber, or to an-The war was thus widened, in as much as the majority of the supreme council considered the majority of the supreme court of justice as the allies and confederates of the governor-general and Mr. Barwell. The Begum, who had denied a letter said to be hers and produced in evidence against Hastings, was set down as another enemy by the trio, who determined to deprive her of the care of her son the young nabob, and of the management of his household and sixteen annual lacs. way the battle thickened and became a combat à outrance, in which all the generous feelings of the national character seem to have been suppressed by all the English part of the combatants. The charge presented against Nuncomar and Mr. Joseph Fowke, and for which they had been held to bail, was simply that they had headed a conspiracy and forced a native to write a petition against the governor-general and some of his servants; but now another native came forward and charged the great informer with actual forgery, a crime then capital in England in all its branches, but so common in India as scarcely to be considered as more than a misdemeanor, except in very particular cases, to which category the case of Nuncomar assuredly did not appertain. The judges, however, resolved to proceed according to English law, and Nuncomar was arrested and thrown into the common prison of Calcutta. This was on the 6th of May. On the 9th the trio by their right as a majority dismissed the Begum from her office and gave it to Nuncomar's son Goordass, who hitherto had been acting under her. "The visit to Nuncomar," said Hastings, " when he was to be prosecuted for a conspiracy, and the elevation of his son when the old gentleman was in gaol and in a fair way to be hanged, were bold expedients. I doubt if the people in England will approve of such barefaced declarations of their connexions with such a scoundrel, or such attempts to impede and frustrate th course of justice. Neither can I suppose that dismission of Munny Begum, for the sake of carrying a point of party with which she has no concern, will be thought consistent with justice, honour, or common decency." These reproaches

· Letter to Graham and Mac Leane, dated 18th May, 1775.

were well grounded-in each particular the conduct of the trio was indefensible, gross, indecent—but the dark suspicion cleaves to Hastings, that the old man in prison was there through his means, or through the means of, or encouragement given to informers by, some of his party; and, villain as he was, we shudder at the deadly revenge cherished against him by one who a few years before had cajoled him with professions of friendship, and had endeavoured to turn his villanies to account. was indecent too, it was horrible in Hastings, considering the position in which he stood relatively to Nuncomar, and his own rank and station in India, to hint at the gibbet before the man was tried. On the 18th of May Hastings revoked a discretionary power he had given his friends and agents in England, Mr. Graham and Colonel Mac Leane, in letters dated the 27th of March, declaring that, whatever advices the first packet from Leadenhall-street might bring, he was resolved to stay where he was " to see the issue of his appeal, believing it impossible that men whose actions were so frantic could be permitted to remain in charge of so important a trust." The trio made a great show of wrath at the arrest and imprisonment of the great informer, a degradation awful in Brahmins' eyes, and to which no native of his rank had ever been subjected: they remonstrated, they interfered with the judges, and the judges told them to attend to their own business. The trio then protested against the right of the judges to commit on any such charge; and demanded that Nuncomar should be liberated on bail. The judges replied that forgery was a capital crime, and not bailable, by the laws of England; that by the last act the laws of England were established in Calcutta, and consequently that the prisoner must remain in gaol until the day of trial. When that black day arrived Nuncomar was brought before the supreme court and a just of Englishmen. A native merchant of Caratta, the original accuser, and other witnesses deposed to facts, and there was an accumulation of evidence to prove that, six years before, the prisoner had committed forgery on, or in, a private bond. But six years before the regulating act had not been passed, and Calcutta was not then under English law. Nuncomar had witnesses to swear against nearly everything that the witnesses for the prosecution swore to, so that the deliberations of the jury were little more than a weighing of probabilities and chances as to the side where the perjury

* Letter as given by Gleig. Hastings adds,—"Good God I what will be said if it be asked with authority what the council of India have done with the vast powers which were assigned them? In the course of the last seven months they have worned their chief, and kept every office and business of the state whelly impeded." In a preceding letter he says that absolutely nothing had been done in the way of business for the last six months, except the very little which the majority of the council had allowed him to do himself at the revenue board. To Lord North he wrote on the 37th of March, the same day on which he sent the discretionary power to Graham and Mae Leane—"I now most earnestly entrest that your lordship—for on you, I presume, it finally revis—will free me from the state I am in, either by my immediate recall, or by the confirmation of the trust and authority of which you have hitherto thought me descripts... The meanest tirudge, who owes his daily subsistence to daily labour, enjoys a condition of happinesse compared to mine, while I am doomed to share the responsibility of measures of which I disapprove, and to be an idle spectator of the ruin which I cannot avert."

lay. The great informer's knowledge and tactics did not extend beyond this producing of witnesses, who were always to be hought by any party who had money or power, and for the prosecution as well as for the defence: he understood nothing of our language, our usages, or law, and he could not be made to comprehend how the life of a great man like himself could possibly be put in jeopardy by a few crooked characters drawn by a reed or a pen years ago. Impey, however, put on the black cap and pronounced sentence of death in the true Old Bailey form-in words difficult to be interpreted into Persian or Bengalee. Even when made to understand that the matter was no joke or ceremony, the old Hindu expected to be reprieved; but he was left for immediate execution, and on the 5th of August he was hanged by the neck till he was dead. Universally known and hated as he was, his death made a terrible impression on the minds of the natives. Those who were near enough to be spectators of the ghastly and revolting novelty filled the glowing air with shrieks and cries. "The howlings and lamentations of the poor, wretched people," says the sheriff, who superintended the execution, "who were taking their last leave of him, are not to be described." With a sort of superstituous incredulity they could not believe that it was really intended to put him to death; but when they saw him tied up, and the scaffold drop from under him, they set up a universal yell, and, with piercing cries of horior and dismay, betook themselves to flight, running, many of them, as far as the Ganges, and plunging into that holy stream as if to wash away the pollution they had contracted in viewing such a spectacle.* After hanging for the usual time the body was taken down and delivered to the Brahmins for burning. It was the novelty, unsightliness, and publicity of the execution that made this deep impression upon a people that consider everything new as horrible: if his head had been taken off in prison, if he had been tortured and cut to pieces out of the way of men's eyes, if he had been poisoned, if he had been put to a lingering death by the daily administration of pousta, the detestable invention of the country, there would have been no such popular excitement, and little or no notice would have been taken of the event beyond the ranks of his own family and dependents; but, executed as he was, the excitement, transitory as it was vehement, spread over every part of Hindustan; and the great informer, from an object of fear and detestation, became the subject of pity. Like other Indians, and like the people of the East in general, who will fly timorously from every chance of death or of wounds in battle, and yet meet their doom when it is inevitable with a composure and apathy of which the bravest of Europeans are seldom capable, Nuncomar went through his last scenes, and the winding up of all his rascalities, in the most calm and collected manner. When the

Speech of Sir Gilbert Elliot in the House of Commons on the 28th of April, 1788. It was towards the conclusion of this speech against Sir Elijah Impey that Sir Gilbert read the account of the execution written three hours after the event, by the sheriff of Calcutta.

sheriff waited upon him the night before his execution, and offered every kindness and service in his power, he replied that he was obliged to him for his visit, that he was grateful for all his favours, which he hoped would be continued to his family, but that fate was not to be resisted; and then, putting his finger to his forehead, he said, "The will of the Almighty must be done." He desired the sheriff to present his respects to General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, and begged them to protect his son, Rajah Goordass, and consider him henceforward as the real head of the Brahmins. "His composure," says the sheriff, "was wonderful; not a sigh escaped him, nor the smallest alteration of voice or countenance." He busied himself in writing notes and looking over money accounts in his usual way. The sheriff concluded that he had taken his resolution to escape hanging by suicide, and fully expected to find him dead the next morning. But such an idea never enters into the head of a true Brahmin; and the next morning he was not only alive, ready for death, but apparently without any anxiety. He walked cheerfully to the gate of the gaol, and seated himself in his palanquin, looking around him with perfect unconcern. The sheriff did not observe the smallest discomposure in his countenance and manner at the sight of the gallows, or any of the ceremonies passing about it. To some Brahmins who here waited upon him he said only a few words to remind them of what he had previously said concerning Rajah Goordass and the care of his zenana or harem. On alighting from his palanquin he walked more erect than he had generally been seen to do. At the foot of the ladder he put his hands behind him to be tied with a handkerchief, looking around him at the same time with the utmost unconcern. Some difficulties arising about the cloth which was to be tied over his face, he told the English that it must not be done by one of them. The sheriff presented a subaltern sepoy who was of the Brahmin caste, and who offered to tie the cloth; but Nuncomar pointed to a servant of his own, who was lying at his feet, and bade him do it. "He had some weakness in his feet," says the sheriff, "which, added to the confinement of his hands, made him mount the steps with difficulty; but he showed not the least reluctance, scrambling rather forward to get up. He then stood erect on the stage, while I examined his countenance as steadfastly as I could, till the cloth covered it, to see if I could observe the smallest symptom of fcar or alarm, but there was not a trace of it." He gave the signal by a motion of his foot, and he hung on the rope as motionless as if he had been a statue of wood or bronze taken out of a Hindu pagoda. His death astonished the sheriff, and the narrative of it, years after, made a wonderful impression in England, where few persons knew or reflected upon the character and fortitude of the East, so different from our own. Yet in reality, for his country, there was nothing very peculiar in his behaviour: there it was

the general rule that cowards died like heroes; and probably, out of the thousands and tens of thousands that witnessed his end, there were few or none, whether Hindus or Mussulmans, that would not, under the same circumstances, have met their doom with the same resignation or apathy, or that would not have found it all written on their forchead by the pen of destiny

But as to the circumstances of the trial, the conduct of Hastings, the judges, and others, the general impression and feeling of the English people were more correct; nor can we admit of any excuse or palliation that we have seen as yet offered. It was questionable whether, by any stretching or twisting of them, Nuncomar could really be made amenable to English law and our then sanguinary statutes; it was questionable whether the weight of evidence on the side of the prosecution had not been made to outweigh the evidence on the side of the defence by perjury and subornation, the inherent and universal vices of the country; and the precipitation, in a case where the greatest caution and circumspection were necessary, was truly monstrous. Up to this time no native of any rank had been tried in our supreme court or by our criminal code. Previously to the arrival of the judges there was a separate court, called the Phousdary, for the trial of all offences by native inhabitants In this court there had been one and but one conviction for forgery; but this obscure prisoner had not been hurried to execution; he had been reprieved and eventually pardoned.* In Nuncomar's case execution might and assuredly ought to have been suspended until the pleasure of the English crown was known, or until the opinion of the English judges had been received. That this reprieve was not granted has almost always been attributed to Hastings, and to Impey the chief-justice. The recent biographer of the governor-general, who, by scarcely admitting a single fault or blemish in the character of his hero, really injures the cause he would defend and the reputation which he would purify, broadly and boldly asserts that the blame rests not with Hastings or with Impey, but with the majority of the council, Clavering, Monson, and Francis. He says—" For the tragedy, as the death of the criminal has been called, neither Sir Elijah Impey nor the governor-general was in any manner accountable; nor, indeed, could they interfere to prevent it. The chief-justice had clearly no power to stay the execution even for a His part was played out so soon as the fatal word had been spoken, while Mr. Hastings's share of blame amounts to this and no more—that he does not seem to have proposed in council that the government should exercise a privilege which confessedly belonged to it. Probably Mr. Hastings felt that in this, as in every other instance, approposal emanating from him would, as a matter of course, be overruled; but why were the majority backward? They had the matter entirely in their

Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1773, as cited by

own hands. By a simple vote of their body they might have suspended the execution till a reference should be made to the court of directors at home. Why did they, who were so zealous in Nuncomar's cause prior to the conviction, sit with folded arms and see their protege put to death? I think that in the tone of their dispatches which succeeded the event, as well as of Mr. Burke's speeches during the trial of Mr. Hastings, some clue may be discovered wherewith to thread our way through the labyrinth. It might not suit the purpose of the majority to save the life of Nuncomar; it might suit that purpose that they were able, however groundlessly, to assert that 'the governor-general murdered him through the hands of Sir Elijah Impey.' For even to this day the impression has not everywhere been removed that Mr. Hastings was censurable for failing to effect that which he had no power to effect. The will of the majority was law. Had they willed a reprieve for Nuncomar he must have received the benefit of it. On their heads, then, and not on that of Mr. Hastings, must the death of the culprit rest." Now it appears to us that Hastings could have interfered as governor-general if he had so chosen; that Impey or any of the puisne judges might have interfered by expressing doubts, which they ought to have felt, as to points of law, and by referring to the opinion of the twelve judges at home. This faculty they would have had in all cases, and if there had been no regulating act in existence; but by that act the power was absolutely conferred upon them of respiting prisoners till the pleasure of the crown could be known. And there was another party that might have interfered-a party that by some remarkable good fortune have escaped their due share of obloquy; and this party was the jury, who might have delayed the execution by recommending the prisoner to mercy, a recommendation which, in all probability, would be been followed by a full pardon from England; or if their recommendation had been addressed to the governorgeneral and council, it must have had the effect of staying the execution. In the next argument of the biographer an important fact is overlooked. Hastings did not indeed propose any reprieve in council; but the majority hostile to him did ask for a reprieve until the pleasure of the king should be known, and the court absolutely refused it. It is true, however, that the trio neither persevered in their demand nor adopted any strong measure to stay the execution: it is true that they had the power in their hands; they had seized upon all the powers of government; they had repeatedly set the authority of Hastings at defiance, voting another president to fill his chair; they had interfered in matters of far greater import, where the life, not of one scoundrel, but of hundreds or thousands of scoundrels, was concerned; they had broken treaties and alliances of his making, and had made treaties and compacts of their own; they had declared to his own face and to the court of directors, and still

* Gleig, Momoirs of Warren Hustings.

higher authorities at home, that he was an embezzler, a plunderer, a conspirator, and that they believed him to be capable of the darkest crimes, and Nuncomar wholly innocent of the two charges -of the conspiracy on which he was admitted to bail, and of the forgery for which he was to be tried for his life; they continued to defy his authority after the event as before it; and everything goes to prove that if they had been scriously bent on preserving the old man's life they might have preserved it. If they had been animated by the generous feelings and the enthusiastic regard for justice which Francis afterwards laid claim to for himself and his colleagues, they would have risked a hostile collision and actual civil war in the streets of Calcutta rather than have permitted the execution. In a very short time they did risk that extremity, and upon much less justifiable grounds. We believe, therefore, that they had no very exquisite sense of justice and no eager desire to save Nuncomar; that they must share in the guilt, though in a less degree, with Hastings and Impey, and that this their share of delinquency might proceed from their wish to see the governor-general and the chief-justice commit themselves by so dark Moreover, the death of Nuncomar gave them the opportunity, which they instantly seized, of proclaiming to the world that Hastings had precipitated the arrest, trial, and execution of a troublesome witness, whose charges he could not answer, in order to terrify other witnesses from appearing against him. It suited not their more vindictive drift to impute anything to the exasperation of Hastings, and the personal hatred he had entertained of the Hindu for so many years, although, in our apprehension, these were the passions that moved him, and no fears or apprehensions as to any disclosures that the hackneyed, worn-out informer might produce against him. His own letters show that on this one point he was excited almost to frenzy; that, in spite of the habitual smoothness of his temper, and his long-imposed habits of selfcommand and circumspection, his hatred to the old Hindu-which may very well have been increased by the self-degrading recollection that he had tampered with that devil, and in obedience to his employers had employed his malice against others-had become an ungovernable fury, and had ended in a thirst for vengeance which only death and a gibbet could satisfy. With a casuistry that often accompanies the most excited passions he may have reconciled his conscience to the deed by persuading himself that he was doing the world a service in freeing it from such a man as Nuncomar, who, if he did not merit death by the particular act for which he was condemned, had merited it by a hundred other acts of perfidy and

The majority of the council knew nothing if they did not know the conduct of Nuncomar towards Mohammed Reza Khan, yet they had supported and courted the old Hindu notwithstanding those transactions. Now, however, that the Hindu was

hanged, they chose to consider his rival as the most trustworthy man in Bengal; and they proposed that he should have not only the charge of the young nabob's household instead of Goordass. whom they themselves had so recently promoted, but also the higher office of dewan, which he had held previously to his downfall and arrest in 1772. They proposed that he should have the superintendence of the native penal courts as the naibs had had before, and that the Nizamut Adaulut should be removed from Calcutta back to Moorshedabad. This latter measure went wholly to destroy the achievement which Hastings had so much prided himself upon, and which he considered indispensable to the preservation of the English government in Bengal; but the three against two carried their proposals into execution by right of their majority and in contempt of the opinion and remonstrances of the governor general. In the same temper the trio proceeded to condemn and destroy Hastings's recently introduced system of revenue and finance. a system not without faults, but freer from them than the practice which had preceded it, and far less tyrannical than the old plan of collection under the native princes. Hastings sent home com-plaints and representations, but these now were more frequently addressed to the prime minister than to the court of directors, of whose opinion and approbation he was long uncertain, as he reasonably might be, seeing with what rapidity they could change their plans, and with what ease they could condemn in one dispatch what they had approved of and applauded in another. He continued to represent that his arms were tied, and that the greater part of the public business was at a stand-still; that the judges of the supreme court were insulted and outraged by the majority of the council, and were only hindered from coming to an open rupture by his endeavours, and their own regard to public order.

But on the 25th of September, 1776, the majority was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side, but the casting-vote of the governorgeneral gave him the superiority. "It has restored me the constitutional authority of my station," he wrote the very next day to the minister, "but without absolute necessity I shall not think it proper to use it with that effect which I should give it were I sure of support from home." It appears, however, that he at once used his re-acquired authority with boldness and effect, deciding all measures by his casting vote, and leaving Clavering and Francis to declaim and protest as they had recently left him to do. They had, however, sufficient influence in the court of directors to procure a strong reprimand. On the 4th of July, 1777, the directors wrote :- "To our concern we find that no sooner was our council reduced, by the death of Colonel Monson, to a number which rendered the president's casting vote of consequence to him, than he exercised it to invest himself with an improper degree of power in the business of the revenue,

which he could never have expected from other authority." But the storm in Leadenhall-street did not disperse with this little gale. It will be remembered that Hastings, in a moment of despair, had announced to his friends Graham and M'Leane that he thought of resigning. Colonel M'Leane, after keeping the letter by him for many months, showed it to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and another director, and upon their report the resignation was formally accepted and a successor to Hastings was chosen in the person of Mr. Wheler. Further, the court resolved that General Clayering, as senior member of the council, should occupy the chair till Mr. Wheler arrived. This new-named governor-general was even presented to the king and accepted as such. The news of these proceedings reached Calcutta and threw everything into fresh confusion. Hastings declared that the court of directors could not accept what he had never given; that his letter about resigning had been revoked by a subsequent letter; that Colonel M'Leane had no authority to show a letter written in the confidence of friendship, and expressive merely of the feelings of the moment; that nothing in that letter amounted to a tender of his resignation, and that, even if it had contained anything of that sort, it was annulled by the second letter, written not many weeks after, and strongly declaring his intention to remain at his post. He refused to submit to General Clavering's taking the chair, and he summoned the council to assemble under his own presidency as before. On the other hand, Clavering insisted on his right, and summoned the council in his own name. Burwell attended the summons of Hastings, Francis that of Clavering; and thus there were two councils or parties, each claiming the supreme authority. The general and Francis met at the usual council-table; Hastings and Barwell at the board of revenue. The general immediately proceeded to take the oaths as governor-general ad interim, and to deliberate and preside. Hastings requested the judges of the supreme court to attend him at the revenue-board to give him their opinion. The judges met immediately, but to no purpose; for the general had got possession of all the dispatches from Europe, and refused to deliver them up. Hastings assured the judges, in writing, that if, upon inspection of the papers, they should find any act of his from which his resignation could be deduced, he would immediately vacate the chair. Clavering and Francis then enclosed copics of some of the dispatches upon which, they said, their claims were indubitably and immovably grounded: they did not offer to abide by the decision of the judges, but they agreed to suspend the execution of their orders as a council till the judges had given their opinion. In the mean while Clavering de-manded the keys of the fort and treasury, and wrote a letter to the commandant of the fort requiring his obedience; and Hastings, not idle, clenched the keys with a firmer grasp, sent opposite orders to the commandant, and showed the

fullest determination of meeting force by force. The sword of civil war seemed half unsheathed. But the military man cooled at the sight of this unexpected boldness in the civilian. The judges were most decisively and unanimously of opinion that it would be illegal in General Clavering to assume the chair or otherwise persevere in his course; and thereupon both the general and Francis succumbed and wrote a letter to the judges agreeing to acquiesce in their judgment. Francis, however, absented himself when the council met under the presidency of Hastings, and would not apologise for his absence. With his decided majority, that is to say himself, with his casting vote, and Mr. Barwell against General Clavering, Hastings now carried a resolution that the general, by taking the oaths as governor-general, &c., had actually vacated his seat as senior counsellor, and could no longer sit at the board in any capacity. But here the judges refused to go along with him, and Hastings was compelled to submit to a compromise dictated by the judges. The hostile parties consented to refer their several claims to England for decision, and in the mean time to leave everything at Calcutta as it stood before the arrival of the packet.*

Mr. Middleton was sent again to reside at Oude, and Mr. Bristow, who had been nominated by the trio, was recalled; Mr. Francis Fowke, the son of Mr. Joseph Fowke, was recalled from Benares, and other changes were made in favour of Hastings's friends. Colonel Monson's place in the council was soon supplied by Mr. Wheler, who, though he came out as governor-general, consented to fill an inferior post, and commonly voted with Francis; but before that party could recover their confidence it was again reduced to a minority by the loss of General Clavering. On the 22nd of November, 1777, Hastings wrote to a private friend:—
"The death of Sir John Claver bas produced a state of quiet in our councils which I shall endeavour to preserve during the remainder of the time which may be allotted to me. The interests of the company will benefit by it; that is to say, they will not suffer as they have done by the effects of a divided administration."

It was high time that there should be more unanimity, for danger was approaching on various sides. Most of the Mahratta chiefs who had been parties to the treaty with Colonel Upton were already weary of their bargain; fresh intrigues and combinations were forming at Poona, and a French ship had put into one of the Mahratta ports, and a French agent was reported to be living at Poona and exercising great influence in that capital. war in our American colonies was raging, and, as Frenchmen of name and rank were taking part in it without any declaration of war from the court of Versailles to the court of St. James's, it was not imagined that the French would be very scrupulous in India, where, in fact, they had never once ceased their intrigues since the treaty of Paris had

[·] Hastings's Letters to Mr. Sykes and Lord North.

restored Pondicherry and allowed them their factory at Chandernagore. Besides, every letter from England complained of the interference of France in the American quarrel, and announced hostilities with that power as inevitable. The presidency of Bombay, who were nearest to the scene of Mahratta intrigue, and likely to be most affected by it, wrote alarming letters to the supreme council at Calcutta, and recommended a new alliance with Ragoba, in order to anticipate the designs of the French and the Mahratta chiefs. They were eager for the recovery of Bassein and the other territory which had been given up by Colonel Upton; and their last advices informed them that the court of directors disapproved in toto of that treaty, and thought that much more advantageous terms, i. c. more territory and more revenue, might have been secured by supporting Ragoba. Hastings, too, disapproved that treaty—the work of Clavering, Monson, and Francis—which he would have prevented at the time if he had been able. Mahrattas had scarcely performed one article of it when the Chevalier de St. Lubin arrived at Poona with letters and presents from Louis XVI. The governor-general, who had long been accustomed to reflect on the best means the English possessed of defending their Indian empire, and the most likely means the French had for recovering their ascendancy, had come to the conclusion that our greatest danger would proceed from a union of the French with the Mahrattus, and that any attempt of that kind ought to be met on the instant, and, if possible, prevented by arms, leagues, combinations, by the utmost exercise of our power and policy. At this critical juncture he received intelligence that there was a fresh quarrel among the Mahratta chiefs at Poona, who constituted a sort of regency; and that a powerful faction headed by Baboo had resolved to declare for Ragoba, and had actually applied to the English at Bombay for assistance. It appeared also that the presidency of Bombay had committed itself to this party by promises or encouragements, and that its territories would be in danger if the faction opposed to Baboo and Ragoba should prevail in this new con-Without hesitation Hastings proposed in council that every assistance should be given in men and money, and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. He was supported by Barwell, and opposed by Francis and Wheler, who protested as usual; but, as usual, the governorgeneral's casting-vote settled the matter. lacs of rupees were immediately sent to Bombay by bills; and on the 23rd of February orders were issued for assembling an army at Culpee, on the east bank of the Hooghly river, and about thirty-three miles in a straight line below Calcutta. There then arose a fresh dispute in council as to the properest way of sending these troops on their long journey: if they went by sea they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the

troops, or ships of war to give them convoy: to make such a march by land was a bold idea that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian, soldier or statesman; but Hastings, who had studied the capabilities of the native troops, who had a high reliance on their steadiness and powers of endurance, and who had long wished for an opportunity to show the might of the company to some of the princes and potentates of the interior, who, from the remoteness of their situation, had hitherto remained strangers to it, or but very insufficiently informed upon it, after consulting with some officers, confidently proposed the land march right across the peninsula—a peninsula vast enough to be called a continent-through the hostile and unknown regions that intervened between the banks of the Ganges and the Gulf of Cambay. Francis and Wheler again protested: according to some accounts, even his constant echo, Barwell, was silent or doubtful on this occasion, and Hastings ordered the hazardous march on his own responsibility.* The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry, furnished by the Nabob of Oude, and a company of native artitlery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, 6624 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazar, carriers of baggage, servants of officers, and families of sepoys: and this host had to march upwards of 1000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was entrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so daring and brilliant a conception. Except the officers there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army began its march on the 12th of June, 1778; and it had not proceeded far when a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the English consul at Cairo, brought to Calcutta the news that war had been declared both in London and Paris. Francis and Wheler then insisted that the army should be recalled, as they considered that Bengal was as likely to be attacked by the French as Bombay, and as some great difficulties were already presenting themselves to the advance of the troops; but Hastings insisted that the army should go on, and that the river Hooghly, Calcutta, and Bengal could be very well defended without it. Clive himself could not have kicked down obstacles and projected delays or have acted in all respects with more determination than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chandernagore, which had not been re-fortified, and all the French factories in Bengal: he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Pondicherry instantly—but, in infraction of the last treaty of peace, Pondicherry had been refortified, and could not be taken without a desperate siege-he threw up strong works near Calcutta: and, still further to impede the approach to that

Captain Williams of the Bengal army, Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, from its first formation in 1757 to 1796.—Hastings, however, says in his letters that Mr. Barwell, whose advice he had taken in all his measures, concurred also in this, while Francis and Wheler opposed and protested.

capital, he collected a vast number of vessels of all kinds, shapes, and riggings, and improvised a regular marine establishment; he raised nine new battalions of sepoys and a numerous corps of native artillery; and, being thus perfectly at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the westward, to the march of the army and to the proceedings at Poona and Bombay. Previously to the first move of the troops he had sent letters and presents to several of the native princes through whose territories the army must pass; he had almost settled the preliminaries of a treaty and close alliance with the Mahratta ruler, or Rajah, of Berar, whose territories were most extensive and about midway between the Bay of Bengal and the western coast, and whose power and consideration were equal to those enjoyed by any Mahratta prince of the time. Colonel Leslie had been instructed to conciliate and captivate the goodwill of the rulers and people of all the districts through which his line of march lay; but, as he was to go on at all events, he was to fight his way where he could not win it by gentle means. The army met with a feeble resistance in crossing the river Jumna from a Mahratta chief called Ballajce. This chief also engaged the young Rajah of Bondilcund to oppose it, and as the forces advanced in Bondilcund they were frequently harassed and occasionally saw their supplies of provisions intercepted; but a spirited and successful attack made on their principal post, not far from Chatterpoor, completely disconcerted the rajah and Ballajce, and compelled them to retire to a respectful distance. After this action Leslie was joined by an elder brother of the rajah, who laid claim to his throne, and by several other Bondilcund chiefs-for, go where they would, the English found factions, disputed successions, and other mad contentions to tempt their ambition and furnish means for its gratification. Hastings, however, did not wish Leslie to engage for the present in these particular contests. "The rest of the march," wrote the governor-general, "will be easy and creditable if Colonel Leslie does not entangle himself in the domestic contests of the two brothers, to which his inducements are strong and his provocations great. He was on the 30th of July at Chatterpoor, where he had been for some time detained for the repair of his carriages. He writes that he was then on the point of leaving it. I wish he had. I shall be satisfied if he advances. I do not wish him to be in a hurry." But Colonel Leslie was less in a hurry than Hastings desired; for, having reached Rajaghur, a principal city of Bondilcund, on the 17th of August, he halted there for a long time and entered into various private negotiations with the pretender and other chiefs of that country, in doing which it was suspected that he had an eye to his own private interest But the delay is certainly in part attributable to the indecision of the presidency of Bombay, under whose orders Leslie had been told to consider himself from the moment he passed the Jumna. It

· Letter to Sulivan, dated 18th August, 1778

is true that embarrassing incidents had occurred at Poona—that the treaty with Ragoba and the cause of that chief had not run so smoothly as the Bombay politicians had anticipated; but still their conduct must be considered as a near approach to the very perfection of absurdity. They sent an order to Leslie to suspend his march, alleging their apprehensions of the risk and expense, and the dissent of two of the members of their council from the original plan. "A strange reason this for a majority!" exclaimed contemptuously the governor-general of Bengal, whose majority depended on his own voice, and whose ears constantly rung with the dissents and protests of Francis and Wheler. Two or three days after this first order the Bombay magnates sent Leslie another order, revoking the former one and pressing for the rapid advance of the army. More than one familiar proverb will explain the condition in which Leslie found himself. Of a weak and irresolute character himself, and probably not entirely free from the motives imputed to him of money-making and present-seeking, he remained where he was in Bondilcund, justifying his inactivity by showing that an army which was to advance from Bombay to meet him had not taken the field, and that that presidency had done nothing to avail themselves of the distractions at Poona, or to pave the way for his advance at the points where it would become most dangerous. On their side the presidency of Bombay excused their inactivity by representing that the leading members of their party at Poona, from whom assistance was expected, had been scattered or put into prison, and that there was no possibility of calculating the chances of Ragoba's success. Hastings thought it necessary to recall Colonel Leslie to Bengal, and to confide the command of the army to Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard, a much more active and enterprising officer, who had been his second in comme By the same courier he wrote letters to the Rajah of Bondilcund and his competitors, disavowing the acts of Colonel Leslie, and declaring all his treaties and agreements invalid. It is possible that the loitering commander might have been brought to account at Calcutta for some of his burgains; but he died on the 3rd of October, several days before the sentence of recall could reach him.* Goddard, raised to the rank of full colonel, was immediately freed from the orders which had tied the hands and feet of his predecessor: he was instantly released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, which might interrupt but could not promote his success. He forthwith quitted "the detested land of Bondilcund," and, taking the road through Malwa, he continued his march a long

^{• &}quot;The wild conduct of Colonel Leslie," said Hastings, "deprived me of every hope of effecting any useful purpose with the detachment while he had the command of it. . . Instead of pursuing the route which had been prescribed him, he loitered away four months in Bondicund, busied in the paltry work of accommodating the domestic contests of that government, and making treaties of alliance with the right and his mean attendants. These were direct intringements of his positive instructions."—Letter to Sulivas, dated 29th November, 1778.

while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing or expecting any of the many impediments which Leslie had so long complained of. He soon crossed the Nerbudda, and reached the city of Nagpoor, which Hastings with a prospective glance declared to be the exact and proper centre of all our possessions and connexions in India! By the 1st of December Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of Berar. Here he received dispatches from Bombay acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poona, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city. This Bombay force, 4500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, quitted the coast, advanced boldly through the ghauts, arrived at Condala, and by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poona, with twenty-five days' provision in hand. Loose squadrons of Mahratta horse kept skirmishing and retreating before them, but Colonel Egerton could nowhere see the friendly Mahratta army which Ragoba had assured him would repair to his standard. Ragoba, who was accompanying Egerton with a very diminutive force, and who had received a considerable loan from the Bombay government, was taken to task; but he represented that the wavering Mahratta chiefs were not likely to join until the English should have obtained some decisive advantage. Egerton, therefore, kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poona, in which neighbourhood he was to meet and form a junction with Goddard. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Mahratta horse was seen in front. Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners to share the authority and direct the movements of Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and, upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days!they ordered a retreat. The Mahratta army of horse followed them and almost enveloped them, cut to pieces three or four hundred men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and pro-The two commissioners fell into a state of helplessness and despair; and even Colonel Egerton declared it to be impossible to carry back the army to Bombay. The three deserved hanging, and two of them, who had been the chief cause of this precipitate and wretchedly managed retreat, were well nigh incurring the risk of a worse fate. A deputation was sent to the Mahrattas to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit their quiet march back to the coast. The Mahratta chiefs demanded that Ragoba should be delivered to With this demand Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing this breach of honour and hospitality by alleging, what was probably true enough, that Ragoba, despairing of success, had opened a correspondence with the enemy.

When the Mahratta chiefs had got Ragoba into their hands they asked another price for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty hy which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this effect. The Mahratta chiefs then asked for hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance. The army recommended that the two commissioners should be delivered over to them; but it was finally arranged that two other civilians should be sent to the Mahratta camp. The dishonoured army was then told it might pursue its march to Bombay without fear of molestation. In the mean while Goddard had continued advancing upon Poona, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his army near that city. But when he reached Boorhampoor, the ancient capital of Candeish, 980 miles from Calcuita by the route he had taken, Goddard too was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field commissioners, written in compliance with their treaty, he was told that he must retrace his steps; by another from the same field commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but these lack-brains gave him no account or intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt Goddard remained at Boorhampoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the real state of affairs. Luckily he was no Egerton and had no field commissioners with him. He resolved not to be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no authority over him or his movements, and no right to include him in their disgrace; and he bravely determined to continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poona, where the game for the present was lost, and making direct for Surat, where he would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay, and ready to act as occasion, or his orders from Calcutta, might require. But Surat was nearly 250 miles off, the disposition of the intervening country very doubtful, and a great and increasing army of the Mahratta cavalry was hanging on his rear. His decision and rapidity, the discipline and altogether admirable conduct of his native Bengal infantry, could alone save him from destruction or dishonour. But he and his army, wherever they went, were preceded by the In the course of sweet odour of a good name. their long and toilsome march, no plundering, no excesses, no insults or wrongs of any kind had been permitted. Hence the country people flocked to supply him with provisions, and to render him such information and services as they could. From Boorhampoor to the coast his route lay through the most fertile and best cultivated fields of Hindustan, thickly dotted with open villages and defenceless towns, with property in them, and commodities and luxuries most tempting to the sepoys; but nothing

* Letter to Sulivan.

was touched, nothing taken without being paid for, and thus the inhabitants, instead of flying and conbealing their provisions and property, as they ever had done at the approach of an army, quietly pursued their occupations, or thronged to relieve his wants by a traffic equally beneficial to both parties. Goddard and his sepoys performed the 250 miles' march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory: they had left a moral impression which could not be soon effaced, and which was scarcely overrated by Hastings. assured," wrote the governor-general to one of the directors, "that the successful and steady progress of a part, and that known to be but a small part, of the military force of Bengal from the Jumna to Surat has contributed more than perhaps our more splendid achievements to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendant of our influence over all the powers of Hindustan. To them as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing and impracticable, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting."* Goddard was promoted to the rank of general, and soon received the commands of the supreme council to take upon himself all future wars or negotiations with the Mahrattas. Ragoba, escaping from his confinement at Poona, took refuge in Surat. Goddard proposed an amicable treaty with the Poona regency or confederacy, upon condition that they would annul the dishonourable treaty extorted from Egerton and the field commissioners, and give up all connexion with the French. The Mahratta chiefs replied that they would enter upon no negotiation until Ragoba was given up and Salsette restored to them. Upon this Goddard prepared for the field, which he took at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dubhoy and carried by storm the important city of Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Guzerat. He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a Mahratta army under the two great chiefs or princes, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 8th of March his rapid marches had brought him up with this army. It was 40,000 strong, but he resolved to attack it that very night. But the attack was prevented by a letter from one of the two hostages whom Egerton had left in the hands of the Mahrattas, and who now intimated that those chiefs were desirous of peace, and inclined to purchase it upon Goddard's terms. Scindia even liberated the two hostages, and sent them to the English camp with a vakeel, or agent, to open negotiations. But, as Scindia wished to bargain for the person of Ragoba, who was following Goddard, and as he and Holkar were soon suspected of a design to waste thatime until the setting in of the rains should interrupt the campaign, the general broke off the negotiations. By the more rapid movements of their cavalry Scindia and Holkar were for many days enabled to

avoid an attack; but on the 3rd of April, between night and morning, Goddard with a small but select part of his army surprised them in their camp and gave them a thorough defeat. Flying in the greatest confusion to the ghauts the Mahrattas left Goddard undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea. Having taken possession of the principal towns, Goddard put his army into cantonments.

In the mean time Hastings had formed an alliance with a Hindu prince, commonly called the Ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country on the Jumna, between the territories of the great Mahratta Scindia and the kingdom of Oude; and Captain Popham with a small force had been detached to assist the Ranna in expelling a Mahratta invasion. Popham had taken the field at the beginning of the year, and had not only driven out the Mahrattas from the dominions of the Ranna, but had crossed the Sind, had followed them into their own territory, and had taken by storm the fortress of Lahar, the capital of Cutchwagar. Hastings recommended the immediate reinforcing of Popham as an officer capable of shaking the power of Scindia and Holkar in the heart of their own country. Francis protested against any extension of the war, but it was resolved to send another de-Before it had time to arrive Popham tachment. with extraordinary skill and daring took by escalade the fortress of Gualior, one of the very strongest and most important places in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and then defended by a numerous garrison. Scindia had made it a grand depôt for artillery and military stores. The brave young Bruce, who led the escalading and storming party, was one of a family insensible to danger—he was brother to Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller. Gualior had long been deemed impregnable by the natives: it was only about 190 miles from Delhi, amount more than 50 from Agra, which was then Scindia's capital. The Mahrattas abandoned all the neighbouring country and carried terror and dismay into Agra. The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Popham was about the last public act in India of Francis. A hollow reconciliation had been effected between the governor-general and this member of the supreme council, Francis agreeing to cease or moderate his opposition, and Hastings agreeing to allow Francis a larger share in the distribution of places of honour and profit. But the temper of one of these contracting parties was uncontrollable, and so were the suspicions and antipathies of the other. If Hastings on vital occasions could suspend his resentments, he was not of a forgiving temper; and Francis had offered him insults difficult to be forgiven by any man, unless on a deathbed. He attributed the far greater part of the agony of mind he had endured, and of the risks he had run, to the "incendiary impressions" of the exclerk of the war-office. "Francis," said he to a confidential correspondent, " is the vilest fetcher and carrier of tales to set friends, and even the most



FORIRING OF GUALION

intimate friends, at variance, of any mun I ever knew. Even the apparent levity of his ordinary behaviour is but a cloak to deception."* The governor-general moreover felt that he was not governor so long as Francis remained as a check upon him; and never was man more eager for a single and supreme authority, or what he called " an undivided form of government." Even after his compact with Francis he declared with bitterness—"I am not governor. All the powers I possess are those of preventing the rule from falling into worse hands than my own. . . . I came to this government when it subsisted on borrowed resources, and when its powers were unknown beyond the borders of the country which it held in concealed and unprofitable subjection. I saw it grow into wealth and national consequence, and again sink into a decline that must infallibly end it, if a very speedy remedy be not applied. Its present constitution is made up of discordant parts, and contains the seeds of death in it. I am morally certain that the resources of this country, in the hands of a military people and in the disposi-tion of a consistent and undivided form of government, are both capable of vast internal improvement, and of raising that power which possesses them to the dominion of all India."† Now Francis's constant theme was that this dominion of all India was a wild and dangerous dream; and, as to power in the government, he proclaimed daily and almost hourly that Hastings had already a great deal too much. Under all these circumstances it was utterly impossible that the compact should be binding, or that the truce between the governor-general and his opponent should be lasting. The agreement had been entered upon

in 1779, when Hastings received his re-appointment as governor-general, but only for a single year; and when Mr. Barwell, his steady supporter, was impatient to return to England to enjoy the fortune he had made. Barwell, however, had consented to remain, to vote for his friend, if Francis could not be induced to forego his opposition to the extension of the Mahratta war in the direction of the Jumna and Agra, or would not consent to its being conducted according to the plans of the governor-general, who willingly took the whole responsibility upon himself. Francis had agreed to be neutral on these points, and thereupon, or in consequence of this agreement, Barwell had taken his departure for England. Incensed at the renewal of opposition and the pains taken to thwart the campaign of Popham, Hastings, on the 14th of July (1780), in answering a minute of council, declared,-" I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Upon this, Francis could not do less than challenge the governor-general; and, not being veiled and defended by the impenetrable cloud and mist that hung over Junius, he was shot through the body.* The wound, though dangerous, did not

6 "Judging it unbecoming," says Hastings, "to surprise him with a minute at the council-table, or send it first to the secretary, I enclosed it in a note to him that evening. The next day, after council, he desired me to withdraw with him into a private apariment of the council-house, where, taking out of his pocket a paper, he read from it a challenge in terms. I accepted it, the time and place of meeting were fixed before we peried, and on the morning of the Thursday following, being the 17th, between the hours of five and six, we met. We exchanged shots at nearly the same instant; mine entered his side just below the right shoulder, and lodged in the opposite side under the left. He fell, and was conveyed to a house in the neighbourhood."—Letter to Suirons, dated Suite of Asystic, as genes by Mr. Oleig. This letter contains Hastings's on a scount of the whole transaction, which certainly makes the conduct of Francia appear in very

prove mortal; but he resigned his place and returned home a few months after receiving it. The resort to the pistol was in these times common in India, where men's tempers seemed to become as fiery and as peppery as the favourite dish at their tables. This was the second duel in which Hastings himself had been engaged.

Between Goddard and Popham the most brilliant successes had been obtained, and the Mahratta war promised a complete triumph, when the Mysoreans again took the field, threatening ruin to the English power and possessions on the Coromandel coast. For the space of seven years Hyder Ali had been concerting schemes with the French at Pondicherry, improving and increasing his army, and preparing the nerves of war by a financial system which has been much applauded, but which appears to have consisted mainly in extortion from his subjects and plunder from his neighbours. Hyder could neither read nor write; but he had a sort of mental arithmetic which is described as being wonderfully rapid and correct; and he was assisted by learned Brahmins, said to be great financiers, or, at least, great accountants. He had adopted the common Indian practice of squeezing his treasurers, finance ministers, and collectors; and when they escaped him by death he got at their money by torturing their family and servants. These utter horrors were as common almost in every part of the East, from Pekin to Constantinople, as was the practice of secreting treasure—a practice which gave rise to them, and which had not been unknown in Europe, and even in England, in the middle ages, when men buried in the earth what they could not secure in trade or in banks, and the possession of which they could not own without danger. One of his Brahmin dewans sent a dying declaration that the full amount of his fortune was 50,000 pagodas, and honestly come by; and he implored as a favour that his master would receive the money into the treasury, and leave his family in peace when he should be gone. Hyder not only took the money, but made a merit of excusing the bereft family from the usual process of torture; which, he doubted not, would have led to the discovery of concealed hoards. His next dewan, also a Brahmin, was tortured until he disgorged all he had, and was then dismissed, a cripple and a beggar. The successor to this victim was a Mussulman, the first of that religion he ever employed in the finance department: he was esteemed an able and an honourable man; but after a while he too was seized, and he

dark and dirty colours. As, however, the agreement between him and Francis was a verbal one—neither party could have ventured to put down such a bargain in writing—there is a want of documentary evidence to establish the charges of broken faith, &c Hastings, in deed, produced a paper containing the following words: "Mr. Francis will not oppose any measures which the governor-general subtraction of the war in which we are prosecution of the war in which we are prosecution of the war in which we are prosecuted be engaged with the Mahratias, or for the general support of the present political system of his government." But the paper was not signed, and Francis declared that, though the paper had been shown to him, he had never agreed to it, or bound himself by its contents. It thus became a question of personal honour and veracity, for Hastings could not disclose the whole of the bargain or call upon Mr. Barwell, who had been a party in it, to do so

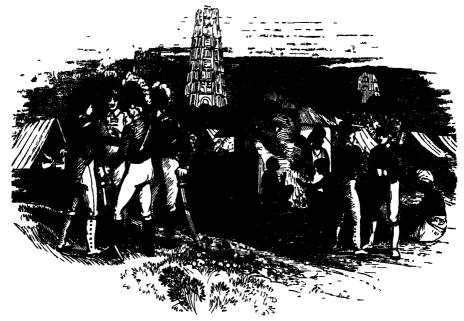
died under torture inflicted to extort money which he did not possess. The next dewan, on being dismissed from office, declared that he was neither poorer nor richer than when he first ventured or was forced into the employment; that all the money he possessed amounted to 10,000 rupees, the exact sum he had when he became dewan. Nevertheless he was thrown into prison, where he died: the 10,000 rupees which he had mentioned—and no more were found in his house, and Hyder took them from his family, who were left to starve or beg.* We presume that the English and French writers who have so highly applauded Hyder's financial system would not have chosen to be his ministers of The treasury of Mysore was certainly well filled, and all the weight which money could give was on the side of Hyder, when, in the summer of 1780, after prayers in all the mosques, and ceremonies in all the Hindu temples, he quitted Seringapatam and poured through the ghauts with 15,000 drilled infantry, 40,000 peons, 28,000 cavalry, 2000 artillery and rocket-men, and 400 Europeans, Frenchmen and other adventurers. There was a complete staff of French officers to direct operations according to the best rules. The artillery exceeded one hundred pieces of all calibres. To meet these long preparations and this immense force, the presidency of Madras had an empty exchequer, a divided and factious council, an army not exceeding 6000 men, counting sepoys, who formed by far the largest part of it; and these troops, wholly unprepared, were scattered over a wide tract of country, in Pondicherry, which had been taken from the French, in Trichinopoly, in Arcot, in Madras, in cantonments far apart, and in forts incapable of resisting a battering train, or badly supplied with provisions and stores. As for the forces of their ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic, there was no reliance to be put in them: they ran away, or they described to Il as soon as his army defiled through the ghauts. It was difficult to collect the detachments; and they were hardly anywhere strong enough or quick enough to check the rapid advance of the Mysorean. Porto Novo, on the coast, and Conjeveram, close to Trichinopoly, were captured and plundered; the people were flying in all directions from fire and sword towards the English presidency; and the flames kindled by Hyder were seen by night from the top of Mount St. Thomas. Blacks and whites gathered under the guns of Fort St. George as the only place where they could be safe, and the neighbouring villas, the Black town, and Madras itself, were descried by their panic-stricken inhabitants. Almost the first thing the presidency did was to dis-

Colonel Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India.—The honest missionary. Schwartz, who lived some time in Mysore, and who was admitted to his presence, said of Hyder, "He is served through fear: two hundred people with whips in their hands stand always ready for duty; not a day passes on which numbers are not floggod. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike—gentlemen and horsekeepers, tar-gatherers and his own sons. It will hardly be believed what punishments are daily inflicted on the collectors. One of them was tied up, and two men came with their whips and cut him dreadfully: with sharp nails they tore his fiesh asunder, and then scourged him afresh: his shrieks rent the air,"

patch a fast-sailing ship to Calcutta, with letters and agents, to implore the governor-general to send them help, but above all money; and Hastings and the supreme council were told that if they sent money all would go well, but that without money every thing must be lost, and a death-blow be given to the British empire in India. We shall presently see how Hastings answered to this appeal, and the terrible means he adopted to procure and continue the enormous supplies that were really required to save India.

To complete the embarrassments of the presidency of Madras, the arrival of a French armament on the coast, to recover Pondicherry and co-operate with Hyder, was confidently reported. The presidency issued contradictory orders to the officers

commanding the detached parts of their army, and there appears to have been no concert or good understanding among the chief commanders of their forces. One place of rendezvous was named, and then another; and the two main divisions, which might have repulsed the invaders if united, never formed a junction, and were beaten separately one after the other. Colonel Baillie, with a lamentable deficiency of judgment, allowed himself to be surrounded, near Conjeveram, by the whole host of Hyder, with upwards of sixty cannon. But the bravery of his small body of men was even more conspicuous than his own folly. Though worn out by forced marches, and almost sinking with hunger, sepoys, as well as British, kept their ground with a spirit that has rarely been surpassed. But



ENCAMPMENT AT CONJEVERAM.

for the French staff around him, Hyder would have given up the contest and retreated. The English repelled charge after charge, and the fire of their platoons, as regular as the motions of a machine, inflicted terrible slaughter. But, at half-past seven in the evening, when the battle had lasted for many hours, and when Hyder's troops appeared to be commencing a retreat without orders, two tumbrils blew up, killed a number of men, overset their guns, and left the English almost without amnunition. Still they kept their ground, and they continued fighting on till nine o'clock, when all the sepoys that remained were broken and cut to The British that survived—less than 400 in number, and most of them wounded-gained the ridge of a hill and formed in square, the officers fighting with their swords, the men with their

bayonets, or only now and then burning a cartridge. They resisted many attacks, and would have resisted more if Colonel Baillie had not gone forward to ask for quarter, waving his handkerchief and ordering them to lay down their arms. It is said that Baillie committed a mistake in supposing that his signal was favourably answered; it is said that some of his men would not lay down their arms, and continued to use them; but the undisputed termination of the affair was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English and a horrible captivity to the rest. Of eighty-six officers thirty-six were killed and thirty-four wounded and mangled. The young soldiers of Hyder and his son Tippoo amused themselves with fleshing their swords and exhibiting their skill on men already helpless and dying, on the sick and

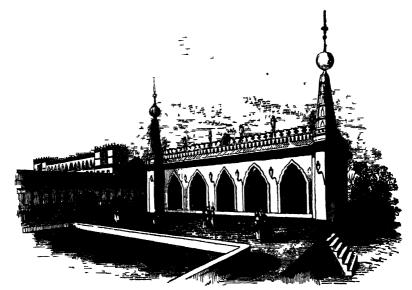
wounded, and even on women and children. The prisoners that were taken and allowed to live were stripped of their clothing to the last remnant, and none escaped this brutal treatment except a few who were saved by the humane interposition of French officers * Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the other main division of the Madras army, was within a short march of Hyder's rear, delayed by want of rice and other necessaries. Upon learning the dreadful catastrophe he abandoned his tents and baggage, threw his heavier guns into a tank, and fled rather than retreated to Chingleput, and thence to Mount St. Thomas and Madras, being followed the whole way by clouds of Mysorean horse. A great part of the country was again laid waste, and, within a few weeks from Hyder Ali's first descent, Wandewash, Chingleput, Vellore, and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged. But for Hastings there was an end to our power not only in the Carnatic but also in the Northern Circars. He too had to contend with an empty treasury and with a council that was still far from unanimous. Money, however, was procured, and fifteen lacs of rupees were sent off to Madras as a present supply for the army; more money was promised, and the governor-general's missives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where Hastings had a claim or could invent one—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the East. If he could have coined his body, and his soul too, into lacs of rupees he would have done it at this tremendous crisis. The inept governor of Fort St. George, or Madras, was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote, who had fought under Clive at Plassey, who had defeated Lally and Bussy at Wandewash, and who had taken Pondicherry in the last war, was invited to take the command of Fort St. George, and the entire management of the war with Hyder Alı. Peace was concluded with Scindia. Popham was recalled from the Jumna, and amicable arrangements were adjusted with the other Mahratta powers, under the guarantee of the Rajah of Berar. Sir Eyre Coote, who had only recently returned to India as commander-in-chief of Bengal and a member of the supreme council, had not always agreed with Hastings at the council table; but, in the moment of danger, he gave him his entire support, recognized the spirited wisdom and decision of his plans, and, though infirm and suffering, undertook the command. Some faint murmurs of opposition or disapprobation were heard from Francis, who had not yet taken his departure; but the imminence of the peril, and the conviction of the necessity of agreement and of energetic measures, would not permit men to listen to himmand Hastings, at every demur or hesitation of the council, offered, in the manner of Clive, to take all the responsibility upon himself. Not a moment was

• Colonel Wilks, Sketches of the South of India; and Memoirs of the late War in Asia.

to be lost; for if the French armament should arrive before Coote, then all would be lost. Five hundred choice British troops were embarked at Calcutta, and with these, and six hundred lascars and between forty and fifty gentlemen volunteers. the Indian veteran sailed for Madras on the 23rd of October. On the night after his departure there arose a terrible storm, which continued all the next day. Some alarmists whispered that the veteran and his little army had gone to the bottom of the Bay of Bengal; but the squadron weathered the storm, and after a very quick passage got safe to Madras. Foreseeing that further reinforcements would be required in the Carnatic, and knowing, since Goddard's progress to Surat, that the native troops might be trusted on the longest marches, Hastings resolved that another detachment should be got ready and sent to Madras, not by sea, but by land; he strained every nerve, he looked out for the best officers and the best men, and early in the ensuing year (1781) Colonel Pearse, a counterpart of Goddard, started from Calcutta with five small regiments of native infantry, some native cavalry, and a proportionate train of artillery, to find or force his way through Cuttack, the Northern Circars and half of the Carnatic, a distance of more than 1100 miles, and through a country intersected by many rivers, which were all to be crossed where broadest, or nearest their mouths. Pearse and his detachment overcame all obstacles, performed the journey, got to Madras at a most critical juncture, and were emmently useful in that quarter. In the mean time Coote had commenced operations with 1700 Europeans and about 5000 native troops, by marching to recover Wandewash, the scene of his greatest exploit. Hyder Ali, terrified at his name, abandoned Wandewash with the utmost precipitation, raised several of his sieges, and seemed more than once inclined to fly altogether, or to treat with Coote at this juncture the arrival of a French fleet obliged the English to change their line of march; and after a few days Coote encamped on the hills behind Pondicherry, in the roadstead of which there rode at anchor seven French ships of the line and four frigates. On taking Pondicherry, Sir Hector Monro had contented himself with destroying the fortifications, and putting a very small garrison into it, which had been withdrawn at the beginning of Hyder's present invasion. The French officers had given their parole, the inhabitants had been allowed to continue their trade; but the temptation was too great, and when it was seen that the English were flying in all directions, and known that an armament was coming from France, they clapped the English resident into prison, flew to arms, enlisted sepoys, and collected provisions for an army at Karangotty, at a convenient distance from Porto Novo. Coote disarmed the inhabitants of Pondicherry and then marched away to destroy the depôt. Hyder, emboldened by the arrival of the French ships, had descended to the coast; and he now moved on the right flank of the English, rapidly and with the

evident intention of protecting the depôt, and keeping open his communications with the fleet. At one time the two armies were very close to each other; and Coote, with the spirit and nimbleness of former years, mounted his horse and rode along the English lines, telling his men that the day was come for beating Hyder. But the Mysorean would not accept the challenge to battle; and in a very few days he moved rapidly back into the interior, despondent and terror-stricken at the departure of the French ships, which, with the old apprehension of the approach of a superior English squadron, set sail for the Isle of France on the 15th of February, 1781. Coote could not follow Hyder, for a sickness broke out in his camp, and the country had been so wasted that he could not find forage for his cattle. Penetrating into Tanjore, Hyder continued his ravages in that beautiful and productive district; and his son Tippoo returned to Wandewash, and even laid siege to that town. Sir Edward Hughes with an English squadron destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and about the middle of June arrived at Madras with some reinforcements from Bombay. On the 18th of June Coote attacked the fortified pagoda of Chillambram, but was repulsed with considerable loss. In a military sense, however, the loss was a gain, for the affair of Chillam-

bram gave Hyder such confidence that he came again down to the coast and encamped at Cuddalore with the determination to risk a battle rather than permit Coote's advance to Trichinopoly and Taniore. Hyder took up good ground and raised formidable redoubts according to the plans drawn for him by French officers; yet, nevertheless, he was completely defeated by the English, who advanced from Porto Novo and attacked him in his lines on the 1st of July. The old Mysorean, seated on a portable stool upon a hill in the rear of his army, was thrown into a fit of madness by Coote's most unexpected success; he raved and tore his clothes, refusing to move from the apot, till an old servant pulled his slippers on his legs, and put him on a fleet horse. Coote had no cavalry to pursue him. He ordered his son Tippoo to raise the siege of Wandewash, and he retired himself to Arcot quite crest-fullen. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirit and resources of his enemy. "The defeat of many Baillies," said he, " will not destroy these English. I can rum their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea." He bitterly regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French counsels; he still more bitterly complained of having been amused by idle expectations of a great French force from Europe. He, however, recovered heart enough to risk another



THE ROYAL PALACE AT AR OF

battle for the defence of Arcot The ground he chose was the very spot where Baillie's detachment had been annihilated, and which he therefore considered a lucky spot. He was again defeated, but this time, owing to some squabbles and jealousies among the superior English officers, Coote's army suffered much more than in the preceding affair. This was on the 27th of August. On the 27th of September another battle was fought

m the pass of Sholinghur, near Bellore. Here Hyder was routed with terrible loss, and the fortress of Bellore, one of the keys of the Carnatic, almost reduced to extremities by famine, was reheved and saved. The rains, the monsoon floods, and the rising of the rivers, put an end to further extensive operations; but before Coote retired into cantonments, Chittore, Palipett, and other places were retaken.

In the meantime an able and a truly excellent men had arrived from England as governor of This was Lord Macartney, who landed *** Fort St. George on the 22nd of June of this resent year (1781). His lordship brought intel-ligence of the declaration of war between England and Holland; and his first care was to make himself master of all the Dutch factories or settlements on that coast. Sadras surrendered upon summons; Poulicat, having a regular Dutch garrison and a corps of Hyder's army quartered in its vicinity, offered resistance; Fort St. George had not a soldier to spare, it had been drained of men and almost of stores to supply Sir Eyrc Coote; but Lord Macartney put himself at the head of some gentlemen volunteers and Madras militia, and on the approach of this force Poulicat surrendered. These operations were only a prelude to the siege and capture of Negapatam, the chief of all the Dutch settlements, and which, being situated on one of the mouths of the Cavery River, and close to the frontier of Tanjore, was of immense importance both in a commercial and a military point of view. Hyder, in scouring Tanjore, had drawn assistance and supplies through this port. His lordship had still no troops to dispose of; but Admiral Hughes had good marines and sailors ready for anything; and on the 21st of October the seamen and marines were landed in the neighbourhood of Negapatam to co-operate with a small detachment under Colonel Brathwaite, who had maintained himself in the Tanjore country, and who now crossed the Cavery. With admirable rapidity ground was broke and a battery raised of ten 18-pounders, and by the 12th of November, Negapatam, with all that it contained, was ours. Among its contents were six thousand five hundred and odd men—a number far exceeding that of the besiegers, counting marines, seamen, and all-a vast quantity of arms and warlike stores, and a double investment of goods for Europe, no ships having arrived from Holland in the preceding year in consequence of the alarm created in the Dutch East India Company by Commodore Fielding's attack on the squadron of Count Beyland.* Nothing more remained in that quarter to take from them; but on the other side of Palk's Strait, not many leagues from the Coromandel coast, was the island of Ceylon, all access to which the Dutch had most jealously guarded for more than a hundred years, and there they possessed the famed town and port of Trincomalce, one of the most important in all India, the most secure place of refuge for ships surprised by storms or overtaken by the violent monsoon, and so conveniently situated with reference to the English settlements on the Coromandel coast, that a vessel may reach it from Madras in two days. It was a depôt too of "the sweet e," or cinnamon, and of pearls of great price. Macartney resolved to add it to the list of conquests. Admiral Hughes, taking on board only 500 land troops, sailed from Negapatam on the 2nd of Ja-

• See ante, vol. 1 p 421.

nuary (1782), and by the 11th of the same month the English flag was planted in Trincomalec, the Dutch making a most feeble resistance." Colonel Brathwaite, after assisting in the reduction of Negapatam, returned into Tanjore with the view of recovering some of the fortresses of that country which had been taken by Hyder and his son Tippoo rather through bribery than force. By the same arts Brathwaite was deceived and misled by the Tanjoreans; and while encamped on the left bank of the Cavery he was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed on the 18th of February by Tippoo and a French corps, after maintaining a most unequal struggle from sunrise to sunset. † This severe blow was almost immediately followed by the arrival on the coast of M. de Suffrein with ships and an army 3000 strong, two-thirds being veteran French troops and the other third Caffres picked up at the Isles of France and Bourbon. Hyder and Tippoo were in a rapture of joy; yet the wily old Mysorean, upon reflection, was alarmed at the greatness of the force of his allies, and made up his mind never to admit them in force into Mysore. Admiral Suffrein had had an adventurous voyage. Among the Cape de Verd Islands he had encountered the squadron of Commodore Johnstone, who, after an indecisive battle, had followed him as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and who probably might have spoiled his voyage if he had not preferred capturing five rich Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay. 1 Johnstone returned home with his prizes; but a part of his squadron, with the transports and Indiamen having on board troops for India, followed in the track of Admiral Suffrein. The French put into the Isle of France, where they were joined by several other ships, some of the line, some frigates. The English, whose crews were very sickly, stopped at the island of Johanna for twenty or four and twenty days, when they continued their compfor the western coast of India, hoping to form a junction with Sir Edward Hughes, land the troops, and then with united force destroy Suffrein's fleet. But the English were becalmed for several weeks; and when within 260 leagues of Bombay they were caught by the changing monsoon and carried to the coast of Arabia Felix. At the beginning of December the winds allowed them to resume their voyage; and, under the impression that the French armament was destined for that neighbourhood in order to co-operate with the Mahrattas in conformity with engagements made by M. Lubin at Poona, part of the fleet ran for Bombay, and part continued in quest of Admiral Hughes, who had left the western for the Coromandel coast several

Sir John Barrow, Account of the Public Life of the Earl of Ma-

^{*} Sir John Barrow, Account of the Funda Line 5. Since these of Colonel Baillie's: he had only 100 English, 1500 sepoys, and 800 cavalry; while Tippoo had 10,000 house, 10,000 infantry, 20 pieces of cannon, and 400 Europeans commanded by French officers. The French decided the long and obstitute context by charging the exhausted sepoys with the bayonet. The massacre of the prisoners was prevented by the feeling and spirit of the French officers, who were seen risking their own lives and cutting down Tippoo's savages to prevent it.

¹ Vol. 1 p. 470.

months before, and who was at this time at Negapatam or at Trincomalee. The first of these divisions reached Bombay on the 22nd of January: it had part of the troops on board, under the command of Colonel Humberston Mackenzie. officer, on learning that all was quiet in that neighbourhood, and that the real scene of the war was on the opposite coast, sailed almost immediately for Madras; but, in consequence of fresh intelligence reporting that Hyder was triumphant in the Carnatic, that Madras was in danger, and that the French fleet was assembling in great force on the Coromandel coast, by which he must pass, Colonel Mackenzie, after consulting a council of war, resolved to attempt a diversion on the Malabar side of Hyder's dominions, and on the 18th of February landed his troops at Calicut. Mackenzie had scarcely 1000 men; but there was already an English detachment on that part of the coast, and when the forces were united the colonel was strong enough to drive before him a Mysorean army, to take several towns and fortresses, and to create great alarm in the mind of Hyder, who was forced to weaken his army in the Carnatic in order to check Mackenzie. Suffrein did not leave the Isle of France until some time after the English squadron had left Johanna; but his voyage was more fortunate than theirs, and he reached the Coromandel coast early in January, having captured on his way the Hannibal, a fifty-gun ship, which had been separated from the rest of the English squadron.* His approach was made known at Madras by the arrival of some country ships flying from his pursuit. Several of these vessels, loaded with grain for the supply of the half-famishing army of Sir Eyre Coote, were taken by the French. Sir Edward Hughes, leaving a small garrison in Trincomalee, returned to Madras, and was fortunate enough to arrive there on the 8th of February, without encountering the very superior force of Suffrein, although he had passed very near it. With equal good fortune the part of the squadron from England which had separated from the rest on the western coast ran past the French and joined Hughes at Madras on the 9th,† Sir Edward now counted nine sail of the line; but six of these ships were foul and damaged from long service. On the 15th Suffrein appeared in the offing, and sent in his lighter vessels to reconnoitre the English force. The report was vexatious and disappointing, as he had counted upon fighting Hughes with his six ships of the line only; and although he had himself twelve ships of the line and six frigates he was not over anxious to engage. He was as brave a man as ever fought under the white flag or any other national standard; but the positive orders of his government were to act with extreme caution, as their finances could not bear

the equipping of another fleet for this distant service, and if he lost his ships there would again be an end to the hopes of the French in India. The English admiral, fully expecting an attack, placed his ships, with springs on their cables, in the best position to defend themselves and the numerous transports and trading shipping which lay in the road. Instead of coming in, Suffrein stood away to the southward. Hughes, having taken on board some provisions, and some sound men to supply the places of his numerous sick, weighed and followed the French. On the 16th the English ships that were clean and coppered came up with and captured six sail of Suffrein's convoy, one of these sail being a large French transport loaded with shot, powder, and guns, and having on board many officers and 300 men, the other five being English transports which had been captured a few days before by the French. Suffrein, as Hughes had anticipated, bore round to protect his convoy. The two fleets came close together during the night, and on the following day, the 17th, they came into action. Suffrein had the double advantage of the weather-gage and concentration of force, for some of Hughes's ships had fallen away to leeward-the original superiority of force remaining the same, i.e. twelve ships of the line, without counting the frigates, against nine. The brunt of the action on the English side, indeed, was borne by only five ships; and two of these, the 'Superb' and 'Excter,' suffered severely, though, after the old fashion, more in their masts and rigging than in their crews. When the 'Exeter' was a wreck, and when two French ships were bearing down to attack her in that condition, Commodore King asked his sailing master what he should do with the ship. "There is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks," was the master's reply. But a sudden squall brought up the ships to leeward and gave the British the advantage of the wind; and in twenty-five minutes more Suffrein suspended the conflict, and bore away for Porto Novo. Hughes made for Trincomalee. as the most convenient place for repairing his ships. His killed and wounded amounted to about 130. The captain of the 'Exeter' and the captain of the 'Superb' were among the slain. Suffrein's loss in men was more considerable; but his ships, or at least his masts and spars, were less damaged.*

The 2000 French and the 1000 Caffres landed at Porto Novo were under the command of M. Bussy, who, no more than Coote, was the man he had been twenty years before. They united with the army of Tippoo; but they performed no exploit till the beginning of April, when they besieged and captured Cuddalore, a convenient station for their fleet. A few days before this capture Suffrein quitted his anchorage at Porto Novo in quest of a fleet of English Indiamen which had arrived upon the Coromandel coast under the escort of two line-of-battle ships which had on board a king's regiment. Hughes, who had completed his repairs and re-

[•] The Hannibal, on the clearing up of a thick fog, found nerself in the very midst of Suffrein's fleet; but she was not taken without a desperate combat.
† This division of the squadron consisted only of three ships of the line and some transports, and it must have been sarrideed if it had fallen in with Suffrein. The loss would have been almost fatal, for the ships contained about 1000 or 1200 English soldiers.

^{*} Captain Schomberg s Naval Chronology.—Ann. Regist.

turned to Madras, instantly slipped after him to protect the Indiamen. The English admiral met this merchant fleet and saw it safely into the roadstead of Madras, and then taking the two escorting ships of the line with him he hastened to throw some provisions and reinforcements into his recent conquest, Trincomalce. On the 8th of April Mughes found himself almost within gun-shot of Suffrein's fleet; but he pursued his course for Ceylon to execute his more immediate object, and was closely followed by the French. He made the coast on the 11th, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincomalee, for which place he bore away during the night. On the morning of the 12th, when the English ships were close upon a dangerous leeshore, the French having the weather-gage and crowding all sail came down upon them and brought them to action under almost every possible disadvantage. The combat began at noon, became general at three o'clock, and lasted till dark; but after all it was a drawn battle, in which both sides suffered very severely, and neither could boast of the advantage, although there remained to the English sailors the honour of having overcome by their skill and steadiness the natural terrors of the situation they were in when first engaged. The number of killed and wounded was about equal, being stated on either side at from 500 to 600 men. For six or seven days the hostile fleets lay close to each other repairing their damages, which rendered them incapable of renewing the conflict. After some manœuvres which seemed to announce his intention to attack, Suffrein ran along the Ceylon coast to Battacolo, or Baticalo - another Dutch settlement-and Hughes ran into Trincomalce.*

From Cuddalore, Bussy and Tippoo advanced against Wandewash; but Coote, though suffering from a recent and violent apoplectic attack, advanced rapidly to the relief of that place, and on the 24th of April encamped on the very spot where he had defeated Lally and Bussy in the year 1760. Instead of accepting the battle he offered, Bussy and Tippoo retreated before Coote and his prestige. The English then threatened the strong fort of Arnee, where Hyder had deposited plunder and provisions. The old Mysorean advanced in person for the defence of this place, and fought a loose, irre gular battle, in which he sustained some loss; but, while he was thus facing Coote, his son Tippoo succeeded in carrying off the plunder and provisions from Arnee. After these operations Bussy retreated towards Cuddalore and Pondicherry. Hyder put himself in quarters near the coast, and Tippoo and some strong French detachments hurried away to Calicut, where the affairs of his father seemed going to utter ruin, for the Nairs or Hindu chiefs of the Malabar coast, who had been cruelly oppressed by the Mysoreans, were rising in arms, and joint the English force under Colonel Mackenzie. At this juncture, when experience had shown him that even with the aid of his European allies he could not maintain his ground in the Carnatic, or face the English,

· Captain Schomberg's Naval Chronology.--Ann. Reg.

Hyder was thrown into dismay by learning the result of Hastings's successful policy, or the conclusion of the treaty between the English and the Mahrattas. He expected every moment to have the Mahratta confederacy upon him; and the Mahrattas alone had on a former occasion proved more than a match for him. "I must go alone," said the perplexed and suspicious old tyrant, "against these faithless Mahrattas, who will be falling on Mysore, for I dare not admit the French in force to my own country." His health, which had been declining for some time, was shaken by his anxieties and still increasing suspicions. He had long been haunted by visions of conspiracy and murder. Once, when asked by his familiar companion, Gholaum Ali, what made him start so much in his sleep, he replied, "My friend, the state of beggars is more delightful than my envied monarchy, forthey see no conspirators when awake, and dream of no assassins when asleep." He, however, permitted himself to be persuaded by Bussy that the war in the Carnatic was far from hopeless, that means might be found to counteract Hastings's negotiations and win back the Mahrattas, not merely to a neutrality, but to a close alliance; and, while the cunning old man amused Sir Eyre Coote, and kept him inactive, by the intimation that he might accede to the governor-general's treaty with the Mahrattas and become a party to it, he was preparing to co-operate with Bussy in an attack upon Negapatam. The operations of the French and English flects, on which the success of the powers contending on shore mainly depended, were of a curious and a complicated kind Having refitted in Ceylon as best they could, Suffrein and Hughes returned to the coast, and on the 3rd of July fought another drawn battle, but one in which the French suffered by far the greater loss, and were only saved from a total defeat by one of those sudden shiftings of the wind which make sea-battles with sailing ships so much a matter of chance. Suffrein, however, who was as skilful as he was brave. had the merit of availing himself of his chance with admiral seamanship and dexterity. After the battle the French. went to anchor at Cuddalore, and the English to Madras. Suffrein was the first to be ready for sea, and, making again for Ceylon, and being joined on that coast by two more ships of the line, fresh from Europe, and with a strong body of troops on board, he dashed into Trincomalee Bay and summoned the forts and town. There had not been time to put these forts even in decent order, and the garrison, originally weak, was reduced by the sickliness and swampiness of the situation; but, well knowing that his antagonist, Hughes, would not be long behind him, he offered the most honourable terms in order to procure a capitulation before the English fleet should arrive. The garrison surrendered on the 31st of August, and on the 2nd of September Hughes arrived. Preferring fighting with sea-room to being attacked in the bay, Suffrein came out, and another battle, far more desperate than either of the preceding

ones between him and Hughes, took place, the French having sixteen sail of the line, and the English twelve.* For three or four hours the centres of the two lines were hotly engaged, ship to ship, the rival admirals, in the 'Superb' and 'L'Heros,' fighting with the greatest fury. At halfpast five in the afternoon there was a short hush; but Hughes, wearing round with all his ships, and with wonderful order and rapidity, renewed the attack with advantage and with double vigour. Suffrein's mainmast was shot away by the board, and his mizenmast soon followed it. At seven o'clock the French, with a slackened fire and in some confusion, hauled their wind and became exposed to a most galling fire from the ships in the English rear. As night set in the whole of the French fleet ran back to Trincomalee, and in such hurry and confusion that one of their best ships ran ashore and was lost, and two others missed the broad mouth of the bay and fell down the coast. The English were in no condition to pursue: they had lost in the action 51 in killed and 283 in wounded, and the rigging of most of their ships was ruined. Among the slain were Captain Watt, of the 'Sultan,' Captain Wood, of the 'Worcester,' and the Hon Captain Lumley, of the 'Isis.' It appears that Suffrein's captains had been more careful of their lives; and he was so much dissatisfied with the conduct of some of them in the action that he immediately broke six of them and sent them prisoners to the Isle of France. He concealed as much as he could the loss he had sustained, but it soon became known that the slaughter had been great beyond precedent; that in his own ship, which was crowded with men, about 140 were killed and 240 wounded, and that his entire loss in killed and wounded exceeded 1000. Admiral Hughes returned to Madras, where he found Sir Eyre Coote determined to make an attack upon the French lines at Cuddalore, though almost deprived of the use of his limbs by another attack of paralysis. Coote required the admiral to remain to co-operate with him, and he was the more eager upon this point, as he now learned the concerted attack of Hyder and the French on Negapatam: but Hughes, who had considered himself ill used both by the general and by Lord Macartney, or the council of Madras, represented that he could not stay with any safety to his ships during the monsoon, and insisted upon going round to Bombay, where he could properly refit his shattered fleet. It is said that shelter might have been found for him nearer at hand on the Coromandel coast; but it is not so clear that Hughes could have found there the accommodations, materials, and workmen he wanted, though Suffrein had contrived to do wonders in this way at Cuddalore, improvising an arsenal or ship-yard, and, to encourage others, working himself in his shirt-sleeves like a common shipwright.

It is possible that, but for his ill humour, Hughes would have remained; but, if he had remained a day longer than he did in Madras-roads, he would. in all human probability, have been a sacrifice, and the entire loss of his fleet would have been added to other tremendous calamities. He sailed on the 15th of October, and was well out at sea before night. In the course of that night the well-known roar of the coming monsoon was heard by anxious ears in Fort St. George and the town of Madras, and the surf began to shake the coast; and by the next morning the strand was seen covered with wrecks or fragments of merchant-ships that had stayed behind when Hughes took his departure. The sight was every way dreadful, for some of these ships were loaded with rice for the garrison, the town, and the army; and every bag of rice was lost when there seemed no possibility of procuring another supply by sea or by land. There had been a scarcity before, but now there was absolute famine Thousands of the poor natives of the Carnatic, who had fled from Hyder to seek refuge under the guns of Fort St. George, were the first to feel these horrors: they died by hundreds, and they soon had fellow-sufferers. The roads that led to the town, the streets of the town itself, were strewed with the dead and dving; and nothing was heard but cries, and moans, and unavailing prayers for relief addressed to men who had not a grain of rice to spare, and who might soon be subjected to the same want and agony. It is said that 10,000 souls perished before supplies of rice were obtained from Bengal and other parts. Four or five days after the departure of Sir Edward Hughes, Sir Richard Bickerton put into Madras-roads with a squadron of ships of war and land troops from England; but, having no provisions to spare after his long and tedious voyage, and considering it to be at once his duty and the only mode of securing his safetymenaced by the monsoon and by the vast superiority of Suffrein—to join the admiral, he put again to sea, and ran round Cape Comorin and up the western coast to Bombay. Shortly after Sir Eyre Coote, in a deplorable state of health, set sail for The command devolved to General Stuart, who sent 500 men to reinforce the garrison at Negapatam, 400 Europeans to co-operate with the Bombay army under Goddard (who was preparing to invade the dominions of Hyder from the west), and 300 Europeans into the Circars, where a French invasion was expected, but never took place. In fact, both Bussy and Suffrein became inactive at the very moment when activity would have been attended with the greatest chance of success. They did not attack Negapatam, when its garrison was weak and unprepared; they did. not intercept or attempt to intercept the weak squadron of Sir Richard Bickerton, who passed them and repassed them at no great distance; they made no attempt against Madras when it was panic-stricken and famine-stricken, and they allowed the place to be revictualled from the Circars and from Bengal, though a few frigates

We count 50-gun ships as ships of the line, which at this period they were rechoused. Sufferin had four 50-gun ships, and Hughes only one: in seventy-fours and sixty-fours the French had twelve, the English eleven ships. The numbers of guns were—Ruglish, 794; French, 954.

anight dante, stopped the grain-ships and compelled a telepender through hunger: Various other causes many he : Imagined as contributing to this passivemon, such as shattered and ill-repaired ships, temperturns weather, poverty, and a lack of provisions ar stores in the French quarters; but the greatest change of all probably was the declining health and spirit of Hyder. Tippes, his son and heir, was gone to the Malaber coast with an army of 20,000 men and a French corps 400 strong. Colonel Humberstone Meckenzie was pressing on Mysore from the south, and was preparing for the siege of Palagatcherry, not many marches from Seringapatame having dispersed the Mysorean army that attempted to cover the fort, when the approach of Tipped constrained him to retreat towards the coast. On his way back Mackenzie blew up several forts which he had taken in his advance. He halted at Paniany, a seaport town about 35 miles from Calicut, and there resolved to defend himself against Tippoo and the French, who, during the latter part of his march, had pressed closely on his rear and caused him some loss. On the following morning (the 28th of November), before day broke and before he could put the place in some defensive order, he was attacked by the enemy in four columns advancing from different points, and being guided or headed by the French. His sepoys were driven in at one point, and two or three of his guns were taken before the British-born part of his troops got under arms; but presently the pride of High-land regiments, the gallant 42nd, advanced to the charge, and drove French and Mysoreans before them at the point of the bayonet, and with a terrible slaughter, for the columns had got mixed and confused, and Tippoo had blocked up the roads and avenues with masses of horse and foot, who had no inclination to fight at close quarters themselves, but who impeded the retreat to those that had engaged. At last, however, the whole host withdrew, leaving nothing behind them but killed and wounded. The lesson he thus received was a severe one, and it is not credible that Tippoo either contemplated making another attack upon lines that were every hour becoming stronger, and that were defended by 900 choice British troops besides sepoys, or proceeding by blockade to reduce a town which was open to the sea, and situated on a coast where the entire population favoured the English cause. But at this juncture Trppoo received intelligence of his father's death, and it behoved him to look after his inheritance, for he had brothers and cousins. therefore turned his back upon Paniany, and made all haste to secure the musnud and the treasure. Hyder Ali died of a disease known to the Hindus under the name of the raj-pora or rajah-hoil, from its being supposed to be peculiar to persons of row rank—an Indian king's-evil—and called by Mohammedans the "crab," from a fancied resemblance to that creature in the swelling behind the neck, or the upper portion of the back, which is the first, indication of the disorder. French physicians and surgeons, were called in, but their

science was as ineffectual as the conjuring and the charms of the native practitioners in caring a dangerous disease in an octogenarian. The " Tiger"—for such, being translated, is the approprinte name of his son and successor-had reached the manly age of thirty years when he assumed the reins of government, with an army of 90,000 men. a treasury containing three crores of rupees in hard money, and a mass of booty, jewels, and other valuables, estimated at an immense amount. With these resources, with the French alliance, and with a passion for war and aggrandizement, Tippoo scorned all overtures for a peace with the English -overtures which his wiser father would certainly have accepted, if he had lived a few months or a few weeks longer. Having performed the last duties to the remains of Hyder, he hastened to join the main army of Mysore, well provided with money and presents to secure their allegiance. This was at the end of December. On the 4th of Jamuary (1783) General Stuart took the field against him. The Mysorean army, though joined by 900 French, 2000 sepoys, 250 Cadres, and twenty-two field-pieces, all sent by the French from Cuddalore, retreated before Stuart, whose entire force consisted of about 14,000 men-but nearly 3000 of these were British-and crossed the river Arnee in disorderly haste. Tippoo had recalled his garrison from Arcot and other places, and it became evident that he was evacuating the whole of the Carnatic. He was not, however, flying so much from Stuart as flying to defend his own dominions. Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, soon after the retiring of Tippoo from the Malabar coast, marched his sepoys by land, and sent his Highlanders and other British by sea, northward to the coast of Canara to co-operate with a part of the army from Bombay, in reducing some of the richest provinces or dependencies. Mysore. The march was long, the voyage stormy, but the junction of the forces moving to meet each other from such opposite and distant points was effected in the course of the month of January, when General Mathews, who had arrived at Bombay, from England, with king's troops, in the preceding autumn, took upon himself the command of the whole. The fort of Onore was taken by storm, the range of rocks which runs between the coast and Bednore. and which varies in height from 4000 to 5000 feet above the level of the sea, was scaled, the steep ghauts, though defended at intervals by batteries. were cleared by the bayonet, and on the 26th of January the rich capital of Bednore surrendered to Mathews without firing a gun. It is said that this easy conquest was owing to the small affection entertained by the governor and garrison and the people of the country to their new master Tippoo. or to some old animosities and grudges existing be-

The precise date of the birth of Hyder Al; is not ascertained, but he is supposed to have been at least 80 years old when he died. His body was secretly deposited in the obscure tomb of his father, at Colar; but Typpoo subsequently caused it to be yenoved to the superly manualesum at Saringapatam, which is still endowed and carefully kept up by the English.

tween him and the governor. With the capital the English got possession of a considerable portion of that fertile prevince. Most of the other forts surrendered at or before a summons; but Ananpore and Mangalore held out. Ananpere was carried by storm, and Mangalore, on the coast, surrendered as soon as a breach was made. The further operations of this combined force were hampered by quarrels and complaints about the division of the spoil. General Mathews refused to divide any, part with the officers and soldiers, which was the more illiberal and irrational as the men had received no pay for many months. Colonel MacLeod, Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, and Major Shaw left the army and repaired to Bombay to lay their complaints before the governor and council of that presidency. Upon their representations Mathews was superseded, and Colonel MacLeod, raised to the rank of brigadier-general, was sent back to Bednore, to take the command. Humberstone Mackenzie and Major Shaw accompanied MacLeod; but on their voyage down the coast they were attacked, in a weak small vessel, by five Mahratta pirates, who killed or wounded nearly every Englishman on board. Major Shaw was dispatched outright; Colonel Mackenzie, the of the best officers that had ever served in India, died of his wounds; and MacLeod was cagried into Gheriah. In the mean while Mathews had been acting like a madman: he had scattered his army all over the country in contemptible mud forts or open towns; he had sent the 42nd back to the coast; and he had fixed his head-quarters in the city of Bednore, without laying in a stock of ammunition and provisions, or doing anything to strengthen the fort. He was in this state of stupid security when Tippoo, on the 9th of April, appeared in the immediate neighbourhood with an immense army which secured the ghauts and cut off all communication between the coast and the town. Mathews threw himself into the fort of Bednore, but any prolonged resistance was impossible, and, very honourable terms being offered by Tippoo, he capitulated on the last day of April. But instead of permitting the general and has troops to withdraw to the coast, according to the terms of the capitulation, Tippoo bound them with chains or ropes, and sent them into Mysore to be thrown into horrible dungeons, excusing his conduct by accusing Mathews of purloining some of the public treasure which he had agreed to leave in the fort." But this mode of treating prisoners was all along a fixed rule of conduct both with Hyder and his son. After this success Tippoo went through the ghauts and down to the scaporttown of Mangalore, in which the 42nd and some fragments of Mathews's army had thrown themselves. This was considered a most important point, as the harbour was the best on the coast of

Omners; and about the middle of May, Tippoo and his French allies invested Mangalere. They counted on a short and easy conquest; but the siege detained them from more important operations for months, and after all Mangalore was not taken. The sudden departure of the main army of the Mysoreans had left General Stuart acarcely any enemies to contend with, in the Carnatic exceps the French and their sepoys, who remained behind their fortified lines at Cuddelore. Sir Egre Coote had returned to the coast to resume the chief command, but a third fit had proved fatal to him, and he had died on the 26th of April, three days after landing at Madras. Stuart appeared before the French lines on the 7th of June, but there was no proper concert or co-operation between him and Admiral Hughes, who had returned to the coast; the French had been allowed time to erect works that were really formidable, and part of Suffrein's fleet, being left unmolested in the harbour of Cuddelore, was enabled to lend material assistance. And, as if time enough had not been given them to complete their preparations, Stuart lay from the 7th to the 13th of June before the French lines doing nothing. If he considered the co-operation of the fleet as essential --- which it certainly was--he ought to have waited a day or two longer. But, on the 13th, he began to attack in these dolumns at three different points. His signals were musunderstood, the attacks were not made sizualtaneously, and the French making a sortic did terrible execution upon his disjointed army; and after he had broken into their lines at one point, and carried and occupied some of their works, he was compelled to retreat to his camp. In this unfortunate assault a very important military doubt was removed, and that was whether native troops, under any training and under the best officers, would stand the bayonet charge of European troops. A battalion of Bengal sepoys, a part of the force which had merched from Calcutta with Colonel Pearse, not only stood a charge but drove back the French at the point of their own bayonets, and with severe loss. On the very next day Sir Edward Hughes appeared in the offing, but Suffrein appeared at the same time, or nearly so, and got between the English fleet and Cuddalore. The two admirals, sometimes in sight of the lines and the English camp, and sometimes out of sight, tacked and manœuvred from the 18th to the 20th, each trying to get the weather-gage or some advantage over the other. But on the 20th Suffrein engaged at long shots, firing for twenty mirates before a single shot was returned by the British line. Then, the two fleets being somewhat closer, Hughes replied with a warm cannonade; but Suffrein, who had the advantage of the wind, chose his own distance, and hever brought his ships to very close quarters. Four or five of Hughes's ships were so unmanageable that they fell off to lerward and could scarcely be brought into action at all. Some of Suffrein's were so tleaky that the crews were obliged, during the action, to divide their labours between their pumps and their guns.

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[•] Mathews had retrainly gained a sad character for repacity and sollishness; but Tippoo's accusation was probably not more true than the charge brought against him by his own army, which made the amount of plunder he had secured amount to more than 800,000f. In mosey, besides jewels! Bedinre had ones been a very weaking only, but it had been visited too often by Hyder to be very rich mow.

As it grew dark the two old antagonists separated, each with a good number of killed and wounded on his decks, but without either capturing or losing a single ship: and thus indecisively ended the fifth and last engagement between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein. The next morning the French were out of sight; but on the 22nd Sir Edward Hughes discovered them at anchor in Pondicherry road, and gave them an invitation to another battle, which they declined. Hughes, declining to attack them where they were, put into Madras, and Suffrein immediately got his whole fleet into the harbour of Cuddalore, where he landed every man he could spare to assist Bussy in defending the lines against General Stuart. Altogether the force now collected within these works must have been equal or superior to the force outside of them. This encouraged the French to attempt several sorties and surprises, which were not however very successful. In one of them, made at the dead of night, several Frenchmen were wounded and taken prisoners, and among them was a brave young sergeant, whose youth, gallantry, and superior manners attracted the attention of Colonel Wangenheim, who was serving under General Stuart with a corps of Hanoverians, and who had the young man conveyed to his own tent, where he was treated with every possible kindness. That wounded young sergeant was Charles John Bernadotte, afterwards General of the French republic, Prince and Marshal of the empire, Prince of Ponte Corvo, Crown Prince of Sweden, and now Charles John XIV., King of Sweden, Norway, &c.*

A few days after this, when Stuart was expecting to be reinforced by Colonel Fullarton, and was preparing for another desperate assault, the news reached Madras that a treaty of peace had been concluded between France and England. A flag of truce was immediately dispatched to M. Bussy, who, though he had not received any French dispatches, and though even the intelligence of the English was not official, agreed at once not only to a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, but also to invite Tippoo to be a party in these pacific arrangements. The Mysorean at the time was ruining his army in ineffectual attempts to take a half-ruined fort and town. Though alarmed at the prospect of being left alone in the war, he did not seem very anxious for peace, for more than a month passed before M. Bussy received any answer to his letter. His tone even then was high, his vakeels intimating that everything the English had taken from him or his father must instantly be restored, and not speaking quite so plainly as to the restitutions to the English on his part. Lord Mar cartney, however, sent three commissioners to acc pany his vakeels to Seringapatam in order to

treat there. Tippoo all the while continued his siege, and made several desperate efforts to get possession of Mangalore before entering upon negotiations. Nor were military operations suspended by the English. Colonel Fullarton, an excellent officer, who had arrived from England with some of the reinforcements at the end of the preceding year, was making a rapid progress in the country beyond Tanjore when he was called back to the coast to assist Stuart in that premeditated attack which was stopped by the news of peace. He had taken (on the 2nd of June) the important fortress of Daraporam, in the province of Coimbatoor, which opened one of the roads to Seringapatam, and was only about 140 miles from that capital. "This valuable place," says Fullarton himself, "affords ample supplies of grain and cattle, is capable of considerable defence, and is far advanced in the enemy's country, being equally distant from the two coasts. Although the position of an army there would always be of eminent advantage, it was more peculiarly so when we reduced it, because Tippoo Sultaun had recovered Bednore, captured General Mathews, and invested Mangalore. southern army [the army which Fullarton commanded was so called] was not in sufficient strength to think of marching to Seringapatam, and was so far from being able to oppose the whole power of Tippoo, that we could not even afford to garrison Daraporam, and were obliged to destroy the fortifications. Yet we might assuredly have reduced the rich tract that lies below the mountains of Mysore, which would probably have forced Tippoo Sultaun to raise the siege of Mangalore, and march his main body against us; or, if Tippoo had persisted against Mangalore, we should have amply subsisted the army, have reduced a valuable territory, and prepared for more important conquests. But General Stuart's orders to manifold towards him at Cuddalore obliged me to relinquish those advan-Fullarton, however, left a garrison in Dindigul, another important fortress, built on a granite rock, which he had gallantly taken by storm, and made other arrangements to keep open his communications, and to facilitate his return towards the heart of Mysore. Colonel Forbes, whom he left behind him in the south, carried out these arrangements with much ability, and established friendly relations on all sides. When the main English army was withdrawn from before the lines

Colonel Wilks, Sketches of the South of India. The interest of the anecdote is completed by the fact that more than twenty years after, when Bernadotte took possession of Hanover as a conqueror, he met the kind-hearted veteran, then General Wangenheim, and testified to him his grataful recollection of what had passed in front of the lines at Guddaloro.

[•] A View of the English Interests in India; and an Account of the Military Operations in the Southern Parts of the Peninsula during the Campaigns of 1782, 1785, and 1784; by William Fullarton of rullarton, M.P. Stuart certainly spoilt this promising campaign. The whole of his conduct had given universal dissutifaction. Lord Macariney, as soon as the trace was concluded with M. Bussy, submitted a motion to the council at Madras, whose commands and instructions had been repeatedly disobeyed and despised by the general, that Stuart should be dismissed from the company's service. The motion was unanimously adopted. Stuart then insisted that he had a right to retain the command of all the king's troops that were serving on that coast—and it appears to us that in ordinary circumstances this right could not be disputed—and he spoke loudly of using force against force. Decisive steps were necessary, and Lord Macartney was hold enough to take them. He dispatched his private secretary (the present Sir John Barrow, we believe) and the town adjutant, with a party of sepoya, to take the general prisoner in his villa near Madras. Shuart, who appears to have offsered no resistance whatever, was carried to the fort, and in a day or two shipped off quietly for England.

of Ouddalore, Lord Macartney reinforced Fullarton with about 1000 Europeans and with four battalions of sepoys, and instructed him to resume the campaign which Stuart had interrupted. After reducing the numerous polygars of Tinivelly, who had all thrown off their allegiance to the company

at the commencement of Hyder's invasion, and who had been ravaging the country from Madura to Cape Comorin, being assisted or encouraged by the Dutch at Colombo, who kept up a traffic and correspondence with the Cape from the opposite coast of Ceylon; after reducing a number



GROUP OF POLYGARS. From Armed Figures in the collection of Sir Samuel Mayrick

of their forts and carrying one of their forestswhich, like the Cingalese of Ceylon, they considered their best fortresses—and reducing these polygars to their former state of quiet and tribute; and after chastising the hill colleries, who had been committing horrible excesses,-Colonel Fullarton, with 16,000 fighting men, and many more thousands of camp-followers, continued his march to Dindigul and Daraporam without money or any other means of supply, except such magazines of the enemy as he might be enabled to reduce. He was, however, well provided with artillery, shot, and gunpowder, which had been collected from the southern garrisons; and the Rajah of Travancore, who had given a cordial support to Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie, engaged to furnish some stores and provisions in the event of his moving against the southern-coast possessions of Tippoo. A correspondence was also opened with the Zamorin, or ancient Hindu sovereign of Calicut, and with the other rajahs on the Malabar coast, whom Hyder had dispossessed of their sovereignties, and most barbarously treated. All these princes or chiefs, eager for repossession and revenge, agreed to contribute what little aid they could; and other parties, less interested in the overthrow of Tippoo, occasionally furnished some

stores and provisions, and took bills upon the presidency of Madras in payment. But Fullarton adopted other measures, which contributed in a much greater degree to facilitate his progress, to insure success, and to gain the good will and esteem of all parties. He gave up some paltry duties, which former commanders had been accustomed to levy upon all articles bought or sold in the bazaar or market of the army, for the sole benefit of themselves and staffs; he completely checked plundering by hanging two or three of the first offenders; he paid the greatest respect to the deep-rooted religious prejudices of the natives, and he enforced that respect on the European soldiery; and, having no money to pay, he endeavoured to gain credit for his drafts by kind treatment, and friendly explanations as to the faith and stability of the company. He also made a material change in the mode and order of marching, which hitherto had been by files, so that a large army was many miles in length with little communication between the distant parts of the line; he established a system of intelligence, the want of which precention had led to many disasters in this war; and so complete and effective was this system, that statements were procured, not only of

the military force of the enemy, but also of the grain deposited snywhere within 200 miles of his front and dank. Several hundred people—cunning matives, who have a natural genius for the occupation of acouts and spies, and who, after inspection, can model you a fortress m clay and show to a nigety its strong and its weak points-were constantly employed on these services, and confidential intelligencers were established at every considerable town in Mysore, in the durbars of the rajahs, in the very camp of Tappoo "On the first notice of any material incident, these intelligencers dispatched small cadjeans,* which were more rapidly conveyed to me than any horse could travel, by tappals or relays of colleres, stationed at moderate distances, and unsuspected by the enemy. Harcarrahs, peons, lubby-merchants, and sepoys were also constantly traversing all parts of the enemy's country; others carrying dispatches to Madras and the southern provinces, to Travancore, to Cochin, to the Malabar rajahs, to General MacLeod at Cannanore, to Colonel Campbell at Mangalore, and to the residency at Telicherry The intelligence of every individual was carefully registered, and tended to confirm or to refute the various intimations constantly arriving. By these means, during many months of continued marching through a country almost unexplored, we never once failed in our supplies, nor did any materral incident escape our knowledge." + For a short time Fullation halted in the neighbourhood of Daraporam, waiting for intelligence from the three

" 'Cadpeans," says Colonel will arton in a main, "rare thick leaves resembling the papyrist, on which the Gentons withe 'They are strips of the enormals leaves of the tallings or sultput true universally used for writing manage they impalses and the people of the distance of the colonial true of south of the interface. It is interfaced to the colonial true of true of the colonial true

commissioners; but, on the 16th of October, when he was informed, by an official letter from the residency of Telicherry, that Tippog had recommenced active hostilities at Mangalore, he took immediate measures to resent the insult. His mind, and that of the council at Madras, had been divided between two plans-I. To march right across the peninsula through an enemy's country, 500 miles in extent, to the relief of Mangalore. 2. Or to advance upon Seringapatam, and either overthrow the dynasty of Hyder in their capital or compel Tippoo to hurry from the coast in order to save that capital He determined upon the latter movement, though not by the direct road, which offered no intermediate place of strength in which to lodge stores and provisions for the prosecution of his undertaking, or in which to secure a retreat in case of a reverse. But there was a more circustous route which presented this essential recommendation, and several other military advantages. Palagatcherry, nearer to the coast, had been completely rebuilt by Hyder, was furnished with most of the advantages of European fortification. and was considered one of the strongest fortresses in India: the mountains bounding the pass which it commended were covered by thick forests through which there was no passage, and the plain below, a fong and wide extent of deep rice-grounds, was cut and intersected, like a chess-board, by the Paniany River, and might be defended by a small body of caractry against all Tripped cavalry. The fort further commanded the only practicable communication between the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; it opened the means of supply from Travancore, Cochin, Calicut, and other places, its occupation by the English would afford confidence the Zamorin and the other disaffected chiefs



TRICKERSY From a Painting by C. Kirkhell.

from Cochin to God, who were all struggling to shake off the yoke of Tippoo, and it would leave Fullarton at liberty to disguise his movements, and to proceed to the siege of Seringapatam by the route of Coimbatoor and the pass of Gudjereddy, or by the sea-coast foute to Calicut, and then through the pass of Damalcherry. The colonel therefore determined to capture Palagatcherry, and, on the 18th of October, he began his march, apparently with a confident hope that it would end under the walls of Sermgapatam. Carrying several little forts on his way, and passing through a country abounding with dry grain, rice, cattle, and wood, he soon reached the high ground of Palatchy, whence the streams run east and west to the Coromandel and Malabar seas. But beyond this point his progress was slow and most difficult, for he had to force his way through a forest twenty miles in depth, with frequent torrent-courses and ravines within it. These ravines had to be filled up before it was possible to drag the heavy guns across them; -innu-

merable large trees which obstructed the passage required to be cut down and drawn out of the track, and then the whole road was to be formed before the carriages of the army could pass. Fourteen days were spent in these arduous labours, and in getting the materials of the army through that dense forest; and, to increase their toils and dracomforts, a tremendous rain, altogether unexpected as being unusual in other parts of India at that season of the year, began as they first entered the wood; and never ceased till they had cleared their way through it. The ravines were filled with water-the bullocks lost their footing-and the soldfers were obliged to drag the guns and the carriages mearly the whole of the way. There was no possibility of pitching tents, or of procuring for them any kind of cover or comfort. Difficulties and operations like these elevate the character of the Indian service, and they were frequent. Goddard and Pearse, for example, in their long marches, had often to make the road by which they were to advance.



FULLARION CAMBRIDE A MOCKETAIN-STREAM, IN MIS MARKET ON PALLARITHMETER. From a Drawling by Desiral.

On the 4th of November the van and the mathing body emerged from the forest, and resulted a position on the Paniany River. On the following day, a part of the engineer stores arrived, and the river was crossed. The Pettah, or open town of Palagatcherry, was presently occupied, and a fire was opened on the east and north faces of the fort. But it was the 9th before the heavy battering train

swill be brought to the transposent.—"after a succession of toils," says Fullarton, "that would appear incredible if related in detail." On the night of the loth the garrison called out for quarter, and collected up a place capable of making a long resistance. The English found in the fort 50,000 pagodas in money, together with a very large supply of grain, guns, powder, shot, and military stores. The

som of the Zamerin of Calicut,—or, as the colonel in riumphant conclusion he urgently solicited the English commander to restore him to the domimions of which Hyder had deprived his family. Fullarton declared that, in the event of his moving by Calicut, he might hope to effect his re-establishment in that city, the ancient capital of the Zamorine; and, as a pledge of his good intentions, he put him in immediate possession of the territory of Palagat, an ancient dependency of Calicut, only requiring from him that he should furnish grain for the army while in that vicinity, and imposing no other obligation until the conclusion of the war, or until the government of Madras should make some regular agreement with him. Fullarton's intercourse with the Hindu prince, and with the Hindu population of the country, was carried on by means of a large body of Brahmins, who constantly attended the army, and whose entire friendship he had secured. Accompanied by these influential agents and interpreters, the colonel frequently rode through the adjacent villages, assembled the head people, and assured them of protection. During these proceedings he maintained his correspondence with Brigadier-General MacLeod, who hud been liberated after a short captivity at Gheriah, and also with Colonel Campbell, who commanded in Mangalore, intimating his intention of approaching their coast, and his earnest wish for a joint movement and an advance in full force against Seringapatam. But the English residency at Telicherry could not, or would not, furnish some additional artillery and stores; Sir Edward Hughes, who was then at Telicherry with part of the fleet, declined sending a vessel with stores to Paniany; and MacLeod represented, that, though most willing to unite in prosecuting the movement to Seringapatam, he could not put his army in motion in less than two months for want of bullocks and other things. Fullarton, therefore, gave up the notion of proceeding by the sea-coast to Calicut and the pass of Damalcherry, and took the route that led by Coimbatoor to the pass of Gudjereddy. was annoyed on his march by a large body of Mysorean cavalry, who threw rockets; but, on the 26th of November, he sat down before the fort of Coimbatoer, which surrendered to him before he could finish a battery. Here, too, he found a great quantity of grain, ammunition, and stores. Money there was none; but the adjacent fields were covered with rich crops, which promised resources for the future. Coimbatoor, though a place of no strength, was important from the high estimation in which it was held by the Hindu population as the very ancient capital of a rajectipip, trated, and where the old gods of India had never been disturbed until a comparatively recent period. Every ancient rajdh flew to arms, or made preparations for doing so; all the Hindus, between the ghauts and the sea, encouraged by the presence of

General MacLeod, the advance of Fullarton, and the still continuing failure and losses of Tippeo before Mangalore, were in open revolt, or ripe for it; and in the country above the ghauts, in the very centre of Mysore, Fullarton's Brahmins had excited the Hindus, who were far more numerous even there than their conquerors, and who engaged to render every possible assistance to the English arms." The Coorga rajah, a powerful chief under the mountains that separate the Malabar country from Mysore, was actively asserting his independence; and General MacLeod, strong in Europeans, artillery, and native corps, moved from point to point, sometimes by land and sometimes by sea, to keep up this flame all along the coast, and to co-operate wherever his services might be most useful. Nor were these all the enemies that were girding in Mysore; for General Jones was at the same time advancing in the Cuddapah country, or northern and inland possessions of Tippoo, where his power was ill established, and his person and government not more popular than they were on the coast. "The army under my own direction," says Fullarton, "was perhaps the strongest force belonging to Europeans that had ever been employed in India. The countries we had reduced extended 200 miles in length, afforded provisions for 100,000 men, and yielded an annual revenue of 600,000%. while every necessary arrangement had been made for the regular collection of these resources. The fort and pass of Palagatcherry secured our western flank, and the intermediate position of General Mac Leod's army between Palagatcherry and Tippoo's main army at Mangalore, together with the singular combination of ravines, rivers, and embankments that intersect the Malabar countries, and the mountains that divide them from Mysore, (the passes through which were occupied by our friends the disaffected rajaha) dered it almost impracticable for Tippoo to move in that direction against our new acquisitions. To attack them by a movement through the passes of the ghauts, on the eastern flank towards Salem and Erode, supposed a circuit of 500 or 600 miles from the position of Tippoo's army before Mangalore. His movement, therefore, against these acquisitions could only be attempted by the central pass from Mysore at Gudjereddy, which is not fifty miles in front from Coimbatoor: and the possession of that pass assured us an immediate access to the capital of Tippoo's kingdom, commanding a communication with our new acquisitions, and with the company's southern provinces."+ The Coorg, or

[&]quot;A recent conspiracy," says Colonel Fullarian, "had occurred in Seringapatam, menacing the releasement of the English prisoners, the excitation of Tippoo's family, and the re-establishment of the ancient Rana, or Gentoo sovereign, of Myeore. In addition to this enumeration of advantages, we had every reason to rely us the Gentoo or Canara race, forming the great mass of inheshiparts in Myeore, who had unequivocal proofs of my carnest seal to support their interests and favourthe family; while every shouthestands of patient attention or of future prospect seemed to mark this interesting moment as the crisis of the war."

† View of the English Interests in India, &c. Colonal Fallarian adds:—"Besides, as fix as the system of defending front, Sanka, and rear can ever be extended from the position of an entry to the tappographical circumstances of a country, it would enable ug, to secure

Coorga, rajah, whose territories extended to within thirty miles of Seringapatam, promised abundant supplies; and the more faith was placed in these promises, as the young Zamorin, who had faithfully kept his own engagements in furnishing grain abundantly, confirmed and guaranteed them. This prince likewise engaged that all the Hindu chiefs on the west would not only provide for the English during the siege of Seringapatam, but form magazines in strong positions among the mountains, and, if required, join with 20,000 or 30,000 nairs, all animated with hatred and revenge. Fullarton had provided his army with ten days' grain, repaired the carriages, and was on the point of pushing forward to Tippoo's capital with the utmost rapidity and with every assurance of success, when, on the 28th of November, he received the commands of the English commissioners, who were treating of peace at the durbar, and who were invested by the council of Madras with full authority over the army, to restore immediately all posts and forts, all the country lately reduced, and to retire within the limits occupied by the English on the 26th of July. Feeling himself at liberty neither to disregard this peremptory order nor to obey it to the extent of its literal signification, Fullarton recalled his own orders for advancing towards Seringapatam, stayed at Coimbatoor for further instructions, and sent letters to the commissioners on the Malabar coast, and an aide-de-camp to the council at Madras, to explain his situation, and the situation of Mangalore, which was still invested, and to prove that the forward movements contemplated and prepared by him would put the throne of Tippoo in the utmost danger. The colonel employed the interval which followed in adding to the completeness of his equipments, in collecting supplies in Dindigul, in procuring money at Tinevelly, and in bringing up arrack and ammunition from Cochin and Paniany. No soldier could abandon such a scheme as he had formed at the very moment when the prospect of success was brightest without a bitter pang. Ten days of march, with little or no fighting,—for there was no Mysorean army in the neighbourhood except irregular cavalry - would have brought Fullarton under the walls of Seringapatam; at that time ten more days might have sufficed for the reduction of that capital: the events of twenty-five years might have been anticipated, an inestimable amount of money and of blood might have been saved, the power of the British in the whole of the south of India might have been established, and a quarter of a century might have been won to the cause of order and tranquillity. But Fullarton had to feel the bitter pang;—the bright perspective which his arms had opened was destined to be smeared over by diplomatic ink and orders in council. About the middle of December he received another letter

those territories from any considerable irruptions. At this period, too, the chumba, or great crop, throughout the country was upon the ground, and, independently of the magazines in our front, promised ample provision.

from the commissioners repeating their former instructions, and also the minutes of a consultation from the government at Madras, directing him to fulfil the order of unqualified restitution enjoined by the commissioners, as the preliminary of negotiation with Tippoo Sultaun. Upon this the army of the south began to retrace their steps towards Tanjore and Trichinopoly, to the dismay and grief of the poor Zamorin and the other Hindus who had openly committed themselves with Tippoo, in the belief that the army was not only to remain to protect their country, but to continue its triumphant progress until the power of the Mysorean should be no more. Fullarton had scarcely begun his backward march when events occurred which must have made the council and commissioners regret the positive orders they had But, throughout, the commissioners had blundered, and had done nothing but mischief, partly through their own fault, and partly through the care taken by Tippoo to shut them out from all communication with the English army. Instead of going to the head-quarters of Tippoo, and following in his train like supplicants, these deputies ought to have remained with the main body of the British army, with the forces under Fullarton. They had scarcely got within the power of the enemy when they found themselves treated more like wretched hostages than ambassadors; they were commanded to send Colonel Campbell orders to evacuate Mangalore, at that moment almost the only security the English had for the lives of their officers and men who had fallen into the clutches of the "Tiger;" they were not allowed to enter Seringapatam, or to have any communication with their unfortunate countrymen imprisoned at Bangalore and other places; they were hurried down, through a most rough and inhospitable country, where some of their cattle, and even some of their attendants, perished through fatigue and want, to Tippoo's camp near Mangalore, and neither on their journey nor on their arrival there were they permitted any freedom of correspondence, all their letters being intercepted, and their bondage made so strict that even Fullarton's artful Brahmins who got at everything else could not get at them. From the camp these negotiators had the opportunity of witnessing some of Tippoo's proceedings, and of hearing of sundry others that took place before their arrival. Seeing how Mangalore was defended now, and reflecting how speedily it had been surrendered to General Mathews, he came to the conclusion that his governor, Rustum Ali Beg, must have been either a traitor or a coward; and therefore he cut off that poor governor's head. Yet, in truth, the place was contemptible, and scarcely defensible at all, except by troops like the 42nd, and an unyielding commander like Colonel Campbell. When the siege began the garrison consisted of about 700 British troops, counting officers and all, and about 3000 sepoys; while Tippoo's force was estimated at 50,000 or 60,000 cavalry of all kinds.



MYSOREAN CAVALRY. From Armed Figures in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick.

30,000 disciplined infantry, 600 French infantry under the command of Colonel Cossigny, a small body of French, Dutch, Portuguese, and natives mixed, under the command of an officer of the King of France; having among them all nearly 100 pieces of artillery. Batteries were crected by the besiegers on the north, the east, and the south; on the west was the sea; the paltry fortifications on the northern side were knocked to pieces, and almost levelled; one broad breach was made after another; but every time the besiegers attempted to storm they were driven back at the point of the bayonct. weapon was also employed in frequent sorties made by the garrison, wherein batteries were taken, guns spiked, and great slaughters committed. On one occasion, when the siege had lasted for months, a general assault was made from every side except the sea, which remained open and free to the garrison; but the result was most disastrous to Tippoo's army. By an unpardonable negligence in the presidency of Bombay, sufficient supplies were not thrown into the place, and Campbell and his brave companions were beginning to feel the approaches of famine, when news arrived of the conclusion of peace in Europe and in the Carnatic. M. Cossigny, after vainly endeavouring to prevail upon the Mysorean to join in the treaty, withdrew with the regular French troops under his command; but many French officers, with all the less regular European forces, remained to assist in the siege. After many other cannonades and most fruitless attempts at storming, Tippoo consented to a cessation of hostilities, including Onore, which had made as heroic a defence as Mangalore itself, and another small fort on the coast which had both been held by a mere handful of British troops. By this armistice Tippoo agreed to allow Colonel Campbell to purchase provisions in the country at the same rate as that paid in his own camp; but as soon as the English began to buy they found either that there was nothing to be sold, or that the prices were exorbitant. This was Tippoo's management. Twelve rupees were asked for a fowl. At last the

country people were forbidden under penalty of ears and noses to sell anything for any price; and the English were reduced to the uncleanly diet of horseflesh, rats, mice, frogs, snakes, and carrion-birds. It is said that they even shot and eat the jackals that descended by night in packs from the woods and hills to devour the bodies of the dead. Matters were in this state on the 22nd of November, when an English squadron appeared off the town. The ships were filled with the army of General MacLeod, who, in his anxiety to co-operate with the native chiefs along the coast, committed the monstrous absurdity of making a fresh agreement with Tippoo, and then sailed away without landing any provisions. This new agreement was a counterpart of the former one, and it was observed in the same manner. Instead of permitting the English garrison to purchase wholesome food, Tippoo allowed them to procure nothing but some damaged stores, so fetid and foul that the very decrewould not eat General MacLeod returned to Mangalore, but it was only to commit a fresh folly in again taking the word of Tippoo. This was on the 31st of December, or about a fortnight after Fullarton had begun his retrograde movement. Colonel Campbell had soon occasion to acquaint MacLeod that as soon as his back was turned the Mysorean again began to starve him. The general then sent a letter accusing Tippoo of broken faith. The Mysorean replied in a letter written by one of his Frenchmen-" It is one lie, or mensonge." This fired the blood of the Highlander, and he wrote again— " Permit me to inform you, prince, that this language is not good for you to give, or me to receive; and that, if I was alone with you in the descrt, you would not dare to say these words to me."*

* Colonel Wilks, Sketches of the South of India. General Mac Level conshided this curious letter with a curious challenge to Tippoo. "If," said he, "you have courage enough to meet me, take 100 of your bravest mon on foot, and meet me on the sea-shore. I will fight you, and 100 of mine will fight with yours." A quarter of a century after this Highland challenge was sent the English found in the palace at Seringapatam a book entitled "The King of Histories," written under the dictation or immediate directions of Tippoo himself, and containing orientally exaggerated accounts of his own bravery and exploits. In this manuscript the challenge was alluded to, and

Leod would have done better by sending a vessel ! with some provisions to the famishing garrison. Indeed we can scarcely understand his proceedings on the coast when for two or three months he seems never to have been very far from Mangalove. Colonel Fullarton, however, praises him for his active and spirited conduct; and no doubt, if the main army of the south had been allowed to continue its advance on Seringapatam, the value of the general's services might have been felt. But at the moment Fullarton began to retire those services might have been suspended, and some time and care devoted to Campbell and his heroic garrison, who were now suffering the double calamities of disease and famine. Two-thirds of the men were sick and helpless, and those that remained on duty could scarcely carry their muskets and cartouchboxes. The number of deaths was great for so small a force, and daily increasing; it must naturally have occurred to Colonel Campbell that there was no use in keeping that single and by no means good or defensible position when all the rest of the coast and country was to be given back to the enemy; and at last, on the 23rd of January, 1784, after sustaining a siege and blockade of nine months, he agreed to quit Mangalore upon honourable conditions. Tippoo had lost before those rotten walls, by war, sickness, and descrition, nearly one-half of his immense army; but he considered the place as a charm on the possession of which the fortunes of his house depended, and he was made so happy by entering into it that for once he kept his engagements, and allowed Campbell, with his troops and baggage, sick and wounded, to march unmolested to Telicherry. At that place Campbell died soon after, worn out by the fatigues and sufferings he had General Mathews, a very different man, who had capitulated at Bednorc, was deliberately murdered in prison, together with several of his officers.

Mangalore was scarcely evacuated, and Fullarton had not reached the old boundaries, when he received orders from Madras to reassemble his army, to prepare for a recommencement of hostilities, and to regain if possible possession of Palagatcherry, which had been left in the hands of the Zamorin. But before any succour could be sent to him that Hindu prince was surrounded by Tippoo's troops, who scared him and his adherents out of the fort by sacrificing a number of much venerated Brahmins, and exposing their heads on poles. Palagatcherry was therefore to be regained only by a fresh siege. As Fullarton was concentrating his forces, and was receiving considerable reinforcements from Fort St. George, and some heavy ordnance from that place and from Tanjore, a letter reached him from the commissioners, dated near

Tippoo's answer to it—or, at least, an answer he said he had sent to it—was Theoried. After calling MacLood a Nasarene, and all the Nasarenes idolaters and monsters additted to every vice, this note went ou—" if then has any doubt of all this, descend, as thou has twritten, from thy ships, with thy forces, and taste the Savour of the blows inflicted by the hands of the holy warritors, and besied the terror of the religion of Mohammed."—Of course the "King of Histories" ends this story by saying that the British general field immediately.

Mangalore, on the 11th of February, or just nineteen days after the evacuation of that place. This letter spoke of the continued enmity of Tippoo, and convinced Fullarton that a renewal of the war was unavoidable an opinion which was soon afterwards confirmed by a letter from General MacLeod: He immediately began to advance with the main body of his army, and was again flattering himself with the hope of being the conqueror of Seringapatam, when he received intelligence that preliminaries of a peace had been exchanged between the commissioners and Tippoo Sultaun, and along with this intelligence orders from the commissioners to restore the forts and countries of Carroor and Daraporam, but to keep possession of Dindigul, and station a strong force there until the English prisoners should all be liberated from their horrible captivity. The commissioners, the governor and council at Madras, every man in India, knew that there was no confidence to be placed in the faith, humanity, or moderation of the "Tiger;" and they must have forceen the bloodshed and devastation which awaited the wretched Hindus of Coorg, Canara, and Mysorecalamries far more terrible than the expulsion of the Rohillas from Rohilcund, and befailing a people far more tranquil, amiable, helpless, and interesting than those soldiers of fortune; -but the negotiations were justified by the tenor of instructions and orders received from the British government and from the court of directors, by the actual state of our political relations in Europe, and by the impoverished condition of the company's territories. Yet assuredly France would not have gone into a new war solely to defend Tippoo; and, as for poverty, Fullarton had shown that an army might be supported in the enemy's country without money, and the capture of Seringapatam and the reduction of Mysore would have enriched the company, not merely with a great present booty, but also with a large permanent revenue. The retention of the districts which Fullarton had conquered would by their revenues alone have soon paid the expenses of another campaign; and nothing but absolute fatuity could have prevented another campaign from finishing the story of Tippoo Sultaun. It was, however, that tyrant's fate that he should be left to scourge his kind, and to renew his contest with the English when he should be again encouraged by the French.

^{*} These crucities upon the Hindus of the Malabar coast were continued through several years, and were made more dreadful by a mixture of religious faunticism, which for ages had been little known among the Mofinamsedaus in India. In 1788 Thypoo paid a visit to Calicut, where he found the natives living peaceably in habitations scattered over the country. He compelled them to quit their habitations and reside in villages of 40 houses each; he then issued proclamations stating that they were a turbulent and rebellious people, that their women worth shamelessly abroad with their faces uncovered and committed other obsesse offences, and finally that, if they did not forsake their sinful practices and live like the rest of his subjects, he would march them all off to Mysore and make Mussulmans of those whether they would or not. The very next year he returned to the country with his whole army, destroying pagodas and idols, and threatening to esternizate "the infidels of Malabar." Having surprised about 2000 Nairs with their families, he gave them the alternative of a voluntary convension to his faith, or a forcible conversion with immediate deportation from their native land. The poor prisonary chose the latter:—the rite of circumcision was forthwith performed on all the males, and the capricious tyrant finished the eveneous of conversion by compelling both sense to eat best—a monastrous art of impristy in Hindu hith.

The treaty with him was finally concluded on the 11th of March, upon the condition of a restitution by both parties of all that they had gained in the war. The tales told by the English prisoners of wan, whom he now liberated, excited horror and indignation, and by themselves alone rendered the duration of any peace with him very problematical. Parts of these narratives will not bear relating; but they proved that Tippoo had committed acts which English soldiers would never forget or forgive.



TIPPOO SAIB. From a Hindu Portiait.

Compared with the danger and despondency at the beginning of the war, or with the result of the national contests in other parts of the globe, even this was a most honourable and advantageous peace. The real danger in the Carnatic was over as soon as Sir Eyre Coote gained the battle of Porto Novo. Many errors of judgment were committed in the management of the war, and the vices of jealousy, selfishness, and rapacity were too frequently visible both in council and in the field; yet, nevertheless, taken as a whole, the war was highly creditable to the abilities, perseverance, and valour of English-The extent of their operations was something magnificent and astounding: it embraced the two sides of the vast triangle of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and from Cape Comorin to Bombay and Surat and the Gulf of Cambay; and inland it nearly traversed the base of the triangle: countries hitherto known to the English only by name were penetrated and explored from end to end; and some of the most wonderful marches upon record were performed by the native troops in our service. Impressions were made that time and partial miscarriages would bot easily efface: the Indians were impressed. the identhat no obstacles were insurmountable to the stendy perseverance of the British and the troops they had trained; and the British learned for the first 'time"the entire dependence that might be placed on the constancy and courage of their sepoys. It was not possible, after what had been achieved,

that a panic, a consternation and indecision, such as had disgraced us in the Carnatic in the summer and autumn of 1780, should occur again. Thus India was saved when our empire in the west was lost. No Englishman, we presume, can even now reflect without a shudder upon the effect which would have been produced in Europe if the loss of our Indian empire had been added to the loss of the thirteen provinces of North America. But the expenses of this Indian war had been, particularly in the early stages, tremendous; and, as the far greater part of the money could come only from Bengal, Warren Hastings had put no trifling burden upon his conscience to procure it. Illis only principle of action was that the Carnatic must be rescued, that India must be saved, cost what it might; and, as the first step to that salvation was the obtaining of money, he determined that money should be obtained by whatever means lay in his Some of the neighbouring princes that owed their political existence to the power of English arms, and that were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of vast amount. The plan was to squeeze them. The first to whom Hastings applied the pressure was Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, whose territory had been transferred to the company by the Nabob of Oude, in a treaty concluded not by Hastings, but by Clavering, Monson, and Francis. Cheyte Sing had, however, been left in possession upon condition of paying a fixed annual tribute to the company. At the first breaking out of the war with France he was called upon by the governor-general for an extraordinary contribution amounting to about 50,000l.; and as he delayed payment he was fined in 2000l. more. In the following year (1779) another extraordinary contribution was demanded and paid, for Hastings employed his armies as collected receivers-general. In 1780, when dangers and embarrassments were thickening around him, the governorgeneral demanded another contribution.* rajah sent a confidential agent to Calcutta to plead poverty and to soften Hastings with two lacs of tupees, or about 20,000l, which were offered in secret, and doubtless intended as a bribe. Hastings took the present, paid it over, though not till some time had passed, to the company's treasury, and then exacted the contribution all the same. Chevte Sing implored, remonstrated, and endeayoured to show that he had no money. Hastings knew better, and the troops were ordered to march to Benares. The rajah then found the 50,000/., and 10,000% more imposed as a fine. The next demand was not for money, but for troops. It is

^{*} In a letter to one of his agents, dated the 25th of June, 1780, the determined governor-general says—" The only difficulty we can possibly feel in the prosecution of the war will be from a want of money; and this difficulty may, I think, be easily obviated by your insisting upon Cherte Sing's constributing his quots to the expenses of our edvanced ermy, in lieu of being ordered to join it at the head of his own forces. Were he a semindar, dependent on any other government than our own, this would be insisted upon; and, as his ability to advance a large sum seems to be uncertaily acknowledged, why should be alone be exempted from the expenses, as well as the deviations, if our fi

pretty evident, however, that troops were asked only as a means for getting at more rupces. A resolution was passed in the council at Calcutta, which now consisted of Wheler, Sir Eyre Coote, and Macpherson, that the Rajah of Benares, besides his tribute and the extraordinary contribution of five lacs to be paid annually till the end of the war, should furnish a certain force in cavalry for the service of the company. Hastings hereupon made a prompt demand for 2000 horse. Cheyte Sing represented that he had only 1300 horse in all; and that these were indispensable to him in maintaining the police and collecting the revenues of his country. The governor-general then reduced his demand to 1500 - to 1000. The rajah collected 500 horse and 500 matchlock men; sent word to Hastings that this force was at his orders, and that it was all that he possibly could spare. It appears that no answer was returned to the rajeli, and that what was really wanted was to find a ground of quarrel and occasion to accuse him of failing in the obedience which he owed to the company as their dependant and vassal. Hastings had private di-likes and animosities against Cheyte Sing, and, though these, of themselves, and apart from the sovereign consideration of saving India, might not have led to the extreme acts of violence and spoliation adopted, they were not likely to qualify or soften those proceedings when they seemed justifiable and justified in the eyes of Hastings by the necessity of the case. "I was resolved," says he, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the company's distresses. In a word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." In an agony of alarm at the governor-general's silence and at loud notes of preparation among the company's forces, the rajah now sent to offer twenty lacs of rupees, or 200,000l., in one round sum, for the public service. But Hastings now said that nothing less than fifty lacs, or half a million sterling, would satisfy him or supply the immediate wants of the public service; and he forthwith prepared to go in person to Benares in order to settle these and other weighty matters, all connected with money. ." If I cannot do all that I wish, I will, at least, do all that I can," were words which he had uttered on a former occasion, and which contained the ordinary rule of his conduct. He was very guarded in the language which he held; few or none knew his real intentions or the full extent of them; and he began his journey as if he anticipated no danger and no possibility of resistance, taking with him little more than the body-guard which attended him on ordinary occasions. He even conducted Mrs. Hastings with him as far as Monghir. Cheyte Sing came eastward as far as Buxar to meet the governor-general, attended by 600 horse. Hastings received the rajah with great pride and sternness, and refused to hold any private or confidential discourse. In his own words, the rajah "professed much concern

to hear that I was displeased with him, and contrition for having given cause for it-assuring me that his zemindary, and all that he possessed, were at my devetion; and he accompanied his words by an action either strongly expressive of the agitation of his mind, or his desire to impress on mine a conviction of his sincerity-by laying his turban on my lap." But not the extremest sign of eastern submission and devotion could turn the heart of Warren Hastings from its fixed purpose. Continuing his journey with the rajah in his train, he entered Benares on the 14th of August, 1781, and the very next day, after again refusing any private conference, he sent to Cheyte Sing a long paper containing various complaints of past misconduct, and demands higher than any that had hitherto been made. As commanded, the rajah replied in the course of the day; but his reply was considered evasive and impertinent; and at ten o'clock at night the governor-general gave Mr. Markham, his ch wen resident at Benares, orders to arrest the rajah at an early hour the following morning, before the town-people should be stirring. Markham performed his odious service with two companies of sepoys and without my opposition or disturbance. But the arrest kindled a flame which went nigh to consume Hastings, and with him the fortunes of the English in India. The rajah was popular among his own subjects; the indignity of such an arrest was not to be borne; the spirit of fanaticism co-operated with the spirit of love or affection for the old Hindu dynasty to which Cheyte Sing belonged. Benares was the holy city of India, being to the Brahmins what Mecca is to the Mohammedans, or Jerusalem to the Jews: it contained an enormous population, who claimed a superior sanctity from the place of their residence; it was thronged by pilgrims and devotees from all parts of Hindustan, from every place where the ancient faith had penetrated; and where that strange faith was once established no human power had been able to suppress it. It was this continual concourse of devotees that tended to fill the rajah's treasury, and much of the money that Hastings had wrung from him was supplied by the religious Hindu world. These pilgrims, who had travelled far to wash off their sins in the Ganges, where it was holiest, and to offer their prayers and oblations in Benares, were the most likely men in the world to resent any insult offered in that sacred city to the ruler of it; and moreover, the ordinary inhabitants of Benares, and the Hindu population of the whole country, were a far more robust, brave, and fiery race than the people of Calcutta or Moorshedabad, or any of the places in the lower provinces where Hastings had formed his estimate of the Hindu character. Markham had scarcely reported to the governor-general the asse with which he had performed his task, and the meekness with which Cheyte Sing had submitted to his fate, when there arose from the nampw, growded streets the roar of ten thousand angry voices, and the cries of tens of thousands, upon that a and then

· Hastings's own narrative.

there followed a tramping, a rushing, and the rattle of arms. It has been imagined, from this endeden rising in arms, that the first insurgents consisted of a levy of troops which Cheyte Sing had been organising for some time previously in order to oppose the English; but the greater part of the people in the upper provinces always wear arms, and the pilgrims carry weapons under their mentles to protect themselves in their long wayfaring, or, when their resources are low or the opportunity tempting, to fill their stomachs and their purses. The rajah had not been removed from his palace, but left there with the two companies of sepoys placed over him as a guard. Thither the living streams flowed and concentrated from many points. Such was the security of the English managers that the sepoys had been left with their muskets and bayonets, but without any cartridges. When the danger was seen, two other companies were sent to carry ammunition to them and support them. This small force got buried in the crowd, and in attempting to open their way to the palace they were massacred almost to a man. The furious multitude then fell upon the two companies at the palace and massacred them too, men and officers. The English officers died with their swords in their hands; a heap of the assailants were alain, but only a very few of the sepoys escaped. During the confusion the rajah ran out by a wicket-gate which opened on the steep bank of the Ganges, and, letting himself down to the river brink by a string formed of turbans tied together, he threw himself into a boat and escaped to the opposite bank, whither he was soon followed by the multitude. If instead of flying the rajah and his people had fallen upon Hastings, the consequences could scarcely have been doubtful, for at the moment the governor-general had only fifty regular and armed sepoys at hand for the defence of his house, in which were assembled a number of civilians without arms.* But even after the first fury of the populace was spent, and the rajah had shown that he was not inclined to risk bold measures, the situation of Hastings and his small party remained very critical. They were blockaded on all sides, they had hardly any money with them, and they had not provisions even for a single day. If the governor-general had been at fault in risking such a storm with such frail resources, he certainly showed no want of courage in bearing the brunt, and his decision and promptness never forsook him. The rajah sent to offer apologies for what had happened, to protest that he was innocent of the tumult, and to declare that he was ready to submit to any conditions. Hastings did not deign to answer these messages. In the course of the day",he collected about 400 sepoys in Bendes; and he sent orders to another small body of sepoys that were cantoned at Mirzapoor, on the other side

of the Ganges, to march against the palace of Ramnagur, just opposite to Benares, in which Chevie Sing had taken up his temporary abode. In order that his emissaries might get through the blockade without losing their dispatches, he wrote in the smallest hand on small slips of paper, which were rolled up and put into the ears of his messengers.* In this manner he wrote to the British officers commanding in the nearest cantonments; he wrote to his wife at Monghir, to assure her that he was safe; and he even wrote a letter of instructions to the envoy who was negotiating with the Mahrattas. In the afternoon the officer in command of the sepoys that had rapidly advanced from Mirzapoor. imprudently attempting to carry the palace of Ramnagur, which was fortified, without the aid of artillery, got engaged in the narrow strects leading to it, and was repulsed with considerable loss -a loss including that of his own life. This incident gave fresh courage to the multitude, and induced Hastings to think of a retreat. Under cover of night he fled from Benares, and with singular good fortune he reached in safety the strong fortress of Chunar, built on a rock that rises several hundred feet above the Ganges, and is situated about 17 miles below Benares. On the following morning the reported flight of the governor-general gave still further encouragement to the insurgents. The whole of the district rose in arms; and people began to flock in from the adjoining territories of Oude and Bahar, vowing that they would protect the rajah and his holy city. The numbers and the spirit of the Hindus who thus surrounded him animated for a moment the weak and timid soul of Cheyte Sing; and, after making more humble applications by messengers and by letters to Hastings, who continued to refuse any answer, he put himself at the head of the insurgents, appealed by a sort of manifesto to the neighbouring princes, and, it is even spoke of driving the English out of the country. Notwithstanding his ingenious precautions, several of Hastings's letters miscarried; but others reached their destinations, and were obeyed with that rapidity which the exigencies of the case required. Money was sent to him from Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and troops, quitting their various cantonments. concentrated under the rock of Chunar. At this crisis everything depended on the fidelity of the sepoys, for there were hardly any troops in the country but natives; and the sepoys were, for the most part, men of the same tribe and country as those against whom they were to act, were many of them natives of Benares and the surrounding district, and as such had been wont to consider Cheyte Sing as their legitimate prince. It is perhaps only in India that the natural sympathics and passions of men have ever been so subjugated by discipline and other artificial means. But the event proved that Hastings was right in relying on their unalterable fidelity to their standard or their salt, and on their attachment to the military

^{*} Restings mys himself, "If Cheyte Sing's people, after they had effected his restne, had proceeded to my quarters, instead of crowding after him in a tumultuous memor, at they did, in his passage over the river, it is probable that my blood, and that of about thirty English gestlemen of my party, would have been added to the recent carrage."—Narrative.

When the Indians travel they lay saids their enormous gold sarrings, and put a quill or a roll of paper into the writke to prevent its closing up.

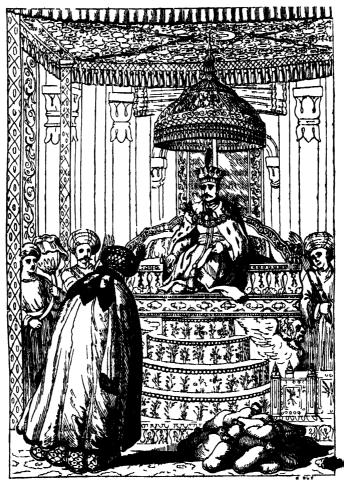
point of honour as greater than any they bore for their country or kindred, their native prince, or even their religion. Not a corps showed any reluctance to engage the rajah and the people of Benares, not a single case of descrition occurred, and the insurrection, which might speedily have become a farreaching revolution, was put down by these sepoys. On the 29th of August a considerable body of Cheyte Sing's people, who had advanced to a small fort not far from Chunar, were routed and compelled to leave all their rice and baggage behind them; on the 3rd of September a scill larger body were defeated with the loss of their artillery; on the 15th other corps were put to flight; and on the 20th the pass of Sukroot and the large and fortified town of Pateeta were forced, cleared, and taken. The hardy insurgents had fought bravely in some of these affairs; but they were without discipline, and poor Cheyte Sing was no hero-his courage or confidence vanished at the first roar of his enemies' guns. In a few hours nothing could be seen of his army, which had been extimated at 30,000 men-and in a few hour," adds the governor-general, speaking as a king of the servant of kings, "the allegiance of the country was restored as completely from a state of universal revolt, to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it." The rajah, with his family and a few attendants, fled precipitately to Bidjeeghur, the principal stronghold of the Benares princes, and about fifty miles from the capital. To that capital the governor-general returned triumphantly, issuing a proclamation, and an amnesty for all except Cheyte Sing and his brother. No time was lost in sending troops to Bidjeeghur. The poor rajah had not courage to await their arrival: he fled in the night to find refuge, and an exile from which he never returned, among the rajahs of Bondilcund. In his haste, in his anxiety for his own safety by means of a flight too rough and rapid for ladies, he left behind him his wife, his mother, and all the females of his family, who were taken prisoners in the fort, which surrendered by capitulation on the 9th of November. According to Hastings, the rajah had carried off with him an immense sum of money besides jewels; but current rupees to the amount of about 250,000l. sterling were found in the old castle of Bidjeeghur. Even this sum, which was not an eighth of the booty the governor-general expected to obtain from the expulsion of the rajah, never reached the public treasury, being appropriated by the troops, who for some five months had received little or no pay. "Judge of my astonishment," says Hastings, "when I tell you that the distribution of the plunder was begun before I knew that the place was in possession, and finished before I knew that it was begun!"* When the princesses with their rela-

tions and attendants came out of the old castlethree hundred women in all, besides children—they were rudely subjected to search by the soldiery, notwithstanding the terms of the capitulation, which expressly provided against such an indignity. The soldiers wanted no such warning; but Hastings in a note to the commanding officer hinted that the old Rance might contrive to defraud them of a considerable part of the booty if the women were sign fered to retire without examination." The Rance affirmed, before and after the capitulation, that the" money was hers and not her son's. This is very likely to have been the case; but it made no difference to the soldiers, and would have made none to Hastings, who wanted all the money he could get. In the mean while, the governor-general, still considering a pupper rajah indispensable at Benares, had selected a nephew of Cheyte Sing to fill that part, raising at the same time the tribute to forty lacs of rupers, and taking the entire jurisdiction and management of the city and country into his own hands. Even the mint, the last vestige of sovereignty, was taken from this boy rajahand placed under the control of the company's resident at

By this revolution an addition of about 200,000l. per annum was made to the revenues of the company; but ready money there was none, and this must be procured somewhere. The governorgeneral, therefore, determined to apply the screw to Asoff-ul-Dowla, nabob of Oude and master of Rohilcund, and one of the most extravagant, debauched, and contemptible of Indian princes. He had been kept on the musual solely by the British brigade quartered in his dominions, but, as he wasted his money in pleasures and scattered it among his favourites, he soon complained of poverty and of his inability to pay the brigade, the price of whose services had certainly been raised upon him from year to year with little delicacy or justice. In the year 1779 he had stated that he had no money to pay his own cavalry, without whom there was no collecting the revenues of the country; that he had no money to pay his father's debts or to support the harem and children his"

had no date, and neither of them was very clear or decisive as to the point in debate. Hastings himself, in another letter written to his friend and procent agent in England, Walgo Scott, of the list of February, 1783, or rather more than three moushs after the list of February, 1783, or rather more than three moushs after the syrong expressed his astonishment at the rapacity of the officers, and said that he had not the shadow of a suspicion that Major Popham wichtid have taken any decided step in a matter of such soncern without an express authority from him, especially as he was so near the spot. He added — "A very uncandid advantage was taken of a private letter written by me to Major Popham on another cocasion during the heat of the instant of their receipt, and generally by smother hands, and office his instant of their receipt, and generally by smother hands, and office his instant of their receipt, and generally by smother hands, and office his historical of receiping my laters as authority, they were afrait this first whickled stop of equilibrium the most familiar style. The fact is, that, instead of receiping my laters as authority, they were afrait this? In this later of the prevent me. I refer to the board, but they chose to wait my return, and we have most since publicly called upon the sharees to return a later their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they, takes, I shall print their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they, takes, I shall print their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they, takes, I shall print their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they, takes, I shall print their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they, takes, I shall print their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they, takes, I shall print their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they, takes, I shall print their pretensions wholly to our decision. If they takes a shall be also sowed that it is the businesse was a same of the officers and when mone of his officers for the submitted in the businesse

Hastings has been charged with deceiving the troops, or with loading them to believe, before the place was taken, that the plander was to be divided among them, and of attempting to retract and get the money for the public service when the place was in possession. The select committee of the House of Commons went to the matter, and the er two noise written by the governor-general to Major Popham, the commander of the force, were read. But one of these notes.



NABOR OF OUDE From a Painting by Horne.

father had left behind him; no money to pay his own servants or keep up his own court admitted that it was possible the nabob might be as poor as he stated; but he insisted that his poverty was the effect of his folly, vices, and extravagance, and not produced by the payment of a few lacs to the brigade ' He told him-what was notorious to all India—that he could not defend himself against the Mahrattas and Rohillas, or even against the discontents and insurrections of his own subjects, if the company's troops were withdrawn; and he gave him clearly to understand that, whatever might be the wording of the treaty, the brigade, and a large body of cavalry called a "temporary brigade," which had been supersured, should be kept there as long as the company chose, and that as long as it was there he must find means to pay it. But pay he could not-though, if sundry stories that are told be true, the rapacious officers in command of the brigade frequently got large sums from him for their own private use,

making a constant harvest of his unmanly fears ;his other expenses continued and were augmented by a new taste for erecting gorgeous and most costly buildings; the cultivators of the soil, overburdened with taxes, began to run away or to neglect their labours, his arrears accumulated, and before Hastings went to Benarcs the nabob stood charged in the company's books with a debt amounting to nearly one million and a half sterling. Indeed one of the objects of the governor-general's journey up the country was to obtain some settlement of this account—though we are not so credulous as to believe that he would not have put the pressure upon the nabob even if there had not been any such account in existence. He knew that, though the nabob might have an empty treasury, there were others in Oude who had abundance of money hoarded up and concealed in the oriental manner, and after this he was hunting with the keenness of a lurcher and the pertinacity of a bull-dog. Asoff-ul-Dowla was journeying between

Lucknow and Benares, to meet the governorgeneral with all due honour and respect, when he heard exaggerated accounts of the insurrection which had been provoked by the arrest of Chevte Sing. He did not, however, retrace his steps, as might have been expected, but continued his journev to the fortress of Chunar, in which the governor-general had taken refuge. On that elevated spot, while 30,000 bold men of Benares were gathering on the Ganges within view of the fort, Hastings coolly bargained with the nabob. He began with gratifications, concessions, and seeming sacrifices-but great were the concessions and sacrifices he expected in return. He agreed that the nabob had been charged too much for the brigade, and had been squeezed most mercilessly by English officers-"as well as other gentlemen" who had quartered themselves upon his treasury; be even agreed that the territories of Oude and Rohilcund might be defended with a much smaller force, and that all the company's troops should be withdrawn except the single brigade, and a regiment of sepoys for Mr. Middleton the resident's guard. In retura for this liberality Asoff-ul-Dowla was to rolhis own mother and grandmother, and to give the produce of the robbery to Hastings in discharge of his debts and obligations to the company. The two Begums, one the mother of the late nabob, Sujah Dowla, the other his wife, and the parent of the reigning nabob, were the possessors of the hoards and hidden treasures which Hastings had been led to consider as vast enough to achieve the silvation of the British empire in India. At the death of Sujah Dowla a considerable part of the treasure which happened to be in his hands at the time was certainly left to these two ladies, and secured by them; and the dying nabob had further marked his affection to his mother and the most beloved of his wives by bequeathing them The two ladies had continued certain jaghires. to live with great state and magnificence; but Asoff-ul-Dowla, finding his own large revenues insufficient to supply his expenditure, soon envied them the possession of the treasure and the annual proceeds of their jaghires, and, long before his interview with Hastings on the rock of Chunar, he had wrong and extorted money from them. As carly as the year 1775 the grandmother and mother of the unduteous Asoff-ul-Dowla had written pathetic letters to the government at Calcutta, complaining of the harsh treatment they received, and imploring to be taken under the protection of the company, which alone was strong enough to protect any one in Oude. The nabob's mother had stated in one of those letters that he had actually extorted from her twenty-six lacs of rupees, and was then endeavouring to force from her thirty lacs more—thirty lacs down, in hard cash and in one payment. The governor and council, not having at that moment to provide for the defence of the Carnatic, for the defence of Surat and Bombay, for the enormous charges of the war against Hyder Ali and the French, expressed themselves

as morally and correctly as a decalogue, quoted the Commandments to Asoff-ul-Dowla, and then, with a virtuous indignation at his conduct, extended the shield of their protection to the two old ladies. At the nabob's request a solemn agreement was drawn up, concluded, and guaranteed by the company, by which the Bhow Begum gave to her son the thirty lacs of rupees, and her son engaged that no further invasion, or attempts at invasion, should be made on the treasure or on the jaghires. But the nabob could not keep his hands from picking and stealing; fresh attempts were made on the purses of the two old ladies, who held their money with a truly eastern tenacity of grasp, and kept complaining to the English as the framers and guarantees of this broken family compact. In the year 1778 the grandmother Begum, whose residence had been rendered irksome and disgusting to her by her grandson, resolved to quit his dominions and go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The nabol dreading that the old lady might carry some of the treasure with her, refused to permit her departure. «The Begum then applied to Mr. Middleton, the resident at Lucknow, whose time was almost absorbed by these constant squabbles. The Begum, who was more anxious for peace and quietness, and the possessive of her money at home, than for the spiritual pleasures and advantages of the pilgrimage to the tomb of the prophet, represented that she was deprived of her jughires, that her servants and tenants were plundered, and herself insulted by the vila favourites of the nabob; and that the women and children-a very numerous brood-of the late nabob, including Asofful-Dowla's own brothers and sisters, were all left in a degrading state of destitution. At the same time the younger Begum raised fresh complaints against her unlowing son; and Middleton, by his reports to the council at Calcutta, seemed to verify the charges. On the 23rd of March (1778) the council-that is to say, Hastings, Barwell, Francis, and Wheler-wrote in the strongest terms to Middleton, commanding him to take immediate steps for preventing these acts of violence and robbery. He was to represent to the nabob that the honour and reputation of the company were committed by his cruelty and injustice. In what related to the grandmother and her affairs, he was only to remonstrate; - "but," subjoined these moralists, "with respect to the mother of the nabob, her grievances come bafore us on a very different footing. She is entitled to our protection by an act not sought by us, but solicited by the nabob himself. We therefore empower and direct you to afford your support and protection to her in the due maintenance of all the rights she possesses." Now that it was determined to tear up the family treaty, and utterly despoil both the ladies of all their money and all their jaghires, it was thought expedient to devise some means of colouring over the transaction, so as to save the honour and repu-

Parliamentary Reports; Minutes of Evidence taken at Hastings's trial.

totion of the governor and council. Hastings's unly excuse—allowing any excuse to be admissible—would have been contained in a simple fact, which might have been announced in words like these:--"India must be saved; it cannot be saved without more money; and were the Begums my own mother and grandmother I would have their tressure!"-But this enunciation would have been too bold; and, daring as he was in action, the governor-general had a natural turn for subterfuges, and an earnest anxiety on all occasions to make his black look white, and to pay homage, not merely to public opinion in its higher sense, but to the conventionalities and established proprieties of society. Hence, therefore, he pretended that the two poor old women were dangerous rebels and traitors to the sovereign company, and that great doubts might be entertained as to the validity of Sujah Dowla's testamentary bequests. It was said that the will, under which they claimed, had never been produced; and it was pretended also that the deceased nabob could not lawfully alienate the treasure and territory of the state, which of right belonged to his successor. But Indian princes had at all times made similar dispositions of money and lands; and the government of Calcutta had solemnly recognised the rights, at least, of Sujah Dowla's widow, without any question or doubt or reservation as to a will or any other document. The rebellion and treason were still more groundless charges. Hastings's accusations were, that the Begums by money and other means had excited and encouraged the disturbances in Oude, which had followed the insurrection at Benares. Now, the two old ladies were much too fond of money to part with it on any account; and, as to other means, in the seclusion in which they lived they had none. Whatever good cause Hastings now gave them to think otherwise, they had, up to this point, regarded the English as their best and only protectors, with whose power and authority their own fortunes were inseparably linked; and, if they could have been capable of making any sacrifices or exertions, it would assuredly have been in a direction altogether opposite to that in which they were charged with acting. Hastings, indeed, pretended that the insurrection at Benarcs was a planned thing, and that the rajah had been for some time preparing for a struggle with the company; but every circumstance tends to show that the insurrection was a sudden and spontaneous movement, provoked by the daring novelty of putting the nabob under arrest in his own palace. If there had been any preconcerted scheme, nothing could have contributed more to its success, or have been more easy of execution, than the cutting off of the governor-general, or the making him a prima which might have been done by a little stratagem and very little force, either on his journey between Buxar and Benarce, or in the latter city the night after his arrival. If the insurrection was—as we firmly believe---wholly unpremeditated and unforeseen, there was not time between its breaking out

and the first tumultuary movement in Oude for the Begums to do anything, as those two ladies were shut up in the palace of Fyzabad, which is about 115 miles in a straight line from Benares, and a great deal farther by travelling distance. Nor had the Begums time to do much between the tumult at Benares and the arrival of their grandson and son at Chunar and the conclusion of the treaty of spoliation. The insurrection happened on the 16th of August, the treaty was signed on the 19th of September. "The Begums, who had first to hear of the insurrection at Benares, and then to spread disaffection through a great kingdom, had, therefore, little time for the contraction of guilt. Besides, when the government of the nabob, as the English themselves so perfectly knew. had fallen into contempt and detestation with all his subjects, it was very natural to suppose that the servants and dependants of the Begums, who were among the severest of the sufferers, would not be the least forward in exhibiting their sentiments. And, as the seclusion of the Begums rendered it impossible for them to superintend the conduct of their servants abroad, they were less than other people responsible for their conduct."* The people of Oude that lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Benares were excited against the English by the violence offered to Cheyte Sing; but whatever disturbances had happened in the interior of Oude had arisen not out of any malice or any project against the company, but out of a detestation of the nabob; and the English resident himself had represented to the governor-general and council, many months before-nay, more than three years and a half before the present troublesthat revolt and insurrection were inevitable in Oude, and that the filthy vices of the nabob and the violence and injustice of his execrable favourites would drive every man of any proper reputation out of the country. † Hastings, however, chose now to consider that any attack on Asoff-ul-Dowla amounted to the same thing as a direct attack upon the company; and, though no connexion could be proved between the Begums and the discontented people, it was no doubt easy to prove that there had been at least some rioting in the country. Yet even on this point no proofs were adduced but rumours; and rumours reported by men who rumoured whatever the governor-general desired were considered evidence enough to settle the whole question and every part of it; and, perhaps, in the mighty heap of hurried mistakes or deliberate misstatements, accumulated through ages in histories and biographies, there is not to be found a single passage wider of the truth, or more revolting to humanity, than that in which Hastings's recent biographer winds up his account of these transactions, including the imprisonments and the tortures, with the brazen declaration that nothing was done but what was just and proper.! The two ladies at

+ Mr. Middleton, Lotter dated Fyzahad, 3rd of February, 1778.

The Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A., Chaplain to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, and Roctor of Iveychurch, in Kent. Mr. Gleig has printed

Fyzabad were neither present at these examinations, nor represented by any vakeel or agent; they knew nothing of what was going on until judgment was passed, and that judgment was even carried into execution without their ever having been informed of the charges against them! The decision was, that the treaty or family agreement, solemnly guaranteed by the governor and council, should be thrown to the winds; that the nabob should be allowed to seize and appropriate the Begum's jaghires for his own use, and to seize the treasure for the use of the company, who were to take it in liquidation of the debt he owed them or was said to owe them. Even the heart of Asoff-ul-Dowla misgave him when he returned to Lucknow to carry this judgment into execution. Perhaps he felt some natural compunction, some return of tenderness for the mother that had borne him; perhaps he only feared the effect that might be produced on the minds of his people by such atrocious acts; but what is certain is, that he hesitated and hung back from the execution of the treaty of Chunar. Even Mr. Middeton, the chosen agent of Hastings, the mar who had managed the arresting or inveigling of Monammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy, the active and ready instrument of the governor-general on all occasions, seems to have shrunk from the odious But Hastings wrote both to nabob and agent to tell them of his impatience and to urge them on, and Middleton was ordered to do the work himself if Asoff-ul-Dowla would not. Hereupon the nabob, to save his authority, proceeded to take possession of the jaghires which were to be his (at least after some payments to the company, if the money of his mother and grandmother should not prove enough); but a fresh wavering and hesitation came over him when he was urged or commanded to seize the treasure which was to be the company's. It appears that the pen of Sir Elijah Impey, the supreme representative and chief of English justice or law in Bengal, was employed in impressing on the mind of Middleton the necessity of doing what was to be done speedily; and that Hestings threatened to go on to Fyzabad and perform the part of spoliator himself. But at last the nabob and the resident, with a body of English sepoys, set out from Lucknow for the dwelling of

many interesting letters, which will continue to give some value to his three thick volumes. But it happens raiber unfortunately and currously, that in several metanose—like the present—where the conduct of his hero is most censurable, he gives hereby any of Hastings's letters. Was there a defictioney put at these criticals points, or were the materials not proper to make out Mr. Gleig's case? He inserts one letter to Sulivan; but in that letter Mastings enters into no details, referring to other letters written to Major Boott, and to an appendix and a narrative of the Begum transactions which he had also sent to Major Soott. Mr. Gleig'nsters none of these. In the letter to Sulivan, which he gives, there is one brief passage—one of the most general and least reliable of exparts statements—on which the revened hingrapher seems to build up all his conclusions. The passage is to this effect:—?' On the revolt of Cheyte Sing, as (the Baow Begum), and the old Regum, Sujah Dowlah's mother, ruised troops, caused levies to be made for Cheyte Sing, cocked all the zemindars of Garoch-poor and Bayreich to rebellion, cut off many parties of seporys, and the principal Auril and a favourite of the younger Begum openic popused and attacked Captain Gordon, one of our officers stationed in his neighbourhood. Let this be an answer to the men of virtue who may exclaim against our breach of faith and the inhumanity of declaring war against widows, princesses of high birth, and debuseless old women. These old women had very migh effected-our destruction."

the Begums at Fyzabad, or the "Beautiful Residence," pleasantly situated among streams, and woods, and hills, about eighty miles to the east of Lucknow. Several days were spent in negotiations with the Begums, who, as tenacious of their money as ever, would accede to no terms though they could make no resistance. Orders were then given to storm that quiet town and the defenceless palace. Little or no opposition was made; the sepoys took possession of the palace, the shreking women shut themselves up in the innermost apartment, but the treasure was not to be found, nor would any one give information of the place or places where it was hidden. But the nabob was familiar with the detestable practices of the East-with the processes usually, and in most instances successfully, adopted by Hyder Ali in discovering money secrets, -and the mind of Mr. Middleton, Englishman, and English gentleman, as he claimed to be, does not appear to have shrunk from their adoption. Hastings was not on the spot, but it is impossible to doubt that if he had been there he would have been as acquiescent or passive as his agent was. There were two old cunuchs in the palace, Jewar Ali Khan and Behar Ali Khan, who had been the favourites and most confidential servants of Sujah Dowla, and who, ever pince that nabob's death, had continued in the service of his widew, the Bhow Begum. There could be no doubt that these two unhappy beings knew where the money lay, or, if they did not, it was thought probable that their sufferings would work upon the Begums' hearts and extract the key; and therefore it was determined to throw them into a dungeon, to load them with irons, to starve them, to torture them, as the hest means of getting at the rupees, directly or indirectly: and, at this stage, Hustings's agent and friend was more than acquiescent in the damnable atrocity; for the officer in command of the sepoy guard placed over the two old men received his orders from Middleton. The sufferings of the old men, or their own sufferings and alarms, for they, too, were close prisoners, overcame the passion of avarice in the Begums, and a large sum of money was handed over to the English agent. But this sum fell far short of the amount of the nabob's debt to the company, and still farther short of the supposed amount of the treasure. The elder Begum solemnly protested that she had no more money, that she had nothing left except some goods; but Middleton would not believe her, and he left the two enauchs in their horrible captivity, and the Begums themselves such close prisoners, and so straitened in their supplies that they, with their numerous female attendants, were half-starved. Eight days after the first storming of the palace Middleton wrote to the officer commanding the sepoys: "Sir, when this note is delivered to you, I have to desire that you order the two prisoners to be put in irons, keeping them from all food, &c., agreeable to my instructions of yesterday." It seems scarcely possible to credit that such a note could be written by any English-

man at the end of the eighteenth century. A ragge infernal document never proceeded from ing John, or the worst of his agents, when it was the fashion to torture Jews in England for the game purpose, and when the nation had hardly egun to emerge from barbarity. Middleton's cool which might include every horror that man can inflict or endure, seems to us the maximumthe very essence of the atrocious! Under fresh sufferings the two eunuchs undertook, by a written engagement, to furnish some more money on their own credit or out of their own effects in the course of one month. Middleton took their engagement, but kept them in their dungeon all the same. The avarice of the Begums relented again, and they produced more money, and then more, until upwards of 500,000l, sterling were received by Middleton, who then began to doubt whether they really had any more. The last payment was made in clearance of the engagement or bond which had been extorted from the eunuchs, but it fell short of the total amount of that bond by several thousand pounds. It was therefore resolved to continue the imprisonment, the starving, and the torture of those two beings, who, like their mistresses, vowed that there was no more money—that not a single rupee more could possibly be procured unless they were restored to their liberty, and allowed to go forth among friends and bankers to raise money upon credit. But Middleton and Hastings, and their active agents in these money-extorting processes, thought that suffering and agony might quicken the old men's memories and lead to the discovery of some other hiding-places, and they were ordered to be kept where they were, and as they were, with their emaciated bodies loaded with chains. When months had passed, the officer in command of the sepoy guard wrote to Middleton at Lucknow, to inform him that the two prisoners, Behar Ali Khan and Jewar Ali Khan, who seemed to be " very sickly," implored that their irons might be taken off for a few days, and that they might be allowed to take a little air in the garden. " Now," said the officer, "as I am sure that they will be equally secure without their irons as with them, I think it my duty to inform you of this request. I desire to know your pleasure concerning it." The resident's pleasure was that the prayer should be refused, and that no alleviation of misery should be allowed. And a few days after this the two ennuchs were informed that, unless they produced more money, they would be brought in their chains over to Lucknow, there to be subjected to a still hander fate, and made to answer for other crimes. These threats terrified the old men out of their senses, and seemed to make a deep impression on the Begums, who did not, however, come for with any more money. The captives were therefore carried to Lucknow, the capital of Oude. There they were kept in an English prison, or, at least, their gaolers and guards were English officers and sepoys in the company's service. But, out of deference to the superior skill of the nabob's people in the art of torturing, or out of some lingering remains of English feeling, or out of a paltry notion of cheating the fiend with a "Thou canst not say I did it," Middleton and his gang now left the more active part of the business to the officers or torturers of Asoff-ul-Dowla. The assistant resident wrote to the English officer a note perhaps more atrocious than that which Middleton had written at Fyzabad. Like that note it was horribly brief. It was to this effect:- "Sir, the nabob having determined to inflict corporeal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper." While these things were doing at Lucknow, the imprisomment of the Begums and the semi-starvation of their household were continued at Fyzabad. last, however, when the horrible proceedings had lasted altogether more than a year, and when Hastings had procured, in specie, in jewels, in bills, in household goods-for nothing was spared-not even the table utensils of the Begums-a sum considerably exceeding a million sterling, orders were sent from Calcutta, through the resident at Lucknow, to cease the persecution of the two old women in "The Beautiful Residence," and to liberate the two old cunuchs, who had been restored to their original dungeon at Fyzabad. The governorgeneral and the resident hoped that they had so managed the whole transaction that the cruelty and the rigour, or the greater part of it, would fall to the share of the nabob, and the mildness and the mercy to themselves. The resident declared to the Begums that it was none but the governorgeneral that had restored them "to their dignity and consequence;" and the two broken-hearted old men were told that they owed their life and liberty to the resident at Lucke and the great man at Calcutta. The English officer commanding the scroy guard at the time of the liberation apparently a silly man, but not bad-hearted-was taught the same lesson. In describing to the resident the enlargement of the two eunuchs, and the joy of the Begums, and of the city of Fyzabad in general, this officer said - " In tears of joy, Behar and Jewar Ali Khan expressed their sincere acknowledgments to the governor-general, his excellency the nabob-vizier, and to you, sir, for restoring them to that invaluable blessing, liberty for which they would ever retain the most grateful remembrance; and at their request I transmit you the enclosed letters. I wish you had been present at the enlargement of the prisoners. The quivering lips, with the tears of joy stealing down the poor men's cheeks, was a scene truly affecting. If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will at the last trump be translated to the happiest regions

The resident at this moment was not Middleton but Bristow, the former nomines of Finneis, Clavering, and Monson, who had been reducted at Lacknow by the positive commands of the court of directors. It does not appear, however, that Hatskoy was a whit more scruppious or merciful than Middleton, whom Hastings, in more than one letter, treats as a milksop, deficient in energy, too much moved by old women's tears, &c. &c.

in heaven." We are not informed how the resident looked, or how Hastings felt, at the perusal of this letter, and the reference to the day of judgment, when all secrets would be revealed, and when no juggle or mystery would avail them. As all the money extorted-wrung, at last, from the Begums and their servants, drop by drop, like blood from their hearts-was not enough for the wants of the company, for the support of the ruinous war in the Carnatic, for the operations on the side of Bombay, and for subsidies or presents to keep the Mahrattas quiet, and as the sums collectively did not cover the debt claimed from the nabob of Oude, the revenues of the jaghires which had been taken from the Begums were claimed and appropriated by the governor-general. During the conferences at Chunar the nabob offered and Hastings accepted a present of 100,000%. This, on the part of the governor-general, was altogether illegal, for, though there had been no such laws at the time of 'Clive's dealings with Meer Jaffier, there now existed the most positive prohibitions against the company's servants receiving any such presents. Hastings and his friends appear, at first, to have maintained that he only accepted the present in order to have something more to apply to the public service. But, as the nabob had no ready money, he drew bills upon one of the great Indian bankers, and these bills could not be negotiated without giving publicity to what was in itself an illegal act. A good many months after, Hastings revealed the transaction to the court of directors; but, as it has been observed—" as the intention of concealing the transaction should not be imputed to Mr. Hastings, unless as far as evidence appears, so in this case the disclosure cannot be imputed to him as virtue, since no prudent man would have risked the chance of discovery which the publicity of a banker's transactions implied." Hastings, moreover, in this letter to the directors, begged to be permitted to keep the money as a reward for his late important services. He had hitherto saved little, and the 100,000l. would not have been a bad contribution to a fortune to retire upon.

In the same conferences at Chunar, the affairs of Fyzoola Khan, the last of the great Rohilla chiefs that remained in Rohilcund, came under discussion. By the treaty between this chief and the Nabob of Oude, which the company had guaranteed, Fyzoola Khan was to be allowed quiet possession of a certain territory near the Rohilcund frontier, with a revenue estimated at fifteen lacs per annum, he being bound, besides other sacrifices, to cease all connexion or intercourse with the other Rohilla chiefs. Complaints, true or false, had been raised by the court of Oude, that Fyzoola Khan disregarded his engagements, and was making himself strong and dangerous in Rohilcund. Yet at the breaking out of the war with France, Fyzoola, as bound by his treaty, sent some troops to join the Nabob of Oude, the ally of the English, and promised to send more. Hastings and the

council hereupon recommended the Nabob of Oude to make an instant demand for 5000 Rohilla horse, " as the quota stipulated by the treaty." But the treaty stipulated no such thing-what it stipulated was that Fyzoola Khan should never retain in his service more than 5000 men, and that, whenever the nabob-vizier wanted them, he should send 2000 or 3000 of his troops to join him—the word in the treaty was troops, not horse. Fyzoola Khan represented these things to the nabob, assuring him that all the cavalry he had did not exceed 2000. The nahob reported the khan's answer to Hastings, who, after some curious quibbling about the meaning of the treaty, ordered that a deputation, consisting partly of officers from the Nabob of Oude and partly of English officers to represent the company as guarantees of the treaty, should intraediately wait upon Fyzoola Khan, to demand on the instant 3000 herse, and, in case of any refusal or evasion, to declare the treaty broken and the guarantee of the The khan again quoted the docucompany void. ment, which said troops, not horse, and which stipulated that the number of his contingent was to be 3000, or only 2000, according to line ability; but after making these representations he offered to furnish 2000 horse and 1000 fout if a little time were allowed him, to my down in advance money enough to satisfy these troops for a whole year, and to be regular and punctual in his future payments. But the deputation would not accede to propositions which far exceeded what the Robilla chief was bound to, and they, m obedience to their orders, made the declaration and protest which left the treaty a piece of waste paper. The meaning of all this was that Asoff-ul-Dowla was hankering after the remnant of Rohilcund, and that Hastings was determined to gratify him. Except the protest, nothing, however, was done till Asoff ul-Dowla and Hastings met face to face on the rock of Chunar, and the nabob consented to the conditions which have been described. Then, in the treaty there made, the governor-general inserted and signed an article affirming that, as Fyzoola Khan had, by breach of treaty, forfeited the protection of the English government, and was causing "by his present independent state, great alarm and detriment to the nabob-vizier," he the said mabob should be permitted, " when time should suit;" to resume possession of his territory. This clause, however, was scarcely signed ere Hestings informed the council at Calcutta that it was to be looked upon as a mere sham to gratify the Nabob of Oude for the present; that no active measures for dispossession were to be allowed, as he was of opinion that neither the real interests of Oude nor the interests of the company would be promoted by despolling Fyzoola . Khan, or depriving him of his independence. "And I have therefore," said he, " reserved the execution of this agreement to an indefinite term; and our government may always interpose to prevent any sit effects from it." Asoff-ul-Dowla's impatience, however, was not to be controlled; and when the company had get the money of the

Begums, and nearly all the advantages for which Heatings had stipulated in the Chunar treaty, he became clamorous for permission to drive out the hast of the Robillas. At the time of the first Rohills war that turbulent and martial people were, no doubt, dangerous to Oude and to the territories of the company, but this could scarcely he the case at present, when the far greater part of them were dispossessed and scattered over Upper India, unless the danger consisted in their presenting an opening across the frontier, and into the heart of Oude, to some fresh invaders—some confederacy of Rohillas and other kindred tribes in the north of India, whose faces were generally turned towards the rich south. It does not appear, however, that this cause of alarm was set forth, or that there was any proof or even appearance of Fyzoola Khan's entertaining any views beyond the quiet possession of the territory ceded to him. In a short time Hastings induced the nabob to agree that it would be proper and advantageous to give up the notion of invasion and dispossession for another payment in hard cash; and an English officer was dispatched to ask fifteen lacs of rupees from the khan, who for this sum was to be secured anew in his jaghire, and that jaghire to be made perpetual and hereditary in his family. The money was to be paid into the hands of the company, who were to keep it in part liquidation of the Nabob of Oude's inextinguishable debt. But Fyzoola Khan protested that he had not fifteen lacs—that there was not so much money in all his country; --- and the bargain could not be concluded. As there was no money to be procured, Hastings, who afterwards confessed that his conduct towards the Rohilla chief had been blameable, put his interdict on any hostile proceedings by the Naboh of Oude, and Fyzoola Khan kept possession of his territory till his death, which happened thirteen years after, and when he had attained a patriarchal age. This able chief, favoured by political circumstances which he neither made nor controlled, but which were of inestimable benefit to him as tending to keep him and the country around him comparatively undisturbed, left his little dominion in a high state of cultivation and prosperity. The thriving and peaceful aspect which this corner of Rohilcund presented at the end of the year 1794 seems to be incorrectly assumed by some writers as true of the whole of the country at the time of the first Robilla war in the vear 1774.

The business of Benares and Chunar cannot be dismissed without some brief allusion to the part which Sir Elijah Impey, the chief justice, took in it. Some weeks after Hastings and the nabob had made their bargain and issued their mandates for punishing the Begums as gulty, Impey, happens, it is said, at the moment, to be engaged in a four of inspection among the provincial courts of Bengal, joined the governor-general at Benares, and at his bidding or request (or, as Hastings says, at his own suggestion) went on to Lucknow to take the depositions of witnesses, touching the alleged

offences of the ladies. Impey's jurisdiction did not extend to the kingdom of Oude; as a judge he had no more right or authority at Lucknow than he could have had at Lisbon or any other capital of a foreign state; but he appears to have thought that, in a country where there was little law of any kind, the presence of a great English lawyer, the head of the supreme court, would impart a dignity to irregular and slovenly proceedings. and give a colour to all that Hustings had done and was doing. A host of witnesses, not differing much from those who had been collected at Calcutta by Nuncomar to swear away the character and life of the governor-general, now appeared before his friend Impey at Lucknow to swear against the Begums, with affidavits ready drawn in their hands. It has been said that Sir Elijah, who took no sworn interpreter with him, was wholly ignorant of the two languages in which the native witnesses spoke and the affidavits were written; but this, we are informed upon good authority, was not the case. We are assured, on the contrary, that he had long and diligently studied the vernacular idiom—the Bengalce—and the Persian and Arabic tongues; and that he retained a competent knowledge of these languages many years after his return to England, where he had few opportunities of exercising himself in them. He must, therefore, have been able both to understand the witnesses and to read the affidavits; but we confess the suspicion remains strong on our minds that he did not allow himself time to hear the depositions or to read the papers before administering the oaths. There were shoals of affidavits, hundreds of witnesses, and brevity is not a characteristic of the Oriental style either in speaking or in writing. Even according to Hastings's account the chief-justice got through the business hastily, and haste in such matter is a fair presumption of irregularity and incorrectness. "The evidence," says the governor-general, "was collected in a hurry, and on the suggestion of Sir Elijah Impey, who told me that facts of the most stamped notoriety here would be doubted at home, unless such means were taken to establish their reality." Nay, in the course of the confessions which were wrung from him by the managers of Hastings's impeachment, Impey himself declared that he never once asked any of the deponents whether they knew the contents of their affidavits; and that he had "no means of knowing whether the deponents in the Persian or Hindostunce language understood anything of the depositions which they gave, except that they brought their affidavits ready drawn." Even the few depositions taken in his own language-from two or three English officers who had been allowed to enter the pay and service of the Nabob of Oude, or to rent districts under him-were of the most vague and inconclusive kind; being rumours of rumours, or paltry stories of squabbles with the Begums' agents and people. Moreover, neither the character nor the motives of these men were

above suspicion. One of them, a Colonel Hannay, appears to have been better qualified for the dock than for the witness-box, if only half of what was said against him be true. As soon as Sir Elijah Impey had administered the oaths, he hurried back to Benares and thence to Calcutta. His "authentic evidence," as it was styled by the governor-general, was used as an appendix to a narrative of the transactions regarding Cheyte Sing and the Begums, drawn up at Benares by the pen of Hastings, and by him transmitted in justification of his own conduct to the wart of directors. Was it not, even according to Hastings's showing, in his own words which we have just quoted, for this sole use and purpose that the evidence was wanted? Was it not procured merely for the sake of the incredulous "at home?" What applicability colld it have to the guilt or punishment of the Begums, when the forfeiture of their jaghires and treasure had been deenerd at Chunar weeks before any witness or affidavit had been seen-weeks hefore the chief-justice reached Benares? Sir Elijah Impey, who retained the friendship and esteem of some of the best men in England, was assuredly not the man that Burke represented him to be; but his memory, like that of his friend and schoolfellow, must in these matters remain subjected to some dark imputations, lightened only by the same excuses, or the extreme difficulty and urgency of the case, and the anomalous, undefined nature of the company's relations with the native princes. And, in reality, though Oude was nominally an independent kingdom and not included in the act or acts which prescribed the limits of the jurisdiction of the supreme court of Calcutta, it was, to all intents and purposes, a conquered and a dependent country. Even Sujah-u-Dowla, who "wanted neither pride nor understanding," and who had kept together an army and a government far stronger than those of his contemptible son and successor, would have thought it an honour to be called the vizier of the king of England, and had actually offered to coin his money in the name and with the effigies of George III.† If the offer of sovereignty had been accepted—if the company or nation had frankly proclaimed themselves, what they were de facto, the lords and rulers of Oude and Benares, the mission of Sir Elijah Impey might have borne a somewhat different aspect; and if the rule had been adopted at an earlier period—if when, by arms or by policy, the English obtained dominion over principalities and powers, they had assumed their proper style and title, instead of calling themselves protectors, allies, auxiliaries and the like, (with a false moderation of language which deceived no one, either in Europe or in Asia,) Lord Clive, as well as Warren Hastings, would have been relieved from many a false position, and actions not warranted by their

nominal relations with the native princes would have been reconcilable to the law of nations. There was more form of law and regularity in it, yet Impey's conduct in the capital of British India was made the subject of severe animadversion. As soon as the governor-general had sufficient power in the council so to do, he had made him a judge in the company's service, removable at the pleasure of the government at Calcutta, that is to say, at the pleasure of Hastings himself. There must have been some difficulty in reconciling and uniting the opposite characters of an irremovable judge appointed by the crown, and of a judge named not even by the company, but by the council at Calcutta, who were to retain the power of dismissing him; but Sir Elijah accepted the new office, which added 78001. a-year to the 80001. a-year he enjoyed as king's chief justice; nor could all the exertions of Francis, who was vet in the country, prevent the transaction. In this arrangement more blame has been imputed to Impey and a defective act of parliament than to Hastings. Impey's appointment did not, it is said, proceed from any friendship or partiality, or desire of obtaining, for the had deeds he might commit, the connivance of the chief-justice; but it was adopted as the only available manœuvre for correcting the blunders of the British legislature, and keeping the supreme court within limits. The regulating act of 1773 contained no proper limitation or definition of powers, no line of demarcation between the council or political government of Bengal and the judicial; and Impey and his juniors on the bench, unshackled by the act, seemed at one time determined to make their supreme court of law supreme in all things. Except in ordering the marches and countermarches of the troops there was hardly anything but what these lawyers meddled with. And in erecting their new tribunal they adopted all the most costly and all the harshest forms and pro-cedures of English law, in spite of the remonstrances of Hastings, who represented that nothing could be so grievous to the uninformed natives. They brought into practice arrest for debt-arrest on mesne process—a scourge and a curse in England, but trebly horrible in India, where any arrest was considered by the higher castes as the extremity of degradation. They insisted that the door of no sanctuary should be closed against their writs; that the officers of English law should be allowed to penetrate into the zenanas of the highest and noblest, to remove the perpetual veil from the faces of women in public, and to drag matrons and virgins, high and lew, into court or into prison. As their English law or practice at that time called for oaths and affidavits with a blasphemous profusion, as their minds were family liarised with the wholesale swearings going on, daily and hourly in England before excisemen and custom-house officers, they thought it no harm to exact an equal number of oaths from the Indians, forgetting that their oaths, though worth little when obtained, were always given with great

[•] It was said, for szample, that Hannay, on entering the nabob's service in 1776, was more and in debt, and that, before the end of the year 1781, he was understood to have realised, by all kinds of extortion assis violence, a foreign of 300,000.
+ Letter from Hastings to Mr. Klijott.

pain and reluctance by the more respectable part of them. The governor-general's code and courts, which he had set up before the arrival of these judges, and when there was not a lawyer in Calcutta to assist him, had been based upon very different principles, and, as compared with the nahob's or naib's courts at Moorshedabad, they had become acceptable to the natives, who had seen with pleasure the revocation of the order of the supreme council—carried when Francis, Clavering, and Monson had the ascendancy-for restoring the chief courts at Moorshedabad. But the judges had not been long in the land ere the people considered their court as the greatest calamity that had hitherto befallen them, and the pens, the bailiffs, and the runners of the law as things far more terrible than swords, and bayonets, and cannonballs.* Hastings had been befriended and materially served by the supreme court, and particularly by his school-fellow Impey. He had expressed his gratitude in the warmest manner, and it had been his constant habit to speak of Impey as one of the oldest and best of his friends; but about the year 1779 his correspondence was filled with grievous complaints of the conduct of Sir Elijah, and of the trouble and discord caused by the constant disputes between the supreme council and the supreme court of judicature. In a letter to Sulivan he says, " I suffer beyond measure by the present contest, and my spirits are at times so depressed as to affect my health. I feel an injury done me by a man for whom I have borne a sincere and steady friendship during more than thirty years, and to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation, with a tenfold sensibility. And under every consciousness of the necessity which has influenced my own conduct, and the temper with which I have regulated it, I am ready to pass the most painful reproaches on myself on the least symptom of returning kindness from him. Such is my weakness, if this be a weakness. We are both of us unhappily situated and associated; myself linked in the same cause with a man equally his enemy and mine [apparently Francis]; he with one man [apparently Hyde] who has made no scruple to avow himself my enemy—God knows why-and with another man [apparently Chambers] who, though not personally indisposed to me, but governed by a harsh and petulant temper, and possessed of the most extravagant opinion of the omnipotency of his office is the acting jus-

* It appears that the judges quarrelled among themselves before they began their quarrels with the suprome council. In a letter written in November, 1776, Instings says, "Great dissensions have arisen between the judges. They first arose from a difference of opinion concerning the legality of the powers exercised by the Calcuit committee. Why this should have created a personal misundensianding between them I cannot tell; but it has lately broken as with great violence on the occasion of an application made to the court by the company's advocate for a rule to prevent the debtors of government in revolute coarse from cluding its authority by collusive suits in the suprome cont. This rule could not be granted without a virtual acknowledgement of the right of the company to imprison their dewance debtors in the town of Calcuita. It passed with the casting voice of the chief-justice (Impey), who was jound by Mr. Chambers. The other twe judges have protested."—Letter to Mr. Ellust, as given by Gleig.

tice of the peace, and issues almost every preparatory process of the court, which his colleagues must maintain, or their authority and dignity suffer by a diminution of his."* But no gratitude, past services, or hope of future services, could prevent him from interfering when these proceedings and the resentments they provoked appeared to threaten disorganization and ruin to the whole of Bengal. But when he stepped in between the people of India, the supreme council, and the judges, Impey made show of a spirit as high and absolute as his own: he appealed to the authority vested in him by the sovereign and parliament of Great Britain; he recited the clauses of the regulating act, which defined nothing and set no discoverable limits to his authority; and, as a climax, the governorgeneral and all the members of the council were served with summonses to appear before the king's justices, and there answer for some of their public acts. Hastings refused to obey the summons, and proceeded to set at liberty a number of persons who were under arrest by process of the court. Francis, who never agreed with him cordially, either before or after, fully concurred in this war with the judges, for he hated Impey even more intensely than he hated Hastings. His nature too seemed to derive sustenance and joy from the bitterest flowers and fruits, from deadly animosities and fierce contentions, and if he had been allowed his way this war with the judges would have been pushed on ad internecionem. But Hastings, who seldom resorted to violence when his end could be obtained by other means, was fully sensible of the perils he might incur through a loose act of parliament and the tight grip of the law, and of the propriety of separating the court of appeal, called the Sudder Dewance Adaulut, from the supreme council, and surrendering it to the control of the chief-justice, who hitherto had little or no authority or influence over the dewance adauluts of the provinces. This surrender would remove the one great cause of dissension, and would place the whole business of justice or law in the hands of the supreme court; and, as the labours of Sir Elijah Impey would be greatly increased by this double appointment, it would appear proper to double his pay out of the company's exchequer. It is said, on one side, that Impey took a different reading of the regulating act the moment he got this new salary; it is urged, on the other, that his opposition to the council ceased, because the grounds and sources of dispute were removed by extending his authority, &c., and that there was no compromise of principle, nor anything dishonourable, in his taking additional pay for additional toil and study. Perhaps the following confidential explanations, given by Hastings to a friend, may enable the reader to form his opinion as to the motives which led to this "domestic arrangement." After describing certain measures of finance, the governor-general says :- "To these I will add another domestic arrangement, calculated both for

· Letter to Sulivan

the effectual administration of justice, and for the prevention of future contests between the government and superior court, by the appointment of the chief justice to the office of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut. This measure was received by the public with all the prejudices which might be naturally expected to influence the minds of men heated by the late acts of the body of which Sir Elijah was the chief, and who, regarding it as an accession of power to the court itself, conceived themselves exposed to the worst effects of its resentment; but the most intelligent, and many even of the most violent, begin already to moderate their opinion of it. Indeed, I should wonder if they d. a not, for it requires very little sagacity to discover that an exclusive advantage conferred on one member of the cours is by no means likely to in lease either the authority of the whole body, or to strengthen its arimosities. The chief justice, whose heart, though wirls in both extremes, is animated with as much named benevolence as that of any man living, not having the actions of others to defend but left to his wn impulse, will soon regain in this office the popularity thich be once acquired and lost. The court will find him a milder advocate for an extension of authority which certainly did not belong to it, and which is now rendered less necessary, even on their own grounds, then it was when, by the terrors hung over our judicial as well as ministerial officers, the course of justice had, in effect, no free current but in the channel of the supreme court." Many of the proceedings most offensive to the natives were stopped, many most injurious to their purses were continued, but there was never again any collision between the members of the supreme court and the members of the supreme council Impev's juniors subsequently received company's places or gratifications; at least Chambers-afterwards Sir Robert Chambers—one of the bench, was made company's judge at Chinchura * judicial power of the chief justice over the natives was immense, for in his new capacity all appeals from the dewannee adauluts, in all civil causes up the country, left to the native courts, were to be made to him, and he was to have the naming of all the native district judges! When his appointment was reported to the court of directors it gave rise to much doubt and debate, for the compati-

*Chambers was an early college friend and afterwards club companion of Dr. Johnson. When Hasting's varia Lingland, some time between the vears 1764 and 1769, he became arquainted with Johnson, and when the doctor's friend, Chambers, was going out to India as one of the judges, Johnson gave him a recommendatory letter to the governor. Johnson described Chambers as a man of great "purity of munners and vagour of mush."

Hastings was in the highly of writing occusional letters to Johnson. One of these letters, printed in Mr. Gleig's 'Life,' was written only a few hours after the execution of Nuncomar. It bears no sign of an unsusy mind of disturbed coinscience. It is very long. It thanks the doctor for a present he had sept him of Johns's Persian Grammar, then recently published, and which had been delivered to him by Judge Chambers, it describes the interest he was taking in stilperts connected with the laws, languages, and literature of the East; the pleasure with which he had read Johnson's account of his visit to the Hebrides; and it alludes with much animation to Thes. Bootean, with its Lams, and to the Journey of Mr. Bogle into those pasts. It is such a letter as a literary man, with no bluef occipation, and in perfect tranquality of mind, might have written to a literary friend. There is not a syllable in it about the execution.

bility of the two places, and the two salaries, did not appear so clearly to the eyes of other men. The case was laid before the company's solicitor, Mr. Rous, and was further submitted to the consideration of Dunning and of the attorney and solicitor general. Possibly these eminent lawyers did not wish to discourage a precedent of such a profitable duality, or so fine a thing among the prizes in the lottery of their profession; possibly they may only have consulted the Wishes of the directors: but, whatever were their motives. Dunning, Wallace, and Mansfield agreed, in a written opinion, that the appointment of the chief justice to the new office, and the giving him a salary for it, besides what he was entitled to as chief justice, did not appear to them to be illegal, either as being contrary to acts of parliament, or as being incompatible with his duty as chief justice; and further, that they did not see anything in the regulating act that affected the question. A few days after, however, Mr Mansfield stated in a short note to the directors that do tota had arisen in his mind whether the acceptance of a salary, to be held at the pleasure of the company of their servant, was not forbidden by the spirit of the act. This honourable man and upright lawyer could as a lawyer-only doubt; but there was another place where the whole question could be judged in equity, and free from the trammels imposed by legal doubts and ambiguous acts of parliament. Two committees of the House of Commons on Indian affairs were sitting at the time. Burke took the lead in one of them, and Henry Dundas, at that time lord-advocate of Scotland, in the other; and both these able but very different men exercised great activity in obtaining information and drawing up reports, together with an uncornpromising severity towards the company and their chief servants in India. In reporting upon the power conferred on Sir Elijah Impey in his new capacity, they declared that it was exorbitant and dangerous, irregular, illegal, and a bargain be-tween Hastings and him not to be permitted; that, by selling his independence to the governor-general, he sold the administration of justice and vitiated his tribunal-" so far as a place of great power, influence, and patronage, with near 8000%. a-year of emoluments, held at the pleasure of the giver, can be supposed to operate on gratitude, interest, and fear." The House fully and warmly concurred in the reports of the select committee. A new act was introduced to correct the errors of the regulating act, and to remodel in a wiser and a more intelligible manner the supreme court of Bengal. Soon after this-on the 20th of Murch, 1782 Lord North resigned, and the formation of the joint Rockingham and Shellurne admirattration brought Burke into place, though not into the cabinet. Various changes and reforms were then precipitated, and measures of rigour adopted, which the indolence and good nature of the late premier had shrunk from. On the 3rd of May an address to the king was carried in the House of

Commons by a large majority, for the immediate recall of Sir Elijah Impey to answer to the charge of having "accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III." The king assented, and Impey was recalled by a letter from Lord Shelburne, segretary of state.* On the 24th of June notice of motion was given in the Commons for a censure upon Chambers, for accepting the office of company's chief justice at Chinchura; and it was intended to follow this

* One of the great drivers in this business, though he was not yet in parliament, was Sir Philip Francis, a man possibly not devoid of sentiments of patriotisps and justice, but whose motives of action seem always to have had a large alloy of personal feelings and animosities. The following story of his Indum life is sold by one who was personally acquainted with most of the parties mentioned; and, as far as we know, no important particular in it has ever received contradiction:—"Strong resentment was a leading feature in his (Prancis's) character. I have heard him a cow this sentimont more openly and more explicitly than I ever heard any other man avow it in the whole course of my lite, I have heard him publicly say in the House of Commons, Sir Elinah is not int to sit in judgment on any matter where I am interested, nor an if it to sit in judgment on any matter where I am interested, nor an if it to sit in judgment on any matter where I am interested, nor an if it to sit in judgment on him." A relation of the ground of this ill will may be ment on any matter where I am interested, nor an I at to sit in judg-ment on him.' A relation of the ground of this ill will may be amusing Mrs. le Grand, the wife of a gentleman in the civil service in Bengal, was admired for her beauty, for the sweetness of her temper, and for her faccinating accomplishments. She attracted the attention of Mr. Francis. This gentleman, by means of a rope-holder, got into her apartment in the night. After he had remained there about three-quarters of an hour there was an alarm. and Mr. there about three-quarters of an hour there was an alarm, and Mr. Francis came down from the lady's apartment by the rope ladder, at the loot of which he was sexed by Mi, le Grand's servants. An action was brought by Mr le Grand ngainst Mr. Francis, in the supreme court of Calcutta. The judges in that court assess the damages in civil actions without the intervention of a jury. The gouleinen who at thit time filled this situation were Sir Elijah Impey, chief justice, Sr Rebert Chambers, and Mr Justice Hyde. I was intimate with the first and the third from cally life, having lived with them on the Western Circuit. On the trial of this cause Sir Robert Chambers thought that, as no criminality had been proved, no damages should be given. But he afterwards proposed to give 30,000 rupees, which are worth about 3000l sterling. Mr. Justice Hyde was for giving 100,000 rupees. I believe that Mr. Justice Hyde was a suright a judge as ever sat on any bench, but he had an implicable hatred to those who indaliged in the crime inputed to Mr. Francis. Sir Elijah Impey was of opinion that, although no criminal intercome shad been proved, yet that the worng done by Mr. Francis to Mr. Is Ganad in entering has wise's apastment in the night, and thereby destroying her neputation, ought to be comalthough no criminal intercoin s had been proved, yet that the wrong done by Mr. Francis to Mr. le Gand in engeling has what a spatiment in the night, and thereby destroying her reputation, ought to be compensated with liberal faminges. He thought the sum of 80,000 rupees, troposed by Mr. Hyde, of 100,000, too large. He, ther fore, suggested a middle course of 80,000 rupees. This proposal was negareaced in by his two colleagues. When Sir Elijah Impey was delivering the judgment of the court, my lite friend, Mr. Justice Hyde, could not care and the sum of 50,000 rupees, Mr. Justice Hyde, could not care and the sum of 50,000 rupees, Mr. Justice Hyde, to the anusement of the bystanders, called out. 'S becas, brother impey,' which are worth eleven per cost. more than the current rupees. Perhaps this story may not be thought worthy of relation, but it gave occasion to the tammosity which Mr. Francis publicly avowed against Sir Kith Impey, and the criminal charge, afterwards brought against him in the lituae of Commons, was the offering of the almosity. I will follow up this sneededs by mentioning the consequences of the action brought by Mr. Le Grand, The lady was divored, she was obliged to throw herself under the protection of Mr. Francis for subsistence. After a short time she isk him and went to Eugland. In London she felt into the company of M. Talleyrind de Petigord Capitrated by her charges he brevailed on her to accompany him to Pars, where he married her."—Bredlectons and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Afters, during the Rign of George Hill. 19 John Nicholds, Eng. Member of the House of Commons in the friftenth, sixteesth, and eightemath Parliaments of Great Byttain. If the stories told by the Paris in so Madame to Tentral, Annot Madame le Grand—bet free, the holy's accomplishments were not of a literary kind. Madame le Grand was a native of Pondicherry, Monsseur, her husband, was a Swiss. He lost his fortune, including Francis's sice rujees, and, at the peace of Amileas, weno

If the stories told by the Parisi ins of Madame Talleyrand, Princess of Benevento—whom by the way they dial Madame Crant, and not Madame le Grand—be true, the lady's accomplishments were not of a literary kind. Madame le Grand was a taite of Pendicherry, Monsseur, her husband, was a Swiss. He lost his fortune, including Francis's sicca rujees, and, at the peace of Amlens, wont over to Paris to seek a new one, or to solient a place under Napoleon's go vernment, through the patronage of his ex wife and M. de Tallayrand! What followed was a tose d'advense worthy of the great master, Talleyrand. He was sent out as governor to liata un, but wishout production, and was desirable and the treistiment by writing a tibel on Madame la Princesse, who bought up and discretyed the few cojies that were printed. The end of M. le Grand we know not; but for the humanny of Talleyrand it might be stryy welf finned he ended his days in Finistriple, or some other fortrees, as a state prisoner. It appears that, during his stay in India, Francis lost his own wife by death; and Lord hyron somewhere mentioners sector workers.

with a resolution for his recall. But General Smith put off his motion for the next session, and, in the end, Chambers was let off easily. Hastings himself had run a narrow chance of being recalled as a criminal at the same time. On the 9th of April (1782), almost a month before the vote against Impey, Dundas, as chairman of the secret committee, moved that their reports should be referred to a committee of the whole House; and in the speech which he delivered on this occasion he condemned everything that had been done in India, and held up the conduct of all the three presidencies, of nearly every important functionary of the company, to censure and abhorrence. A bill of pains and penalties was brought in against Sir Thomas Rumbold, late president of Madras, which was read a first time, and afterwards dropped in a manner not very honourable either to the House or to the party accused. On the 30th of May, Dundas, who had grounded his accusations on intelligence then recently received and scarcely authenticated, of the destruction of the Rajah of Benares, moved a resolution to the effect—"That Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General of Bengal. having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the directors to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said governorgeneral, &c, and to recall him to Great Britain."* But this motion was made at a moment when the danger of India was at its height-when, according to the last news that could have been received in England, Hyder Ali and the French were masters of a great part of the Carnatic, and Bussy was expecting great reinforcements from Europe; and, notwithstanding many quarrels or disagreements with him, a majority of the tors, and a most decided majority among the holders of India stock, were of opinion that Hastings alone was capable of guiding their interests through this terrible storm, and of profiting by the calm that might follow it. There was, moreover, the instinctive dread of any interference or exercise of direct authority by the crown or by parliament, which were about equally suspected of the design, or at least of a wish, to assume the entire powers of government in India. The measure also lost the efficacious countenance and protection of ministers, or of that part of the ministry where hostility to Hastings and deference to the opinions of Burke were most prominent—for the Marquess of Rockingham died at this critical moment, and, though Dundas's resolution had been adopted, no further steps were taken. Indeed, this inactivity would be sufficiently accounted for by the immediate disseverance of the Rockingham and Shelburne parties, by the bitter contentions which ensued between them, and by the all-absorbing

Dundage resolution included William Hornby, Eag., president of the council of Bombay, who was charged with the same general faults, and who was also to be recalled.

subject of the American peace then negotiating. On the other side, the directors and the shareholders friendly to Hastings were uncommonly active and determined. At a great meeting of the proprietors of India stock, held on the 31st of October (1782), it was determined by a large majority that the resolution of the House of Commons should be set at defiance, and that Hastings should not be recalled; and a resolution of their own was adopted, affirming, with perfect truth, that they were intrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their governor-general; and that they were not bound to obey the directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal. At the re-assembling of parliament Dundas harangued against these proceedings in Leadenhall-street, as being of a most dangerous tendency, and, in the highest degree, insulting to the authority of the House. But in the middle of this session-on the 5th of April, 1783-the Shelburne ministry, which had been patched up on the death of Lord Rockingham, was shattered and dissolved, after being only nine months in office, by the jealousy and enmity of the Rockinghamites. Then the memorable coalition ministry succeeded to a still shorter tenure of office; and Dundas, who was too cunning to couple his fortunes with it, remained in a high patriotic state of opposition—in a state not likely to win ministerial favour to any scheme of his proposing; and the coalition, unpopular as it was out of doors, commanded an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. Besides, Indian reforms were the peculiar province of Burke.* It must, therefore, have been without any hope of success that Dundas rose on the 14th of April to introduce a bill, providing that the king should have the power of recalling the principal servants of the company, &c.; to repeat his former arguments for the recall of Hastings; and to recommend Lord Cornwallis, who had recently lost his army and capitulated to the Americans and French, as the proper man to be the Governor-General of India. Although Cornwallis had been so unfortunate, he retained the esteem and warm good-will of the king; and, though not a man of brilliant abilities either as a general or as a statesman—we believe

"Major Scott relates some amusing particulars about Lord North at this time. Burke, among other crimes and misdameaners, had imputed peculation to the governor-general. "Do you know," and Lord North, speaking to Governor Johnstein, while the major was present, "that Rhigh Scott Rey into a violent passion, yesterday in his majesty's presence? and what do you think it was for? Why, because 8th. Barke had made use of the wors geometries in the House. Now you know that peculation is a very common word in our House, and strict partitamentary language." The major vald that was true enough, and that he had shen heard Mr. Burke, apply the same word to his lordship. "There was a time, my lord," added Scott, "when Mr. Burke persecuted your lordship with as much invesency as he does now Mr. Bestungs," "True," replied the easy-minded ex-minister; "they badgered me till they turned mo out; and shall? shell you a secret? They will badger Hashings till they routhim out ten."—Letter to Routings, dated the 18th of July, 1785, as given by Oley.

Is an earlier lotter Squit describes the character of North with some truth. He tells libstings—"If he had remained in office you would have been supported as vigorously as it was in the nature of Lord North to support any man. His lordship, with wit, knowledge, integrity, and adulties equal to any of Bis successors, was certainly so indolent as to be the worst ministée for the public this country has ever had."—Id.

that there would have been in India some worse capitulation than that of York Town if his lordship had been in Hastings's place between the years 1779 and 1783-he had many estimable and even high qualities; among which was a disinterestedness or a disregard to money, marvellous in those days; but Dundas's eloquence on this occasion provokes a smile, or a less pleasant emotion, for the memory of his own administration of the Indian patronage, when he had it afterwards at his disposal, rushes to the mind, and peeps through the periods of his patriotic oratory, like a grinning "Here," exclaimed Dundas, alluding to imp. Lord Cornwallia, "here is no broken fortune to be mended, no avarice to be gratified! Here is no beggarly mushroom kindred to be provided for! No crew of hungry followers gaping to be gorged !" Fox's unfortunate East India Bill, which was brought forward on the 11th of November of the same year (1783), and which would have overthrown Hastings if it had been passed, overthrew the coalition ministry. Mr. Pitt then ascended the stage which he was destined to occupy for so long a period; and it was under his first administration that the sceptre of the Governor-General of Bengal was broken. On the 13th of August, 1784, Pitt's Indian Bill, was passed into a law.* It instituted, as we have mentioned, the Board of Control, by which ever since the government of India may be said to have been directed. It did not, like Mr. Fox's bill, claim the nomination of the members of this controlling power for the House of Commons, but left it solely to the crown. It did not abolish the two existing courts of directors and proprietors as Fox had proposed to do, but it created a secret committee, which was to absorb nearly the whole of the diminished power that was left to the directors, and it greatly curtailed the powers of the court of proprietors. It enacted that every individual who had held any office of trust in India should, on his return home, disclose the amount of the fortune he brought with him, and it provided a new tribunal for the trial and punishment of offences liable to be committed in India, or " for the prosecuting and bringing to speedy and condign punishment British subjects guilty of extortion and other misdemeanors, while holding offices in the service of the king or company in India."+ The board of control was to be composed of six commissioners, all members of the privy council, chosen by the king, of whom the chancellor of the exchequer and one of the principal secretaries of state were to be two: and, in the

* See ante, vol. i. p. 50%.

† This claits, which, as it originally steed, was strangely conceived, soon became a dond letter, and was, we believe, sever once coted upon. The new and unreadment sourt far the stain of Indian delinquests was to be formed of four members of the liques of Lords and etc of the frames of Commons, to be decree by their respective Houses, and loft one ladge from such affects by their respective Houses, and loft one ladge from such affects only in their respective Houses, and loft one ladge from such affects in grants of the second of the committee prison by all prevarionation; to dompad witnesses, by panishment, as for a meademensor, to attend their semmonses, and its force them to give evidence, by fine or imprisonment; at their own dismetton. The British subjects in fadia deak the alarm, as well-they might, and seen began to pour in petitions and representations. Subsequently the clause was somewhat remodelled and changed.

2 x 2

absence of the chancellor of the exchequer and the principal secretary, the senior of the remaining four was to preside. As neither of the two great functionaries named were ever likely to find time for a constant attendance, the whole business soon rested with that senior, known by the name of the President of the Board of Control, who is essentially a secretary of state for the India department. In the act, however, the authority was vested in the plural number—in commissioners. These commissioners were not to interfere in commercial matters, but in all other matters their power was most extensive. They were vested with a control and superintendence over all civil, military, and revenue officers of the company, and the directors were obliged to lay before them all papers relative to the management of their possessions, and to obey all orders which they received from them on points connected with their civil or military government, or the revenues of their territories. commissioners were obliged to return the copies of papers which they received from the directors in fourteen days, with their approbation, or to state at large their reasons for disapproving of them; and their dispatches, so approved or amended, were to be sent to India, unless the commissioners should attend to any representations of the court of directors respecting further alterations in them. The court of directors had no power to send any orders regarding their civil or military government without the sanction of the commissioners; but these might (if the directors neglected to send true copies of their intended dispatches, upon any subject, within fourteen days) send by themselves orders and instructions relative to the civil or military concerns of the company to any of the presidencies of India; and these instructions the court of directors were, in such case, bound to forward. If the commissioners forwarded any orders to the court of directors on points not relating to the civil or military government, or to the revenues of the territorial possessions of the company, the directors might appeal to the king and council. In all cases of secrecy, and particularly such as related to war or peace with the native powers of India, the commissioners had the power of sending their orders to the local government of India through a secret committee of the court of directors, which committee, by the act, could in this case only be considered as the vehicle of the instructions to the local The chief government in authorities of India. India was to consist of a governor-general and a council of three, of whom the commander-in-chief of the forces for the time being was to be one, and to have a voice and precedence next after the governor-general; but the said commander-in-chie was not to succeed as governor-general in the event of a death or vacancy, unless by a special appointment of the court of directors. The constitution of the government of the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay was the same as at Bengal, and at both the governor had, like the governorgeneral, a casting-vote in council. But these two

minor presidencies were placed completely under the rule of the governor-general in council, on all points connected with their relations or negotiations with the country powers, peace or war, and the application of their revenues and military forces. These subordinate presidencies were strictly prohibited from making war or peace without orders from the governor-general at Calcutta, or from the court of directors, or the secret committee at home. except only in cases of sudden emergency or imminent danger, when it would be ruinous or unsafe to postpone such hostilities or treaties. The supreme government at Calcutta was to be intrusted with the power of suspending the governors of Madras and Bombay in case of any disobedience of orders; but the power of war and peace was now to be restrained even in the supreme government at Calcutta, it being declared by this act that, as the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honour, and the policy of the British nation, it was not lawful for the governor-general in council, without the express authority of the court of directors or of the secret committee, to commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the native princes or states in India, or into any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of such princes or states, except when hostilities had been commenced or preparations actually made for the attack of the British nation in India, or of some of the states and princes whose dominions the British nation was engaged by subsisting treaties to protect and defend. The right of recall was vested wholly in the crown: * the king was to have power to recall the governor-general or any other officer of the company; and, if the court of directors did not within two months nominate to vacancies which might occur in any of the principal charges or employments, such as governor-generating governor, commander-in-chief, or member of council, then the crown became possessed of the right to make such nomination. The patronage of India, by this bill, was left to the directors, but with material deductions; for the king was to name the commander-in-chief, who was always to be second in council; and the governor-general, governors of Madras and Bombay, and members of all the three councils, were subject to the approbation of the king, who was to have the power of recalling any or all of them. The secret

The directors were soon made to frel that this right of recall was pretty nearly tantamount to the right of nomination. In the month of October, 1784, before Pitt's bill was two months old, the directors appointed Mr. Holland, an old servant, who had been long at Madres, and was reputed to have ability, integrity, and an extensive knowledge of the country, to succeed Lond Macariaey in the government of that part of India, in case of his lordship's resignation, death, or removal. The board of control objected to the choice. The court of directors persisted in their appointment, and intimated that the board of control were meddling in a matter that did not belong to them, massauch as by the late act the power of appointing to such places rested with the directors. Hereupon the board of control said:—"If the reasons which we have adduced do not saisfy the court of directors, we have certainly no right to control their opinion." But at the same time they informed Mr. Holland that if he accepted the appointment and went to India, he would be recalled the knownent he got there. Thus settled the dispute; and Mr. Dundas was allowed to nominate Sir Archibald Campbell, who, whatever were his other qualifications had the merit of being Dundas's friend.

committee, which in effect was to share nearly all power with the board of control, was to be chosen by the directors, and not to exceed the number of three. By the clause in which the commissioners or board of control was authorised in all cases requiring secrecy to transmit their orders through this secret committee of three without communicating them to the court of directors, and to receive answers under the same concealment, the board of control and the committee of secrecy could interrupt and suspend, as often as they thought proper, the power of the court of directors. In fact, as far as related to all the higher functions of government in India, the court of directors was reduced to three, and these three, in conjunction with the president of the board of control, formed the executive. The greatest outcry raised against Fox's India Bill was that it went to increase in a most dangerous degree the influence of the minister. As Pitt's bill followed so closely on that scheme, and as all the exclamation and declamations made by himself and his party were fresh in the public mind, it was incumbent on him to shun as much as possible any appearance of an intention to increase the ministerial patronage, or that most envied part of it which lay in the distribution of new places of great profit. Hence no salaries were annexed to the offices of president or member of the board of control, Pitt pretending and openly stating, to serve the purpose of the moment, that these offices might always be filled without any increase of expense to the nation, or of influence to the crown, by individuals holding other places of profit. So glaring an anomaly as that of public men doing double duty without double pay must have shocked the tenderest sensibilities of many members of both Houses; and every one that reflected on this new constitution for the India Company, and on the extent of difficult and important business it put into the hands of the board of control, must have foreseen that so much work would not long be done for nothing. Burke, who is generally believed to have had more to do in the composition of the unfortunate India Bill brought in by the coalition than Fox, whose name it hears, declared that Pitt's bill in reality vested in the crown an influence paramount to any that had been created by Mr. Fox's bill—that it put the whole East India Company into the hands of the crown. Fox said,—" By whom is this board of superintendents to be appointed? Is it not by his majesty? Is not this giving power to the sovereign for the ends of influence, and for the extension of that system of corruption which has been so justly reprobated? The last parlia-

In the debate on Fox's motion for leave to bring in his India Bill, Pitt had said, among other things still more pointed: "Was it not the principal and declared object of this bill, that the whole system of Indian government should be placed in sever person, and those under the immediate appointment of so other than the minister homself?" In a subsequent debate he had said that he objected to the bill, "because it created a new and enormous influence by westing is certain nominace of the minister all the patronage of the East." But Pitt's exquisite alarms about the crown and constitution all substited when these seven mon-scon reduced, in effoct, to four-were to be appointed solely by himself; when the three directors and the members of the privy council were to be, to all intents and purposes, hisown nominees.

ment, to their immortal honour, voted the increasing influence of the crown to be inconsistent with public liberty. The right honourable gentleman, in consequence of that vote, finds the influence probably unequal to the great objects of his administration. He is therefore willing to take the present opportunity of making his court where he knows our late doctrine will never be acceptable: and the plain language of the whole matter now is, that the patronage of India must be appended to the executive power of this country, which otherwise will not be able to carry on schemes hostile to the constitution, in opposition to the House of Commons." And, indeed, it can scarcely be denied that Pitt's bill gave as much influence and patronage to the crown & Fox's bill would have given to parliament; but, as, by the rejected bill, parliament was only to name the board of seven directors in the first instance, the power would in four years have reverted to the crown, so that the operation of the two bills in increasing the power of the crown would have been pretty nearly equal. Fox did not indeed propose the creation of a board of control out of the members of his majesty's privy council; but the seven supreme and controlling directors named by the king could not be less dependent on the crown than the members of the privy council selected by his majesty to be a board In either case the influence of the of control. crown would be nearly the same; but, in other points of view, Pitt's scheme seems preferable to that of Fox. It had, for example, become essential that there should be, at least in all political matters, such as wars, treaties, &c., a perfect accordance between the government at home and the government in India; and that the two should not be pulling different ways, as they had so often done, not less to the dishenour than to the loss of the nation, and not less to the disgrace of the home government than to the danger of the governorgeneral, governors, and councils in India. Now, the only way of securing this perfect accordance was to blend the two governments, and to put at the head of them, with an ample controlling power in India, men who were members of the British administration, or-as happened almost immediately after-a man who was in fact king's secretary of state for Indian affairs, and one of the most essential parts of the national administration. It is altogether beyond our ingenuity to conjecture how the Indian executive could have been reduced to a proper working number, or how the agreement and concord between the national government and the company, and its servants in India, could possibly have been brought about, without increasing the power and influence either of the crown or of the parliament. In which hands, for the greater benefit of the liberties of the nation, the deposit ought to have been made, we will not determine; but it appears to us that the surest way to throw the affairs of India into hopeless confusion, and eventually to lose our empire in the East, would have been to have left it wholly dependent on the

conflicting votes of a popular assembly, not exempt from the ordinary vices and passions of mankind, not self-denying patriots or martyrs, but, at the time, rather unhappily distinguished by what Oliver Cromwell called "self-seeking."

The enormous debts of Mohammed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic, or, as he was more commonly called in England, "the Nabob of Arcot," had been several times the subject of parliamentary discussion, and had for a long time excited the atten-



NABOR OF ARCOT. From a Painting by Willison.

tion of the nation, who had been taught to believe that the greater part of the claims of the nabob's creditors were fictitious and fraudulent. Macpherson, a man of intrigue and ability, had come over to England as far back as the year 1768, to plead the cause of the Indian prince with the English ministry, but in a secret and underhand way. To the Duke of Grafton, who was then at the head of the cabinet, the acute Isle-of-Skye man represented that the nabob had personal merits as a statesman and gentleman; that Great Britain owed the rise of her power in India chiefly to him; that he was treated with indignity, even tyranny, by the company; and that the vants of the company claimed from him sums of money which he did not owe. Macpherson employed his pen, which was a good one, in advocating the cause of the nabob in many publications; he offered bribes or presents to the minister-Grafton, that compound of villany and violence

according to Junius and John Wilkes-who refused to accept them; he offered bribes to the minister's secretary, but he also rejected them; and he next offered to advance seventy lacs of rupees, or even more, to the minister, as a loan for the public service, at the low interest of two per cent., but this also was declined. Either to rid themselves of a troublesome opponent, or from a sense of his very great address and abilities, the company promoted instead of dismissing this intriguing servant; and from the time that Macpherson had attained the rank of a member of the supreme council of Calcutta, he had ceased to care about the surcharged debts and grievances of the The select committee of the Nabob of Arcot. House of Commons not only expressed their disapprobation of Macpherson's appointment, but accused him of having, by his "flattering delusions, encouraged extravagant hopes and expectations in the nabob of becoming an independent prince; and this, they said, had disturbed the peace of India, shaken the lawful government of the company at Madras, &c. There were other recondite passages into which we cannot enter, in this almost interminable business. "The debts of the Nabob of Arcot," "the Nabob of Arcot's debts," were sounds that rang through the land session after session, year after year, like some mysterious Shibboleth; and in every bill, in nearly every discussion on Indian affairs, it was said, and by every party in turn, that something must be done to effect a settlement, and to check a progressive increase, by interest and compound interest, by agencies, brokerages, and additions of all kinds, that bade fair to rival the national debt of Great Britain. Dundas, in his scheme for the management of Indian affairs, had proposed that the governor-general and the council "should take into consideration the present state of the affairs of the Naboh of Areo, and inquire into and ascertain the origin, nature, and amount of his just debts;" and then take the most speedy and effectual measures for discharging them. Fox's India bill contained a clause to the same effect, together with a provision to prevent those evils in future, by declaring it "unlawful for any servant. civil or military, of the company, to be engaged in the borrowing or lending of any money, or in any money transactions whatsoever, with any protected or other native prince." Pitt's India Bill was still more explicit. The clause in it was-" Whereas very large sums of money are claimed to be due to British subjects by the Nabob of Arcot, . . . be it enacted, that the court of directors shall, as soon as may be, take into consideration the origin and justice of the said demands; and that they shall give such orders to their presidencies and servants abroad for completing the investigation thereof, as the nature of the case shall require; and for establishing, in concert with the nabob, such fund for the discharge of those debts which shall appear to be justly due, as shall appear consistent with the rights of the company, the security of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the said nabob."

As this bill, and all the parts of it, had become law, and as further delay seemed impracticable or dangerous, the court of directors proceeded to act upon it, considering that, by the words of the clause, which mentioned nothing about the board of control, first called into existence by this bill, it was clearly and wholly devolved upon them; nor do the words of the clause admit of any other interpretation. Accordingly the directors drew up a set of instructions for their presidencies and servants in India, to inquire into the origin and justice of the said demands, &c.; and they transmitted copies of these instructions to the board of control merely for approbation: but, to their astonishment and consternation, the board of control, with the prepotent Dundas at its head (for he had assumed the lead immediately after the passing of Pitt's bill, although Lord Sydney, one of the secretaries of state, had been appointed to the office of president), took the whole matter into their own hands, and, with an intrepidity in injustice which has not often been surpassed, commanded and decreed that the Nabob of Arcot's debts should be admitted in toto, without any inquiry at all. Dundas said, in this famous decree, that they were also to be discharged in toto; but to extract payment for such enormous sums was beyond his power and the limited duration of the life of man. The debts were divided by the board of control into three classes; and twelve lacs annually were to be net apart by the nabob or by the company administering for him, to pay interest for, and to go to the gradual liquidation of, the said debts. The current interest was to vary from six to ten and twelve per cent. The court of directors, whose hostility to Fox had materially contributed to place Pitt and Dundas in their proud pre-eminence, and who had expected a large return of ministerial gratitude - so credulous at times are the most practised politicians—concealed their rage, and mildly represented to the board of control that the debts ought to be examined before being admitted; that they considered the inquiry as left to them; that the portion of the debts owing to the company as a body ought certainly to be discharged before any private claims, &c.: they submitted to the consideration of the board whether inquiry could have done any harm; and they said, with a little more boldness, that their duty required them to state their strongest dissent to the appropriation of the twelve lacs of rupees per annum by the board. They represented that the nabob had, long before the passing of the act, agreed to pay them seven lacs per annum in liquidation of their arrears; and they declared that, until their own debts should be discharged, they could by no means consent to give up any part of the seven lacs to the private creditors. This correspondence between the court of directors and the board of control passed in the autumn of 1784. Soon after the re-assembling of parliament, Fox, not without a little malicious exultation at the woful discovery · Appendix to Burke's speech on the Nabeb of Arcot's Debts.

made by the directors, that they had caught a Tartar in Dundas, moved that the directions for inquiry, &c., which had been transmitted to India by the court of directors, should be laid before the The foulest motives were attributed to the House. great manager of the board of control in rescinding those instructions. Dundas undertook the defence of the board of control, which was his own defence. He maintained that the conduct of the board had been within the strict letter of the statute (Pitt's bill), inasmuch as that board was enabled by a clause in the act to originate orders in cases of urgent necessity, and to direct their being transmitted to India; nor had the orders of the board about the nabob's debts been given till after a careful and sufficient examination into the subject and the justice of the claims. He contended that the papers in the company's records at the India House which by the way Dundas had hardly seen, even at a distance-contained as full-information on every transaction relating to the pabob's debts as the court of directors could ever hope to receive. He next proceeded to justify all the claims made on the nabob, merely hinting that inquiry would still be open as to some of the private creditors. (This last hint, however, differed widely from the official letter of the bound of control, which indicated no such possibility of inquiry, but affirmed-1. That it was inexpedient to keep the nabob's debts longer afloat; 2. That the final conclusion of the business would tend to promote tranquillity: and 3. That the debts were admitted, inasmuch as the debtor, Mohammed Ali, had concurred with the creditors in establishing the validity of their claims) Dundas concluded with cautioning the House, if they wished to have an established government in India, not to suffer themselves to imbibe prejudices against a board that was but newly instituted, and not to interfere with the executive power on all frivolous occasions. Mr. Smith, the chairman of the court of directors, said that some of the private debts ordered to be paid by the board of control, without inquiry, might be just and unexceptionable; but that others were of a very different complexion. He might be supposed to know as much of the records at the India House as the recently appointed board of control could possibly know; and he was of opinion that they did not contain all the information required. Smith was followed by Sir Thomas Rumbold, the late governor of Madras, whom Dundas had previously threatened with impeachment or a bill of pains and penalties. Rumbold threw suspicion on hearly all the debts public or private—the old debt of 1767, the cavalry loan of 1777, and the consolidated debt of the same year, which last, he said, swallowed up all the others, by its magnitude and enormity. Many of the same, he affirmed, had been lent to the nabob, in direct contradiction to the standing orders of the company, which prohibited their servants from lending money to the princes of the country; and he added that he believed this was not the worst circumstance attending that particu-

Baller 11

lar debt. But the impression made by these two speeches was nothing compared to the effect produced by Burke, who rose on this evening—the 28th of February, 1785—to deliver his wonderful speech " on the Nabob of Arcot's debts." Under the touch of this great master the crooked figures of accounts turned into glorious figures of rhetoric; and a subject as dry as the sand of the desert became interesting, succulent, and full of life, like the luxuriant vegetation of some Indian valley. Where Pitt was to be humbled and Dundas exposed, there could scarcely be a want of the vehement and denunciatory parts of cloquence, which are esteemed by some the parts that most constitute a great orator :- " The times we live in, Mr. Speaker," said Burke, " have been distinguished by extraordinary events. Habituated, however, as we are, to uncommon combinations of men and affairs, I believe nobody recollects anything more surprising than the spectacle of this day. The right honourable gentleman (Dundas) whose conduct is now in question formerly stood forth in this House the prosecutor of the worthy baronet who spoke after him (Rumbold). He charged him with several grievous acts of malversation in office, with abuses of a public trust of a great and heinous nature. In less than two years we see the situation of the parties reversed: and a singular revolution puts the worthy baronet in a fair way of returning the prosecution in a recriminatory bill of pains and penalties, grounded on a breach of public trust, relative to the government of the very same part of India. If he should undertake a bill of that kind, he will find no difficulty in conducting it with a degree of skill and vigour fully equal to all that have been exerted against him.* But the change of relation between these two gentlemen is not so striking as the total difference of their deportment under the same unhappy circumstances. Whatever the merits of the worthy baronet's defence might have been, he did not shrink from the charge. He met it with manliness of spirit, and

* The charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold, late governor of Madras, &c., and assuredly a corrupt and unercenary man, had been sufficiently heavy. The company, discovering, among other particulars, that, though his salary and emoluments did not exceed \$0,000l. a-year, he had remitted to Europe as axvings made in less than three years 164,000l. dismissed hun from their service in 1781, together with four members of the council of Fort St George. In April, 1782, Dundas, as chairman of the secret committee, had presented such a repost and made such a speech against Sir Ihomas, that it was impossible to avoid criminal proceedings. Accordingly, some months after, Dundas himself had been allowed to draw up articles of charge, and to bring in a bill of pains and penaltics for high crimes and misdemeanors committed by the said Sir Thomas Rumbold. But Rumbold had made an able defence, and, as the House grew weary of the business, and were agitated by the war of parties, the bill had been neglected, and after the dismissal of the coalition ministry a motion had been carried for adjourning the further consideration of the bill for six months; and so the whole matter was let drop just at the time when Dundas, the original prosecutor, by coming into power with Pitt, might have continued the presention with sure effect. As long as the Rockingham were the coalition had been in office, Dundas had bitterly compilied of obstacles thrown in the path of justice, of the thin attendance and the indifference of the House to the delinquencies of Rumbold. It was impossible that all these circumstances should not give rise to rumours very unfavourable to Durdas. One of these rumours, as reported by Sir Nathaniel Wrazall, was that Sir Thomas Rumbold entered into a very close comexion with Righy, who was the intimate triend of Durdas, and, though no longer in office, "still possessed givest expectities of being useful, and was not supposed to lie under the dominion of any fastidious scruples."

decency of behaviour. What would have been thought of him if he had held the present language of his old accuser? When articles were exhibited against him by that right honourable gentleman, he did not think proper to tell the House that we ought to institute no inquiry, to inspect no paper, to examine no witness. He did not tell us (what at that time he might have told us with some show of reason) that our concerns in India were matters of delicacy; that to divulge anything relative to them would be mischievous to the state. He did not tell us that those who would inquire into his proceedings were disposed to dismember the empire. He had not the presumption to say that, for his part, having obtained, in his Indian presidency, the ultimate object of his ambition, his honour was concerned in executing with integrity the trust which had been legally committed to his charge; that others, not having been so fortunate, could not be so disinterested; and therefore their accusations could spring from no other source than faction, and envy to his fortune. Had he been frontless enough to hold such vain, vapouring language in the face of a grave, a detailed, a specified matter of accusation, whilst he violently resisted everything which could bring the merits of his cause to the test; had he been wild enough to anticipate the absurdities of this day-that is, had he inferred, as his late accuser has thought proper to do, that he could not have been guilty of malversation in office for this curious reason, that he had been in office; had he argued the impossibility of his abusing his power on this sole principle, that he had power to abuse, he would have left but one impression on the mind of every man who heard him and who believed him in his senses—that, in the utmost extent, he was guilty of the charges." But it was for the House to consider whether the cellor of the exchequer and his friend the treasurer of the navy, acting as a board of control, were justified by law or policy in suspending the legal arrangements for inquiry made by the court of directors, in order to transfer the public revenues to the private emolument of certain servants of the company without the inquiry prescribed by parliament. He maintained that the board of control had no right whatsoever to intermeddle in that business; that the intermeddling of ministers was a downright usurpation, and a forcing themselves into a very suspicious office, which every man delicate as to his character would rather have sought to avoid. maintained that the court of directors, in transmitting their instructions to India to institute an inquiry on the spot, had done no more than what they were absolutely bound to do by the clause in Pitt's India act; that it was not a case of option, but of necessity, with them; that they could not, had they wished, have done otherwise than obey the letter of the bill. It had been objected, over and over again, that gentlemen living all their lives in England could not comprehend the labyrinths of Indian affairs. "But," exclaimed Burke, "on

any specific matter of delinquency you are as capable of judging as if the same thing were done at your own door. Fraud, injustice, oppression, peculation, engendered in India, are crimes of the same blood, family, and caste with those that are born and bred in England. To go no further than the case before us: you are just as competent to judge whether the sum of FOUR MILLIONS STER-LING ought or ought not to be passed from the public treasury into a private pocket, without any title except the claim of the parties, when the issue of facts is laid in Madras as when it is laid in Westminster." He called the nabob's debts "a gigantic phantom of debt," "a prodigy that would have filled any common man with superstitious fears." Any man but the confident young minister "would have exorcised that shapeless, nameless form and, by everything sacred, would have adjured it to tell by what means a small number of slight individuals, of no consequence or situation, possessed of no lucrative offices, without the command of armies, or the known administration of revenues, without profession of any kind, without any sort of trade sufficient to employ a pedler, could have, in a few years (as to some, even in a few months), amassed treasures equal to the revenues of a respectable kingdom? Was it not enough to put these gentlemen, in the noviciate of their administration, on their guard, and to call upon them for a strict inquiry (if not to justify them in a reprobation of those demands without any inquiry at all), that, when all England, Scotland, and Ireland had for years been witness to the immense sums haid out by the servants of the company in stocks of all denominations, in the purchase of lands, in the buying and building of houses, in the securing quiet seats in parliament, or in the tumultuous riot of contested elections, in wandering throughout the whole range of those variegated modes of inventive prodigality which sometimes have excited our wonder, sometimes roused our indignation; that, after all, India was four millions still in debt to them!" He told Pitt and Dundas that, even if they had looked into the records at the India House, they would have found that there was not the concurrence of the great debtor with his creditors they spoke of; that in a letter to the court of directors, written by the nabob at the very period when the great body of these debts were contracting, they would have found that prince declaring that the company's servants were robbing him and the company at one and the same time.-" Your servants," said the nabob, "have no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages, yet in a few years they return to England with many lacs of pagodas. How can you or I account for such immense fortunes acquired in so short a time without any visible means of getting them?"-Dundas had made some sneering allusions to Fox's India Bill, and the way in which it dealt with the present question. "It is not necessary," exclaimed Burke, "that the right honourable gentleman should surcastically call that time to my

recollection. Well do I remember every circumstance of that memorable period. God forbid I should forget it! O illustrious disgrace! O victorious defeat! May your memorial be fresh and new to the latest generations! May the day of that generous conflict be stamped in characters never to be cancelled or worn out from the records of time! Let no man hear of us, who shall not hear that in a struggle against the intrigues of courts, and the perfidious levity of the multitude, we fell in the cause of honour, in the cause of our country, in the cause of human nature itself! But, if fortune should be as powerful over fame as she has been prevalent over virtue, at least our conscience is beyond her jurisdiction. My poor share in the support of that great measure no man shall ravish from me. It shall be safely lodged in the sanctuary of my heart; never, never to be forn from thence but with those holds that grapple it to life." denied that these private debts were ever protected, or funds provided for them, by Fox's bill, which positively forbade any British subject to receive assignments upon any part of the territorial revenue of the nabob. He accused ministers of having wickedly put their hands in the public purse for this, and for transactions ten times worse than this. The motive, he said, was plain—it was to obtain parliamentary influence, that source of all our misgovernment, and of almost all our misery. that influence everything was to be sacrificed by a remorseless administration. "Our wonderful minister, as you all know, formed a new plan, a plan insigne, recens, indictum ore alio-a plan for supporting the freedom of our constitution by court intrigues, and for removing its corruptions by Indian delinquency. To carry that bold paradoxical design into execution sufficient funds and apt instruments became necessary. You are perfectly sensible that a parliamentary reform occupies his thoughts day and night. In his anxious researches upon this subject, natural instinct, as well as sound policy, would direct his eyes and settle his choice on Paul Benfield.* Paul Benfield is the grand parliamentary reformer, the reformer to whom the

parliamentary reformer, the reformer to whom the

This money-getting man enjoyed but an indifferent reputation for honour or honesty. Trivile things had been related of him in committees of the House of Commons, and afterwards published in parliamentary reports, &c. The select committee at Fort St. George had, in 1783, accused him of almost every possible reascility in his transactions in the Carnatic, and with the nabob in particular. They said that, to secure the permanency of his own power and profit, he had kept the nabob on absolute stranger to the state of his affairs: that he had kept the accounts and correspondence is the English language, which neither the nabob on his son could read; that he had surrounded the nabob on every side, keeping him totally, at his meroy, and "making him believe what was not true, and subscribe to what he did not understand." They solemnly declared, not as parties is a cause, or even as voluntary witnesses, but as executive officers in the discharge of their duty, and under the impression of the sacred olliquation which bound them to truth and justice, that Paul Benfield and his creatures had prosecuted projects to the injury and danger of the company and individuals, and that it would be improper to trust and dangerous to employ them any longer. Mr. Petrie, late resident at Taujore, on his examination before the select committee of the Commons, deposed to the facts that Faul Benfield and abused his authority, and had been a great extortioner. Being asked whether he was not informed by the rajah or by others, that Mr. Benfield, while he manged the revenues of Tanjore, treated the inhabitants with report in the facts that Fun Benfeld bad abused his was not informed by the rajah or by others, that Mr. Benfield, while he manged the revenues of Tanjore, treated the inhabitants with report of the select committee of the Commons, deposed to the facts that Fun Benfeld bad of the Residual did treat the inhabitants with rigour. In reply to other questions Mr. Petrie alleged that Benf

whole choir of reformers bow, and to whom even the right honourable gentleman himself must yield the palm: for what region in the empire, what city, what borough, what county, what tribunal in this kingdom is not full of Paul's labours? Others have been only speculators—he is the grand practical reformer; and, whilst the chancellor of the exchequer pledges in vain the man and the minister to increase the provincial members, Mr. Benfield has auspiciously and practically begun it. Leaving far behind even Lord Camelford's generous design of bestowing Old Sarum on the Bank of England, Mr. Benfield has thrown in the borough of Cricklade to reinforce the county repre-Not content with this, in order to sentation. station a steady phalanx for all future reforms, this public-spirited usurer, amidst his charitable toils for the relief of India, did not forget the poor rotten constitution of his native country. For her he did not disdain to stoop to the trade of a wholesale upholsterer for this House, to furnish it, not with the faded tapestry figures of antiquated merit, such as decorate, and may reproach, some other houses, but with real, solid, living patterns of true modern virtue. Paul Benfield made (not reckoning himself) no fewer than eight members in the last parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have transfused into the veins of the present! But what is even more striking than the real services of this new-imported patriot, is his modesty. As soon as he had conferred this benefit on the constitution, he withdrew himself from our applause. He conceived that the duties of a member of parliament might be as well attended to in India as in England, and the means of reformation to parliament itself be far better provided. Mr. Benfield was therefore no sooner elected than he set off for Madras, and defrauded the longing eyes of parliament. We have never enjoyed in this House the luxury of beholding that minion of the human race, and contemplating that visage which has so long reflected the happiness of nations." But, though Paul was gone to India, he had left his representative and exact resemblance behind him in that grand contractor Mr. Richard Atkinson-" a name that will be well remembered as long as the records of this House, as long as the records of the British treasury, as long as the monumental debt of England shall endure." "This gentleman, Sir," continued Burke, " acts as attorney for Mr. Paul Benfield. Every one who hears me is well acquainted with the sacred friendship, the steady mutual attachment, that subsists between him and the present minister." He would not, he said, determine how much Mr. Richard Atkinson had been consulted in the original frame as fabric of the bill commonly called Mr. Pitt's I bill; but the public was an indignant witness of the ostentation with which that measure was made his own, and the authority with which he brought up clause after clause, to stuff and fatten that corrupt act. These clauses were all received by the new minister with implicit submission: the

reformation might be estimated by seeing who was the reformer; and Paul Benfield's associate and agent was held up to the world as legislator for Hindustan. Burke next proceeded to couple more closely the Indian interest and the parliamentary majority which Pitt had so suddenly obtained by the general election in the preceding year; and though, as we have stated, the unpopularity of the coalition ministry and other causes were in operation, few men will now doubt but that an immense influence was exercised by the richest of the nabobs, and by others not quite so rich, in favour of the young premier. "But," said Burke, "it was necessary to authenticate the coalition between the man of intrigue in India and the minister of intrigue in England, by a studied display of the power of this their connecting link (Atkinson). Every trust, every honour, every distinction was to be heaped upon him. He was at once made a director of the India Company; made an alderman of London; and to be made, if ministers could prevail (and I am sorry to say how near, how very near, they were prevailing), representative of the capital of this kingdom. But to secure his services against all risk, he was brought in for a ministerial borough. His advertisements show his motives and the merits upon which he stood. For your minister this worn-out veteran submitted to enter into the dusty field of the London contest; and you all remember that in the same virtuous cause he submitted to keep a sort of public office or counting-house, where the whole business of the last general election was managed. It was openly managed by the direct agent and attorney of Benfield. It was managed upon Indian principles, and for an Indian interest. This was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornications of rapine, usury, and oppression, which was held out by the gorgeous Eastern Lalot, which to many of the people, so many of the nobles, of this land have drained to the very dregs. Do you think that no reckoning was to follow this lewd debauch -that no payment was to be demanded for this riot of public drunkenness and national prostitution? Here! you have it here before you! The principal of the grand election-manager must be indemnified: accordingly the claims of Benfield and his crew must be put above all inquiry! For several years Benfield has appeared as the chief proprietor, as well as the chief agent, director, and controller of this system of debt. The worthy chairman of the company has stated the claims of this single gentleman on the Nabob of Arcot us amounting to 500,000l." But Burke went on to show that the debts or claims of the great Paul were continually varying in their dimensions, expanding, and contracting, and then expanding again, according to circumstances, now sleeping under one rate of interest, and now waking to clutch some four or six per cent. additional interest. According to the orator's calculation, by the scheme now adopted by ministers, the smallest of the sums ever mentioned for Mr. Benfield would form a capital of

592,000l., at the interest (fixed at last) at six per cent." "Thus," said he, "besides the arrears of three years, amounting to 106,500l. (which as fast as received may be legally lent out at twelve per cent.), Benfield receives by the ministerial grant an annuity of 35,520l. a-year. . . . Here is a specimen of the new and pure aristocracy created by the right honourable gentleman (Pitt), as the support of the crown and constitution against the old, corrupt, refractory, natural interests of this kingdom; and this is the grand counterpoise against all odious coalitions of these interests. A single Benfield outweighs them all!" + After giving many details of this dark transaction-and his assertions were never satisfactorily answeredafter holding up to scorn the education, the manners, the meannesses of the great Paul, Burke concluded :- " I believe, after this exposure of facts, no man can entertain a doubt of the collusion of ministers with the corrupt interest of the delinquents in India. . . . I have thus laid before you, Mr. Speaker, I think with sufficient clearness, the connexion of the ministers with Mr. Atkinson at the late general election; I have laid open to you the connexion of Atkinson with Benfield; I have shown Benfield's employment of his wealth in creating a parliamentary interest to procure a ministerial protection; I have set before your eyes Benfield's large concern in the debt, his practices to hide that concern from the public eye, and the liberal protection which he has received from the nunister. If this chain of circumstances does not lead you necessarily to conclude that the minister has paid to the avarice of Benfield the services done by Benfield's connexions to his ambition, I do not know anything short of the confession of the party that can persuade you of his guilt." But votes in the House of Commons were submissive to other influences than those of astounding cloquence and still more astounding facts; and Fox and Burke were out-voted by a majority of nearly one hundred—the numbers being 164 against 69. But out of doors—for Burke immediately published his speech, with a copious appendix of facts and parliamentary reports—the effect produced was tremendous. Many men were made to doubt whether the young premier was a "heaven-born minister," and imputations were heaped upon Dundas, from which he never escaped during the rest of his public life ! The nabob's debts, classed or lumped,

* Paul Benfield was not so green in these practices as to keep all these shares or claims of debt in his own hands or under his own name. They were assigned over, or, as Burke said, "the general cotes of criditors, as well as Mr. Benfield himself, not looking well into futurity, nor pressing the minister of this day, thought it not expedient that such a name as his should stand at the head of their list. It was therefore agreed amongst them that Mr. Benfield should disappear by making over his debt to Messrs. Taylor, Majendie, and Call, and should in return be secured by their bond."

† Here Burke spoilt one of the best parts of his admirable spoech, by one of his offensive outbreaks of grossness and bad taste: he added, as descriptive of Benfield and the fate he meittel—"A criminal who long since ought to have futlened the region kites with his offal is by his majesty's muistexts enthroned in the government of a great kingdom, and enfeofied with an estate which, in the comparison, effaces the splendour of all the nobility of Europe."

† To some of the vulgar imputations Burke's speech certainly gave no countenance. He did not mean to imply that Pitt and Dundas were to go shares with Paul Beufield, or sordidly to put any part of

were all to be discharged in process of time; and the high interest upon them was guaranteed and secured by the faith of the British government. If they are all discharged even now, it is but a few years since there was still, under the wing of the treasury, a snug little office with two or three gentlemen with large salaries for doing nothing, and three or four clerks with small salaries for doing little, charged with the interminable examination of accounts for the liquidation of the Nabob of Arcot's debts. The diminished phantom will be seen flitting across the stage more than once ere this reign closes; but to assist in the formation of an idea as to the extent of the audacity of the Pitt administration in admitting all the claims of the Paul Benfields and others, it may be well to mention in this place what happened under other administrations between the years 1805 and 1815. The commissioners appointed by act of parliament in 1805 to examine and decide upon the claims of the private creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, had, by the month of November, 1814, adjudicated on claims to the amount of 20,390,5701. of which only 1,346,796/. were admitted as good, all the others, to the amount of 19,043,774/., being rejected as bad!

It was about six wecks after this great debate, in which Burke so happily described Paul Benfield as the greatest of parliamentary reformers, that Pitt appeared for the last time in that character. With the recollection of Burke's great speech it must have been difficult for the premier and some others to keep their countenances, as Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament, &c.* representation of the people was left as it was, the motion being nothing but a grand sham; but in the course of the year 1786, before Pitt's India bill was two years old, it was found necessary to explain and amend it by three new bills, introduced by the minister and his friend Dundas. The first of these bills freed the governor-general from his dependence upon the majority of his councila dependence which Hastings had found so irksome, and at times so dangerous—by enabling him to act, in extraordinary cases, by himself and on

the money into their own pockets for their own private uses. He drew a strong distinction between two had offences—both bad, but one more mean than the other. "I know," said he, "that ministers will think it little less than acquittal, that they are not charged with having taken to themselves some part of the money of which they have made so liberal a donation to their partisans. If I am to speak my private sentiments, I think that, in a thousand cases for one, it would be far less mischievous to the public (and full as little dishonourable to themselves) to be politted with direct bribery, than thus to become a standing auxiliary to the oppression, usury, and peculation of multitudes, in order to obtain a corrupt support to their power. It is by bribing, not so often by being bribed, that whicked politicians bring ruin on makind. Avarice is a rival to the parasite of many. It finds a multitude of checks and many opposers in every walk of life. But the objects of ambition are for the few; and every person who alms at midrect profit, and therefore wants other protection than innocessoe and law, instead of its rival becomes its instrument; there is a tastiral aliquiance and realty ambition stother protection than innocessoe and law, instead of its rival becomes its instrument; there is a tastiral aliquiance and realty ambition there is an easily militate undor its banners: and it is under that discipline alone that avarice is able to spread to any considerable extent, or to render itself a general public mischief. It is, therefore, no apology for ministent that they have not been bought by the East India delinquents."

**R On April (1768) 18th: See anto, p. 6.

his own personal responsibility, after the opinions of the members of the council, and the reasons with which they supported them, had been duly heard and put upon record. The same bill gave the same discretionary powers to the governors of Madras and Bombay; but it gave the power only to such governor-general or governors as were specifically appointed at home, and not to their casual successors in case of death, &c.; and it did not extend the discretionary power to cases of a judicial nature, or to the alteration of any established regulations for the civil government of the British settlements. It also enabled the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief to be united in the same person. This was done in order to keep the military power dependent upon the civil power, and so prevent the jealousies and conflicting authorities of the two powers when separate. Burke made one of his most cloquent and vehement speeches against these innovations, which, he said, were calculated and solely intended to establish an absolute despotism in India. Dundas said that despotism might exist in the hands of many as well as in the hands of one; and that the responsibility of the governor-general to parliament and the nation would be increased in exact proportion with the increase of his power. The second of these three acts was a sham-a barrel thrown to amuse that credulous whale the public; it repealed the clause in Pitt's original act which made necessary the approbation of the crown in the choice of the governor-general; but it left undisturbed the king's power of recall! The third of these amending acts was to repeal, as inquisitorial, and as contrary to the spirit of English law and liberty, that part of Pitt's original bill which bound the servants of the company, on their return home, to give in a schedule of the property they brought with them or had made in India. If there could have been a chance of obtaining correct schedules this might have proved an effectual check on rapacity and corruption. But this was clearly an impossibility, unless recourse were had to inquisitorial proceedings of the most odious kind. Indeed, it may be doubted whether any measures short of those employed upon the two old men at Fyzabad would, in some cases, have extracted an accurate account, or anything approaching to it. Either the clause must have remained a dead letter, or an excess of odium must have been produced without any benefit; and it was therefore proper to rescind it. In the course of the same sessionin the month of June, 1786-another bill was carried, granting relief to the company, who had petitioned for it, and enabling them to raise money by the sale of 1,207,559/. 15s. of the 4,200,000 which they had lent to the public; and also w adding 800,000l., by new subscriptions, to their capital stock.

In the mean time Hastings had not been recalled, but had resigned. The two last years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity which had not been known for ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Notwithstanding some great exploits, like Rodney's victory and Elliot's defence of Gibraltar, the war had been more dishonourable to England than any in which she had been engaged in modern times: America was lost-disasters had attended her flag almost everywhere else except in India, where her power and reputation were far greater at the end than they had been at the beginning of the war. Nor was it a vain boast in Hastings to say-" This is my work! Whatever else I have done, I have done this-I have rescued the Carnatic when at the last gasp; I have preserved and extended the British empire in the East!" No one in India, either native or British, doubted the fact. In the supreme council all opposition ceased or became of the mildest kind, and the records and protests of Clavering, Monson, and Francis were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that if their schemes had been followed India would have been lost, like America. At the interview at Chunar, Hastings had proposed—or, as he says, Asoff-ul-Dowla had requested—that there should be an annual meeting in Oude between the nabob and the governor-general, in order to settle any difficulties that might arise. Early in the year 1784 Major Palmer, who was commanding the troops there, represented the whole country of Oude as being in an alarming state that called for the presence of the governor-general. At the same time the nabob and his chief minister made similar representations, and implored Hastings to make a visit to Lucknow. The processary consent of the council was obtained on the arth of February, and on the following day the governor-general, who had not hitherto been so far up the country, set out for the capital of Oude. In passing through Benares he made some very necessary changes in the government or sub-government of that province, which had suffered severely by the insurrection and the short war of Cheyte Sing, and by the contributions levied afterwards. He arrived at Lucknow on the 27th of March, and staid there five months, busily engaged with the ministers of the nabob and the agents of other native princes. The poor Great Mogul, Shah Alum, was again a prisoner in the hands of the turbulent chiefs, at Delhi or somewhere in that neighbourhood; but his eldest son waited upon Hastings to solicit his protection, and the assistance of the company, in a plan he was entertaining, and which, we believe, was rather to secure the imperial dignity with some territory for himself, than to liberate his helpless, unhappy father. Hastings discovered in this young prince considerable ability and spirit, and a good knowledge of the affairs of the country; he treated him with high distinction, but did nothing for him beyond recommending him to apply for aid to Scindia, the greatest of the Mahratta princes, who at that time kept his court at Agra, and was the friend and ally of the English. The application was made; and Scindia, though he did not go in person, sent his most confidential ministers to Lucknow to confer with the governor-general and the prince. result of these conferences appears to have been, that Scindia was to assist the prince, and that the dominions of the Nabob of Oude and of the company were to be respected in any war that might take place. It is supposed that the governorgeneral clearly foresaw that the ambitious Mahratta would enter into this struggle only for his own benefit, and that he did not disapprove of his intention of making himself master of Delhi and all Upper India; but this conjecture is scarcely borne out by any evidence; and Hastings afterwards declared that, though he must have been a madman to have involved the company in a war with the Mahrattas on account of the Mogul or his son, he had never entered into any treaty or any negotiations with Sandia for delivering the Mogul into his hands. It, indeed, appears certain that the Mahratta wanted neither encouragement nor assistance from the company It was quite enough for him that the English remained neutral; and this they had determined to do.* To prevent what followed in a very few months—that is to say, the alarming increase of the Mahratta power-Hastings, instead of being strictly bound by orders from home to preserve peace at all hazards, ought to have been empowered to renew the war on the Jumna, and ought to have had armics at his disposal strong enough to scour the Mahratta dominions and to occupy Delhi. His first business with the ministers of the Nahob of Oude was to procure more money, and he succeeded in obtaining a considerable sum. He agreed to relieve the nabob by withdrawing some more of the company's troops, for which that prince had all along been made to pay enormously. The court of directors having taken into consideration the insurrection at Benarcs, the treaty of Chunar, and the spoliation which had followed it, had been some-

* Two faots are proved—1. That the court of directors did so determine 2 That Hastings, who loved new adventures and enterprises, disliked their determination. In a letter written from Luck now to Major Scott, his agent in London, the governor general say, in very evident ill-humour.—"I desired powers to reheve the king (Shah Alum), declaring that I believed I could do it without hestlifty or expense, provided I had the power of the former, and that I would undertake nothing without a moral certainty of avoiding both. They have exhortes me to avoid most sedulously and cautionsity in my correspondence with the different princes of India whatever may commit, or be strained into an interpretation of committing, the company, either as to their arms or treasure. These are their owner, and they are fulsometyl loud in their applicance of the 'unedom and sound policy' of the company's orders against our interference ' in the objects of dispute between the country powers.' Yet they ' hope that I shall be enabled to effect the return of the Shazada to his father with salety and credit to the prince.' As if I could negotiate with my hands ited.' What follows in the same letter is tuly characteristic of Hastings:—'I have, however, stated the necessity of my having powers so strongly, that I think they will be perplexed to usually their refusal. Yet I know they will refuse, and succrely hope they will; for, though I have surged this point with all the volumence of a man whose heat is devoked to the point which he pursues I have opposed my own interest, ease, and inclinations in it. Some good I will yet do, and may draw the means of it from the over-enot caution with which the instructions of the board are guarded.'—Letter, as given to Gleig's Life.

what startled at the daring conduct of their governor-general, and, with a kind of half justice, had ordered that the jaghires of the Begums should be restored, taking care to say not one word touching their treasure, which had all been spent long ago.* In conformity with the commands of the board, Hastings ordered the jaghires to be given up; and the nabob, to use his own words, "went to Fyzabad for the express purpose of making a respectful tender of them in person to the Begums."† It is, however, quite certain that the nabob made but a very incomplete restitution, holding back for himself a large portion of the jaghires, and pretending that the Begums had made a voluntary concession of it to him.;

On the 27th of August, Hastings left Lucknow, and, after staying some time at Benares, he continued his journey to Calcutta, where he arrived at the beginning of November. As far back as the mouth of March of the preceding year (1783), which was not only previous to the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill, to which his resignation has sometimes been attributed, but even previous to the bringing in of Fox's bill, Hastings had requested the court of directors to name his successor. Some time before undertaking his late journey to Lucknow, which was also many months before the news of Pitt's bill could reach India, he had sent home Mis. Hastings, whose health was declining; and no one who knew his devotedness to his wife could doubt that in parting from her he had fully made up his mind to resign the government, and follow her as soon as possible. He now wrote to inform the directors that he was coming to England; and that, as a successor had not been appointed, his duties would be discharged, pro tempore, by Mr. Macpherson, senior member of the council. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes: by military officers, by the civil servants of the company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as by Europeans. If he had been an oppressor at Benares and in Oude, he had been, on the whole, a benefactor to the people of Bengal,

The letter of the board of directors is sufficiently curious; it shows that they had not given credit to Hashings's accounts of the rebellion of the two old ladies. "It nowhere appears," say they, "from the papers at present in our possession, that the Begums excited any commotious previous to the impuseoument of Cheyte Sing, and only aimed themselves in consequence of that transaction; and it is probable that such a conduct proceeded from motives of elf-defence, under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under nuwarrantable contributions." They therefore ordered that an inquiry should be made by the supreme council at Calcutta and the whole basisees, and that if, upon such inquiry, it should appear that the two ladies were not guilty, then their jaginers should be restored, and an asylum offered them in the company's territories. To order an inquiry by the council at Calcutta was, as the council was then constituted, very like ordering an inquiry by the governor-general himself into his own conduct. Hastings disregarded the order, and never instituted any laquiry. Besides, if the Begums were innocent, it would have been difficult to show why their money had the council.

1 Letter to the council.

who tertainly regarded him with warm good will, and who had conceived a romantic or superstitious admiration of his fortune or luck, of his commanding yet conciliating manners, and of the splendour and pomp with which he always surrounded himself. They regarded him, in fact, in no other light than in that of their sovereign; and not a few shed tears at the thought of losing him. As to the givil servants of the company, many of them owed to him their appointments or promotions, and all had been impressed by his commanding ability and marvellous rapidity in business; but the admiration and affection of the army, for a mere civilian, was more extraordinary. They had been won by Hastings's new and bold conceptions at the beginning of the war, by the flattering confidence he always reposed in the troops, and by the honours and distinctions with which he treated them on all proper occasions. Thus, when the detachment of Colonel Pearse, which made the remarkable march from Calcutta to Madras, returned after an absence of five years, reduced from 5000 men to 2000, he heaped every distinction upon them: he visited them in their camp, and he passed them in review. Dressed in a plain blue coat, and with his head uncovered, he rode along the lines, producing as much excitement and enthusiasm as the most successful of generals could have done, though attended by all that dazzles and delights the eyes of soldiers, or all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war." One of his last public acts was the issuing of a general order to the army in Bengal, expressing, in forcible language, his sense of its past services, and affirming that there were no difficulties which the true spirit of military enterprise was not capable of surmounting. It was this conduct that made Hastings as dear to the army as to the other branches of the service. The dark faces of the sepoys looked darker at his departure. When he delivered up the keys of office, and walked down, a private man, to the place of embarkation, his friends and admirers formed a complete avenue, standing on either side of his path; many barges escorted him far down the Hooghly, and some friends did not leave him until the pilot left the ship, far out at sea. During his voyage, which was unusually short for those times, he amused himself with reading, and with writing verses; and in the course of the last novel occupation, he translated that well-known ode, wherein the Roman poet expresses his philosophic indifference to wealth and worldly grandeur, and his love of a humble retirement, with an ease not to be purchased by jewels nor by gold.* And of gold Hastings had comparatively but little. It has been calculated that he might with ease to himself brought home from two to three millions sterling: what he brought was less than 130,000 l.-was less than the fortunes which had been made

" ' Qtium Divos rogat."-Horace.

The ode was inscribed to his friend Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.—See Art. in Edm. Rev., No. calix, on Glass & Life of Hattings.

by Barwell, and other members of the councilless than what the patriotic Francis had made in six years; and Hastings, who had been thirteen years a governor-general, had been altogether more than thirty years in India! Nor would he have had even this moderate fortune if it had not been for the forethought and management of his wife, who, it is said, accepted presents which he refused, and saved money in private corners which he would have spent in the public service, or in supporting the almost regal splendour of his establishment. He landed at Plymouth in the month of June, and posted up to London and to court, confident of a good reception.

Notwithstanding some irregularities in her marriage, and the severity with which the queen was known to regard all lapses of that kind, Mrs. Hastings, on her arrival, had been received at court most graciously, and had been honoured by marks of her majesty's special favour. Such a relaxation of rigour provoked many comments not very favourable to Queen Charlotte.* People

* Hastings was twice married His first wife, the widow of a Captain Campbell in the company's service, died in India, and two children she had by Hastings died in their infancy. On returning from England in 1769, as second in council at Foit St. George, Hastings found among his fellow-passengers on board the 'Doke of Grafton' a young and handsome Germin lady with her husband and two or three children. This husband, who had the style and title of Barou von Imhoff, was a native of Franconia, and in very reduced circumst inces, he was going to Madias in the hope of bettering his fortune by paint ing portraits, or by such other means as might occur in a lind abounding in rapers and pagodas. It seems to have been evident from the first that he cared hithe for his wite or his own honour, and that she did not att mpt to conceil how hittle she cared for his hisband. The lady was accomplished and graceful in no common degree, she was a facinating woman even in her old age. Hastings admired hir and became greatly attacked. During the long passage he fell ill, and, during his liliness the broness wated upon him day and night, admired their climax. On landing at Madias a good house and separate establishment were provided for the complaisant Franconan baron and his famile, Husbings in the eyes of the world being nothing more than a frequent visitor and warm thread. But we hear no more of the pottrait painting scheme. Monsieur le Baroni had entered into arining ments with the second in council at danne la Baronie which would render such occupations unnecessary, and secure him a return to a cooler climate and a sing refrest in his own country. A suit for divorce was instituted by the lidy in the cours of Franconia, the baron conniving, and Hastings of the law. It uncers to have here or the careful that the court of the accoment that the second in suit for divorce was instituted by the ludy in the courts of Franconia, the baron conniving, and Hastings oiling the slow wheels of the law. It uppears to have been part of the agreement that the second in council should take the children as well as the wife. The reverend borgrapher of Mr Hastings, who, after exonerating the lady and the lover, and even the hasband, probably thunking it necessary to pay homage to established notions somewhere, blames the looseness of the laws of Protostuat Germany in reference to the marriage contract, or the facility with which they grant sentences of divorce. It appears, however, that the sunt lasted several years. In 1771, when Hasting removed from Madras to assume much higher functions at Calcuta, the baron and his wife—for they were still man and wife, and well conducted, respectable people in the eyes of society—went with him, and continued at Calcutta what the blographer calls "the same wise and judicious plan" they had followed at Madras. At last the technical suit, which must have cost the governor of Bengal no small matter, came to an end, and a decree was received from the Franconian courts divorcing Imhoff from his wife. The baron forthwith left Calcutta with money enough to buy a good estate in "Protestant

matter, came to an end, and a decree was received from the ranconian courts divorcing limboll from his wife. The baron forthwith left
Calcutta with money enough to buy a good estate in "Protestant
Germany," leaving his two sons behind him. To use again the words
of the blographer, "the Baroness Imholl became Mis. Hastings, and
the baron returned to his native country a richer man than he ever
could have hoped to have become by the mere exercise of his skill as
a painter." (Does Mr. Gleig mean this for a lesson and encouragemont to future indifferent portrait painters with facenating wives ')

The new marriage, which must have taken place some time in the
year 1777, or some oight years after the first acquaintance on board
the 'Duke of Grafton,' is said to have contributed to free the loody
governor-general from his dangerous rival or opponent General
Clavering. "The event," says a recent article in the Edinburgh
Review, "was celebrated by great feativities; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were
invited to the government-house Clavering, as the Mahommodan
chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused
himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as
it should seem, success in ambition and in love lad put into high
good humour, would take no denial. He went himself to the gene-

who fancied that the wife of the governor-general must be a congeries of diamonds and jewels accounted for the phenomenon by a very easy inductive process. But the "elegant Marian," as Hastings calls his wife in one of his letters to herself, was a graceful, accomplished, and engaging woman, and, what was more, she was a German. These circumstances, perhaps, may account for her majesty's unusual benignity, though we will not venture to say that the predilection for Mrs. Hastings may not have been warmed and increased by the present of a few diamonds and the splendid ivory bedstead, which made as much noise as the Trojan horse. Few women's hearts are proof to such emollients, and Queen Charlotte, with many good essential qualities, was rather fond of getting and hoarding. The reception of Hastings was not less gracious; the king treated him with distinction—a distinction to which the man that had saved India might lay some claim;—the whole court put on its blandest smile, and the governor-general felt by anticipation a coronet on his hald brow-made hald by cares and toils and the burning air of Bengal, rather than by years, for his age did not much exceed fifty. He knew indeed that his conduct had been arraigned in the House of Commons by all parties in turn, and by few men with more violence than by Pitt and Dundas, of whom the one was now prime minister and the other at the head of the board of control, with India and all her affairs subject to him. He knew that Burke had saluted his arrival by giving notice of a motion against him, and he had only to look at the daily papers for proofs of the injury which his character had sustained. Yet the applauses of his numerous friends, the blandishments of the court of St. James's, and the approbation of the court of directors, who had received him in a solemn sitting, and whose chairman had read him a vote of thanks for his great achievements, which had been passed without one dissenting voice,-his recollection of what much louder talk and longer debate had ended in, before now, in the House of Commons,all lulled him into a happy security. When Lord North, after a thousand menaces and at least a hundred set speeches from Burke and Fox, had not been impeached for losing America, was it possible to expect that they would impeach him for saving India? When Lord Sandwich had escaped prosecution, was it likely that they would prosecute Warren Hastings? The elasticity of his own conscience had prevented any dint or wound being made upon it; and he firmly believed that the means he had employed were justified by the ends

ral's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease—Clavering died a few days later." One of Imhoff's sons died young, but the other, assisted by the powerful patronage of the governor general, tose to rank and distinction, which he is said to have merited, however, by his own excellent shiftiers and conduct. Mrs. Hastings, as such, was irreproachable. She appears to have conciliated the esteem of society in England. The worst that was said of her in Bengal was that she took presents with sherrity, without the continuous of Hastings, and that her private heard amounted to several lace of rupees; and of this, we believe, no proof was ever given.

he had obtained, and that the most violent things he had done were not merely excusable, but laudable, considering the difficulties of the game and the high stakes that he and the company and the nation were playing for. He believed that his country would reproach him as little as his own conscience. In a letter, written two or three months after his arrival in England, he says—" I find myself everywhere and universally treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country." By this time the king had prorogued parliament, and Burke's menaces had not gone beyond the notice of motion. Hastings spent the recess at Cheltenham gaily with his wife, or only making a pleasant journey or two to settle for the purchase of Daylesford, a small part of the estates which had belonged to his ancestors in ages when Bengal was unknown. For, like Clive and other men who could boast a long pedigree, one of the first or most ardent wishes of the ex-governor-general on returning to his native land was to obtain possession of some of the ancestral acres, and to revive in the country the long-eclipsed honours of the family

Parliament did not re-assemble until the 24th of January (1786). The first night was passing off in debating the address, in reviewing the mad struggles in Holland between the oligarchy and the democrats, and in censuring or defending the recent foreign policy of Mr. Pitt and his cabinet. Hastings and India seemed to be forgotten, when an officious member, who had often wearied the patience of the House, rose to put a question, through the Speaker, to Mr. Burke. This member, whose officiousness was not altogether a voluntary contribution, was Major John Scott,† whom the governorgeneral, by a remarkable mistake, had chosen some two or three years before, when accusations first began to thicken, to be his parliamentary champion and principal penman and pamphleteer. It has been hinted that he could not have found a more injudicious defender on any bench of the House of Commons, or a worse scribbler in Grubstreet; but, in our opinion, his abilities were by no means so contemptible, though he was certainly wanting in tact, discretion, and parliamentary knowledge. It has been doubted whether, if Major Scott had never appeared within the walls of the House or exerted his pen for the exgovernor-general, Hastings would ever have been impeached at the bar of the Lords. This is allowing too much importance to injudicious speeches and pamphlets; but it is quite certain that Scott hurried on the proceedings. It was his harping that . had helped to keep Burke's mind to the subject,

While in India Hastings had repeatedly instructed his attorney to keep his we'c on this property, which belonged to Mr. Knight, a London merolant, whose family had possessed the domain for two generations. Hastings new offered far more than the place was worth, but Mr. Knight was not disposed to sell, and the descondant of the ancient lords of the soil sid not acquire the property until August, 1748. In the mean while he bought a small estate, called Beaumout Lodge, on the skirts of Windsor Forest — Gleig. Life.

† Better known, at a later period as Major Scott Waring.

and to make that great orator exclaim towards the close of the late session, in giving his notice of motion, that, if no other member would undertake the business against "a gentleman just returned from India," he would. And the question the Major now put in a tone of defiance was, whether he intended to produce his charges? Thus braved, Burke could not do less than accept the challenge, and his party were bound to stand by him, although several of them were far from feeling any decided vocation for the laborious and invidious task of public accusers. Even Burke himself declared that " he was called upon and driven to the business." the 17th of February he commenced operations with a call for papers and correspondence deposited at the India House. A notion had got abroad that the king and the whole court were devoted to Hastings, and that ministers had made up their minds to show him all possible favour. Burke, therefore, opened his speech by desiring that two of the resolutions which had been moved and carried on the 29th of May, 1782, by Dundas himself, and which contained an unmitigated censure on the conduct of Hastings, should be read. When this was done he tried to tie ministers, like bears to a stake, to their former votes and opinions -to opinions expressed in the heat and vehemence of opposition; and he told them that the task he was now undertaking would better become them as the authors of those extreme resolutions against the governor-general, and that it would particularly become Dundas, who had now all the powers and resources necessary for a complete examination as an influential member of the board of control. After uttering a terrible philippic against men whose notions of right and wrong varied according to their own circumstances, depending on their being out of office or in office-against men who could find everything wrong in India in 1782, and yet make no attempt to punish or correct in 1784—he said that the time was now come for the House to institute penal proceedings. There were, he said, three modes of proceeding against the great of-The House might order a prosecution by the attorney-general, but to this mode he must object, because the person holding that office appeared unfriendly to the prosecution, so that no reliance could be put upon his exertions; because a jury would not be qualified to decide upon matters of this description; and because he considered the Court of King's Bench a tribunal radically unfit to be trusted in questions of a nature so extensive and so elevated. The House, again, might proceed by a bill of pains and penalties; but this mode he considered as unfair, as being attended with great hardship and injustice to the part secuted, by obliging him to anticipate his defence, and as it put the House in a situation of shifting its character backwards and forwards, and appearing in the same cause one day as accusers and another day as judges. But there remained one other way of proceeding, the only process that did remain, and that was by the ancient and constitutional mode of

impeachment; and this mode he would advise the House to adopt, being careful at the same time to proceed with all possible caution and prudence. It had been usual, he said, to resolve, in the first instance, that the party accused should be impeached, and then to appoint a committee to examine the evidence, and find the articles on which the impeachment was to be founded. This method, and the heat and passion of men's minds, had led the House, on more than one occasion, into the disgraceful dilemma of either abandoning the impeachment they had voted, or of preferring articles which they had not evidence to support. It was upon these grounds that he moved that such papers as were necessary for substantiating the guilt of Mr. Hastings, if guilt there was, should be laid before the House; and that these papers, with the charges extracted from them, should be referred to a committee of the whole House and evidence examined thereon: then, if the charges should appear what he believed them to be, charges of the blackest and foulest nature, and supported by competent evidence, the House might proceed with confidence and dignity to the bar of the Lords. He justified his motives in taking on himself the duties of a public accuser, and he declared his intimate conviction that there had been enormous peculation and gross corruption, and that a torrent of violence, oppression, and cruelty had deluged India during the administration of the late governor-general. Dundas, in reply, said that he had indeed been a member of the secret committee that passed the strong resolutions against Mr. Hastings which had just been read; that he would even confess that he himself had suggested those resolutions; nor had he the smallest scruple to admit that the sentiments he entertained respecting Mr. Hastings, when he proposed lose resolutions, he entertained now, unchanged and unalterable. But would any one, he asked, pretend that those sentiments or resolutions went so far as to suppose Mr. Hastings to be a fit object for a criminal prosecution? The resolutions went to recall Mr. Hastings, but certainly not to impeach him. In continuing his speech the leader of the board of control seemed to qualify what he had said as to his sentiments remaining unchanged since the time when the resolutions were passed. He said he thought that the conduct of Mr. Hastings since that period had been not only not criminal but highly meritorious, and he had for that reason approved of the vote of thanks which the court of directors had unanimously conferred upon him. He said that, the more he examined the conduct of the late governor-general, the more difficult he found it to fix any criminal intention, or to separate it from the conduct of the directors at home, who had expressly commanded or urged him on in so many particulars. With his eye fixed on Fox. who was in power at the time alluded to, he said that, after India had been glutted by the directors, no fewer than thirty-six writers had been sent out in one year—in that year of purity when the situ-

VOL. II.

ation of the present accusers sufficiently indicated the shop from which the commodity was supplied. This called up Fox, who solemnly declared that he had never been the cause of sending out more than one writer to India, and that that appointment had been obtained under Lord Shelburne's administration. But he did not disprove Dundas's assertion; he did not even attempt to deny or reduce the number of appointments which had been made, not by him or at his recommendation, but doubtless at the recommendation of some of his colleagues. Dundas had said that he was ready to meet his accusers face to face. "God knows," said Fox, "the power of facing is not to be numbered among the honourable gentleman's wants; even when driven, as on the present occasion, to the miserable necessity of applauding in the latter part of his speech what he condemned in the former." Pitt rose to defend his colleague and bosom friend from the charges of inconsistency and the other keen attacks of Fox. The deadly sin of the coalition, revived on all occasions when the reputation of Fox was to be injured, was used with great effect on the present occasion. "Who is it," asked the premier, "that accuses my honourable friend of inconsistency and guilt in now applauding the man whom he had formerly condemned? Who but he, who, in the face of Europe, has united counsels with the man whom for a series of years he had loaded with the most extravagant epithets of reproach, and threatened with the severest punishment?" After more declamation of the same kind, and after charging Fox with being quite capable of the baseness of those who changed their sentiments in politics according to their interests or position, Pitt extenuated the Rohilla war, which he and Dundas had formerly condemned, and concluded by applauding the latter part of Hastings's administration even more warmly than Dundas had just done. This latter part, it must be remembered, embraced the affairs of the Rajah of Benares, the Begums, and Fyzoola Khan, together with some other of Hastings's most questionable proceedings: but this latter part had also contained the triumphant result of the whole, the preservation of India, which was a very hypothetical case when Dundas's resolutions were adopted. From the speeches of Pitt and Dundas, and from sundry other indications in the House, the idea was confirmed that Hastings was to be supported by the whole weight and influence of the cabinet, and that even an inquiry into his conduct would be so hampered as to render it of no avail. Burke's call for papers, however, was not opposed until, on the following day, the 18th, he asked for those relating to the affairs of Oude, in the latter part of Hastings's administration—the part which ministers insisted was free from spot and blemish. The premier and Dundas said that this would be introducing new and endless matter, and that the inquiry, at least for the present, ought to be confined to the period embraced in the reports of the year 1781. But

Hastings's friend and advocate, Major Scott, said boldly that the Oude papers would establish and raise the reputation of the late governor-general, and that they ought to be produced. The ministerial objections were then waived. Having carried this demand, Burke, on the 3rd of March, asked for all the papers relating to the Mahratta peace; for it had been determined to find guilt even in that masterpiece of Hastings's policy. Ministers objected that this would be making public diplomatic secrets which could not be revealed with safety; and the papers were refused.* On the 6th of March a demand was made for all papers connected with the negotiations with the son of the Mogul carried on during Hastings's residence at Lucknow, This was refused and out-voted. On the 17th Fox repeated the motion, restricting the production to the correspondence of Major Brown, who had visited Delhi on a mission from Hastings. This, too, was refused by 140 against 73. Copies of many parts of Major Brown's correspondence were in the hands of private individuals, and were read in the course of the debate, to prove the unjust and criminal conduct of Hastings towards that poor shadow, the Great Mogul, who could not help himself, and whom no party in India could or would help, who was about the most contemptible of all the native contenders for territory and dominion, and not a jot less faithless than the worst of them, but who had found a place in the ardent sympathies of Mr. Burke, to whom he had probably been recommended by that tender-hearted man Sir Philip Francis, the chief source of information to the opposition and prosecution in all matters concerning the governor-general's dealings with the native princes, rajahs, and begums, and a source which had been flowing in full torrent ever since the return of the ex-member of the supreme council of Calcutta to England, with the wound received at Hastings's hand fresh on his body, and a thousand animosities, personal and political, rankling in his mind. Burke's spirit was indisputably high and noble; but he must have been blinded by his enthusiasm in what he considered the greatest cause in which he ever engaged, before he could accept, without doubt or softening, the evidence of a man like Francis in such a case. But that he and his party did so is even more notorious than the fact that the ex-member of the council -who by means never explained had accumulated in six years, and had brought home, a great deal more money than the governor-general—possessed the most vindictive and blackest heart of any public man of that day. We shall soon find Francis himself declaring, from his seat in the House of Com-. mons, that he " supplied the information," that he "furnished the materials," that he "prompted the

Dunds and Pitt opposed the motion on two prounds; first, that the treaty in question toes a trice and solutary treaty, and had sensed the British empire in Asia; and secondly, that the production of the papers moved for would discover transactions relative to that peace which ought to be kept a secret from the sountry powers in India, inasmuch as it would ductions the means by which the several states that were confederate against lingiand were made jestous of each other, and the intrigues by which they were induced to discove their confederacy.

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prosecution!" In the course of the present debates, which succeeded each other at such close intervals, Burke proclaimed, with as much truth, we believe, as eloquence, the perfect sincerity of his conviction, and the purity of his own motives. He had been told that not merely would he be opposed by connexions of the first weight and influence in the country, but that the prosecution would he unpopular with the people of England, who would refuse to follow him in the pursuit of a great man who had rendered such eminent services. "Oh, miserable public!" he exclaimed. "What! For having taken up the cause of their injured and oppressed fellow-subjects in India; for attempting to bring to justice the plunderers of mankind, the desolators of provinces, the oppressors of an innocent and meritorious people, in every rank, sex, and condition, the violators of public faith, the destroyers of the British character and reputationam I to be unpopular? Those who raise monuments of their benevolence by providing asylums and receptacles for human misery are justly ranked among the benefactors to mankind; but even these acts of patriotism and charity are not to be compared to the noble work of supporting the most sacred rights and valuable interests of mankind, by bringing to public justice the man who has sacrificed them to his cruelty, his avarice, and his ambition." And, however incorrect or overcharged were many of the articles upon which he built his conviction, however erroneous may have been his judgment, and whatever faults may be detected not merely in the forms and technicalities but in the virulent spirit of his procedure, Burke spoke and acted from first to last like one that felt he had a mission from Heaven to redress the wrongs and prevent the miseries of a large but weak and helpless portion of his fellow-creatures. There was, perhaps, a lack of coolness and discrimination, but assuredly there was no want of honesty, in Burke. With a positive knowledge that some dark deeds had been committed, he was prepared to believe in others. He had listened to stories until he believed that Hastings was an incarnate fiend. glowing wrath seldom permitted him to look either to the tremendous difficulties of the case, or to the final success of the governor-general's measures and policy; he had persuaded himself that still more advantageous ends might have been obtained by purer means, and, like some other good men, not statesmen or politicians, he thought it better to lose India than to save it by fraud and cruelty. The paltry motives attributed to Burke by narrowminded men incapable of understanding his ardent, imaginative character, or of conceiving how he could toil and struggle as he did for years in this one cause without some personal incentive to the wonderful exertions, seem to us ridiculous or insufficient to account for his conduct. It is said, for example, that his animosity arose out of some slight which Hastings had shown to his relation, William Barke, in India, many years ago. We can believe that William Burke may have received some

rebuff from Hastings, who could occasionally depart from his habitual artificial auavity; we can believe that the orator, whose affections were all warm and impetuous, would resent this, and even, unconsciously, allow the circumstance some influence in his mind when he came to form his opinions of Hastings's public conduct; but what we can never believe is, that this family pique was the real cause of the present prosecution. Others have asserted that the whole thing was a mere party business, and that Burke was impelled by a bitter remembrance of the fate of Mr. Fox's bill and the fall of the coalition, which he attributed to the East India interest, at whose head Hastings was now to be considered; but his hostility to the governorgeneral had begun in 1781, two years before the coalition between Fox and Lord North was thought of, and more than two years before Fox's India bill was introduced; and this animosity to Hastings continued as strong as ever when Burke had quarrelled with Fox and taken his seat on the treasury bench between Pitt and Dundas. As a secondary motive, however, these feelings, no doubt, had, at this time, some effect, for Burke certainly attributed both the downfall of the coalition ministry and Pitt's triumphant majority at the next general election to the East India interest and the gigantic bribery exercised by Paul Benfield and his agent Atkinson. Others, again, have fancied that his imagination was captivated by the vastness, the grandeur, and comparative novelty of the subject; that he took it up as a great poet would his theme, and clung to it and transfused the soul of his genius into it, as the subject of all others best suited to his powers, or fullest of oratorical inspiration. This, too, may go as an additional incentive, as a minor motive—and the springs of all human actions have many such—though not as the primum mobile, for, like all gramborators, Burke had the imagination of a poet, with something of that oriental twist which has been noticed in several of his distinguished countrymen; and he had read, studied, and dwelt upon India, its scenes and affairs, with intense interest, and for many years. The Indian field, as he called it, had occupied his thoughts so long, that it might be called his own field. Every man who really knew Burke was convinced of his enthusiastic sincerity in this cause. feel strong," said he, "only in the goodness of my cause." Pitt recommended a calm dispassionate investigation; but this was impossible, for Burke was incapable of it, and, though it was not a mere party question with him, it was evidently nothing more with many who voted on his side of the House, and who had made up their minds before a tittle of evidence was produced. But by this time doubts began to be entertained as to the real intentions or wishes of the premier, and sundry old political stagers, like Rigby, predicted that ministers would abandon Hastings at some subsequent stage of the prosecution. Several motives might lead to this abandonment. As Burke's eloquence roused the attention of the country, the alleged criminal could not be openly protected without some damage to the ministerial character; Pitt was little likely, where his interests were not concerned, to incur such an odium for any man, and, as for Hastings, there had never been any friendship between them. The premier, though he could always command a majority of about two to one, could not always escape unhurt from the fierce attacks of the opposition, with Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Wyndham, and all the best orators of the House, at their head; and he might very well see, with satisfaction, some of these incessant attacks turned from him to fall upon the great nabob. He must have known that the war, once begun, would last a long time, and would absorb the attention of Burke, with a great deal of denunciatory eloquence which must otherwise fall on his own head and the heads of his colleagues. It has evem been assumed that Pitt was jealous of the great court favour shown to the ex-governor-general, and apprehensive of his being elevated to the peerage and a place in his majesty's The young prime minister could certamly have nothing to fear from a man who had passed his whole life in India, and who was inexperienced and even strangely ignorant in home politics; but the case perhaps might, in some degree, be different with his friend Dundas, who had got the management of Indian affairs, and was most anxious to keep it. Neither Pitt nor Dundas, however, could at any one moment have coolly contemplated proceeding to extremities against a man whose services were so highly appreciated by the king. At the same time, the Lord Chancellor Thurlow was the resolute friend and advocate of the party accused. The two great lawyers of the day had changed sides and views from motives which will never be sought for in rigid honesty and conviction: thirteen years before, when the Commons were engaged against the hero of Plassey, Thurlow was the bitterest assailant, and Wedderburn the warmest defender and chosen champion, of Lord Clive; and now Thurlow was the champion of Hastings, and Wedderburn one of his bitterest The whole interest of the court of directors, with all the votes they could command in the Commons, were on the side of the accused; and, though these were not powerful or numerous enough to shake the huge ministerial majority, they were sufficiently important to make the minister feel their loss if they should settle into a constant ill-will or opposition against him. ral vacillations that occurred in the course of the proceedings will explain themselves, or will be easily understood by a reference to the various agencies and motives at work in different directions, and at times counteracting each other. Having procured an enormous heap of papers, though far from all he asked for, Burke, on the 3rd of April, proposed calling to the bar some of the gentlemen who had been ordered to attend as He was opposed on this occasion by all the crown lawyers, who had previously com-

bringing forward any specific accusations. They now represented that he ought to produce his charges first, and that no proofs ought to be admitted except such as were strictly applicable to the charges. This was the mode of proceeding in the courts of law, which, in the opinion of the crown lawyers, ought to regulate the proceedings of the House of Commons. Burke and his friends, on the other hand, represented that the House had already adopted a different mode of proceedinghad granted the power of taking evidence, had formed itself into a committee to receive evidence, and had summoned the witnesses who were then waiting to be called in. They accused the lawyers of a design to cover the guilty by restricting evidence; but the lawyers were backed by the ministerial majority, and carried their point, the 4th of April Burke, in his place, charged Warren Hastings, Esq., late governor-general of Bengai, &c., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanors, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles. The principal subjects of these were—the Rohilla war; the affairs of Benares; the depriving the Mogul of Corah and Allahabad, and of his tribute from Bengal; the various transactions in Oude, with the treatment of the Begums, &c.; the Mahratta war and the Mahratta peace; the internal administration of Bengal and the administration of justice; the death of Nuncomar and the hard treatment of Mohammed Reza Khan; disobedience of orders; extravegant expenditure; the enriching of dependants and favourites, and the acceptance by the governor-general himself of enormous presents or bribes. On the 6th of May another charge, being the twenty-second, was added to the list: it related solely to the treatment of Fyzoola Khan, the Robilla chief. But before this last article was presented, Hastings, by petition, requested to be heard at the bar of the House in his own defence, and to be allowed a copy of the several articles of charge. Both requests or demands were granted, though Fox loudly inveighed against granting copies of the articles. In this debate, Martin, the member for Tewkesbury, who had been for years bawling himself hoarse against Lord North, and then against the coalition, said that he had not made up his mind as to the present prosecution, but that whenever it should be disposed of there would still remain an impeachment to be undertaken in justice to the country against the noble lord in the blue ribbon, who in the present state of parties seemed to think that he might bid the country do that which the dignity of the House and his respect for them prohibited his mentioning within those walls. This led to a violent debate in which Hastings had no manner of concern. After it was agreed that he should be heard, Kenyon, the master of the rolls, insisted that the House ought not to advance another step until he was brought before them; and Jenplained of his method of collecting evidence before whinson, who continued to be considered the chief 2 c 2

of the king's friends, and who had hitherto taken no direct part in favour of Hastings, insisted as strongly as Kenyon that nothing more ought to be done until they heard what the late governor-general could say in his own defence. Burke fell upon them both. Looking fixedly at the master of the rolls, he exclaimed, " The learned gentleman may repeat his practice of embarrassing the discussion—of varying his opinion and suggesting different advice according to circumstances: I will not abandon the cause. I consider one arm as already lopped off. If I lose a leg I will, nevertheless, persevere; if deprived of both legs, I will fight, like Witherington, on my stumps." Then, looking more sternly at Jenkinson, he said, "Judging from all that I have heard on the present evening, I fear it is intended to quash the prosecution. It is, indeed, evident by the language of a gentleman who is commonly supposed to have been the sinister adviser of his majesty—though I by no means assert the fact, or that he ever offered other than good advice; -it is, however, evident that one half of my charges are already struck with the dead palsy. . . . But the failure of the charges is impossible. They contain matter that no sophistry can defeat. If, therefore, the House shall think proper to crush the proceeding, the disgrace will be theirs, and not mine; I have done my duty." Bearcroft, an eminent lawyer, took an active part in the debate, and endeavoured to convince the House that the late governor-general, being heard, might prove the accusations to be irrelevant, or at least destitute of criminality; and that his conduct ought not to be judged by ordinary rules. Another great lawyer was of a different opinion: Hardinge, solicitor-general to the queen, as if officially to clear her majesty from some popular aspersions, spoke in a tone of rigid justice. He admitted that Burke in his accusations was diffuse, but he denied that he was unintelligible. With respect to the argument used by Bearcroft and others, that, even although charges so scrious could be proved against Hastings, yet they might and would be overbalanced by his great public services, Hardinge said, he could subscribe to no such doctrine. "Never," said he, "will I admit the justification which in technical phrase is denominated a set-off. In cases of a criminal nature, or where specific delinquency can be proved, no set-off will satisfy my mind." These opinions of the queen's solicitor-general are said to have sunk deep in the public mind; but they certainly did not efface the impressions already there, and carefully strengthened by opposition orators and writers day after day, that the favour of the court would, if it could, protect the accused. Mr. nstruther spoke as strongly as Mr. Hardinge against the mischlevous doctrine of a set-off, a thing clearly inadmissible in law.

On the 1st of May, the day appointed for him, Hastings came to the House, which was crowded to see him. One of the members present says:

"His entrance excited a strong and a general emotion. It was to me a painful spectacle to behold a man who during twelve years had governed the rich and extensive provinces of Asia, from the mouths of the Ganges almost to Delhi, and who, without a metaphor, might be said to have occupied the throne of Timur, now, when his period of life seemed to demand repose, and when he might have anticipated honours or rewards, dragged before a popular assembly, there to defend himself against impeachment. His person, if not dignified, was interesting, and his look commanding, as if accustomed to power." He laboured under great and manifest disadvantages both in the manner in which he appeared in the House and in the mode in which he delivered his defence. Clive and Rumbold, as members of the House, had been enabled to reply from their places to their accusers; he, having no place in the House. was obliged to take his station where men rarely appeared except to be censured and browbeaten by Clive was an admirable speaker, the Speaker. and Rumbold no mean debater; but Hastings, more a man of the pen, untrained to any debating or speaking except at a council-board, with closed doors and with only three or four to hear him, was no parliamentary orator, and never attempted to make himself onc. He had written his defence, and he was to read it like a dry sermon, and that to an assembly whose cars and eyes were accustomed to the almost nightly displays of men who. whatever else they were or were not, were assuredly great masters of eloquence. The effect could not be otherwise than cold and flat. The exposition of his case might be, and was, skilfully and clearly drawn up, but the auditory were wholly unaccustomed to have expositions read to them. Being called to the bar he was allowed a chair; and Mr. Markham, (a son of the Archbishop of York,) who had formerly been his resident at Benares, where he had performed the duty of putting Cheyte Sing under arrest, was allowed to attend on him for the purpose of supplying him with the documents or papers he might want while reading his defence. After a very short speech, in acknowledgment of the indulgence the House showed in hearing him at that early stage of the prosecution, he sat down, opened his manuscript, and began to read. Like Clive, he referred to the votes of thanks, and the entire approbation of his conduct, received from his employers, the court of directors. He also referred to his indisputable popularity in India. "I left Bengal," said he, "followed by the loudest proofs of universal gratitude; and since I landed in England I have had the unanimous thanks of the court of directors for my services of five-andthirty years. Furnished with such proofs of the approbation of those for whose benefit I had conducted the affairs of India, it did not occur to my mind that any other person could urge an accusation against me. Much less did I conceive that high crimes and misdemeanors could be alleged

. Sir N. Wrazall, Posthumous Memoirs of his own time.

in this House as grounds for my impeachment before the Peers. Doubtless in the course of my administration I have committed many errors; but I have endeavoured so to conduct the government of India that it might prove beneficial to the company at home, while it diffused repose and felicity abroad." He said that he was conscious that by standing forward as he was doing he might furnish proofs of his own misconduct; that, however, he was willing to disclose the facts and measures that took place while he held the first office in Bengal, whatever personal disadvantages might accrue therefrom. After taking a general view of the accusations, he began to read separate answers to each of the charges. But by this time he had read himself hoarse, and he felt exhausted. Markham, therefore, came to his assistance, and made the matter still colder and flatter, by reading a composition not his own, and in defence of another person. When more than five hours had been thus employed, and when so many members had been read out, that the House, from a very full one, had become almost empty, Pitt moved an adjournment. Two more days dragged heavily on in the same manner; and at the request of Hastings his defence was ordered to be laid upon the table of the House, and printed for the use of the members. He ought to have begun with this request instead of ending with it; he ought never to have attempted trying the patience of that assembly with the reading; for, after hearing the long defence, or parts of it, most members would consider themselves exonerated from the task of perusing it afterwards in print. From various circumstances, one might be led to believe that Hastings had left his shrewdness and his wits behind him at Calcutta, or that, after developing themselves and growing to maturity under the bright and fervid sky of India, they were affected by English clouds and fogs. It is true, indeed, that he had gone to India a mere stripling; that he had passed his youth and the best of his manhood out of England; it is quite certain that the management of affairs in India by council minutes, dispatches, and correspondence, and the management of affairs in England by parliaments, debates, and the nice balancing of parties, with a free press in the one case, and no press at all in the other, are two very different things; yet it might have been expected that a man with a sagacity and genius that had triumphed over many new and unforeseen difficulties, and that had led him through many a labyrinth in the East, would not have been long in hitting upon the right path at home. It is evident, however, that what was said of him was correct;—that, having passed his best years out of his native country, he knew London and parliament only by description, and that, having trained himself thoroughly to one system, which was in good part of his own creating, he was slow in catching the step of movements new to him, and regulated by numerous and independent agencies.

On the 1st of June Burke brought forward the

first charge—the Robilla war. The House was pretty full at the usual hour of business, but he intreated a pause for a few minutes; wishing, he said, that the members present might be proportionate to the importance of the matter. When he saw that the benches were crowded he rose, and: with more oratorical form than would please the present times, he began his speech by a solemn invocation to British justice. He solemnly disclaimed any personal motive or any private malevolence. "My anger," said he, " is not a private, but a public resentment. Not all the political changes of administration which we have witnessed during the last five years—neither summer retirement, nor winter occupation, nor the snow which nature has plentifully showered on my head during that period-none of these has had power to cool the anger which as a public man I feel, but which in my individual capacity I never have nourished for a single instant." He drew a vivid but certainly over-poetical picture of the character and condition of the Rohillas previous to the invasion of the troops of the Nabob of Oude and the company; and, with a bold flight of imagination, he described that race as having been annihilated: the fact being, that, after the one battle, the Rohillas, as far as life was concerned, suffered little or nothing, retreating with a good face to the foe, and then retiring with their wives and families to seek some other settlement with the same strong arm with which they had settled themselves in The other Rohilcund some forty years before. inhabitants of the country, who out-numbered them at about the rate of twenty-five to one, who were anxious for their expulsion, and who preferred the government of the Nabob of Oude-though they had afterwards no cause to congratulate themselves on their choice or preference-were, as we have stated, the real sufferers by the barbarities of the nabob's troops; it was their houses Colonel Champion saw burning,-it was their pleasant villages and well-cultivated fields, their women and children, that he attempted to save (not less from his own feelings than from the feelings and express commands of the governor-general) from the insane fury of Sujah Dowlah; but upon this class Burke neither in his article of charge nor in his speech lavished any sympathy. At the time the arrangements were entered into with Sujah Dowlah the power of making peace and war with "the infidels in India" was still in the company, subject to no control of the British ministry. Hastings had, indeed, proceeded without orders even from the company; but the company wanted money; he got them forty lacs of rupees, besides. freeing them from the expense of maintaining a considerable part of their troops, and, after some of their ordinary vacillations, quibbles, and contradictions, they approved and sanctioned all that had been done. In truth, their approbation was given to this Rohilla war the moment they accepted the money for which Hastings had entered upon it. We cannot help thinking that this was one of the

weakest of all the charges. The reason why Burke placed it in the van of his battle was evidently this: Dundas in one of his resolutions had strongly condemned the war in Robilcund, and he must either abide by that former opinion or incur the imputation of inconsistency. This was urged with all the powers of rhetoric. The treasurer of the navy and arbiter of Indian affairs was not disconcerted. "I admit," said he, "that these animadnersions seem to be warranted by my conduct in 1782; but, though I then moved for Mr. Hastings's recall, I did it solely on grounds of expediency, and not with the slightest intention of instituting criminal proceedings." He acknowledged that he did not even now approve either the justice or the policy of the Rohilla war. " It must, however, he recollected," said he, " that since that period Mr. Hastings has been appointed by act of parliament governor-general of Bengal. I consider his appointment as a tacit, if not avowed, pardon for acts which preceded it. Subsequently he has rendered the most splendid services to his country. An impeachment, therefore, at this distance of time, upon this article, would be unreasonable, and injurious to our interests in the East." Pitt did not open his lips; but when the division came he voted with Dundas. But that division was still far off. The debate lasted till half-past three o'clock in the morning; and, being renewed on the following evening, it did not terminate till half-past seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of June. In this debate a first appearance was made by a young man who came into the House with a brilliant reputation from Eton and the uni-This was Lord Mornington, now the Marquess Wellesley, who was destined to fill, only twelve years later, the place which Hastings had occupied in India. He spoke ably in defence of the late governor-general, and joined the master of the rolls in making severe reflections on Lord North, who, though he did not vote, spoke against Hastings and the Rohilla war, which he had winked at when it happened. The queen's solicitor-general, who again took a strong and even violent part against Hastings, admitted that, though every other individual present should join against that gentleman, the noble lord in the blue ribbon must vote for his acquittal on the actual charge. Poor North, indeed, whose spirits were depressed and whose wit or humour was damped by the fast approaches of a terrible calamity-total blindness was assailed almost as much as Hastings. And there seemed some ground for these attacks, as, though he now condemned the Rohilla war as deserving impeachment, he had, after that war, and between the years 1774 and 1781, while at the head of the government, allowed Hastings to be thrice named by parliament Governor-General of Bengal. In his defence, North said that he had endeavoured to procure, by means of the court of directors—the only means that could then have been legally employed—his immediate recall; and that his endeavours were defeated by the court of

East Indian proprietors, who insisted that Hastings should be continued. These facts could not be disputed, but they could be conveniently forgotten by his assailants. Public political memory is even a more treacherous thing than private memory. Nothing so easy as to forget and confound events and circumstances, or to make other men forget and confound them. Thus many members in the House would be altogether oblivious as to the difference between the controlling powers of ministers at two different epochs, and might fancy that the power now vested in ministers by Pitt's India Bill was not greater than that which had been possessed by Lord North, and that therefore his lordship might have recalled Hastings if he had chosen, which certainly was not the case. North withdrew before the question was put from the chair; but this might proceed more from allness and weariness than from any other cause. When debates lasted till half-past seven in the morning there was seldom a very numerous attendance at the division. On the present occasion there had been nearly a full House when Burke began his grand but too long speech; but from 200 to 200 members were wearied out and went home to their beds before he got to the end of it. Hastings's now printed defence was harshly criticised both by Burke and The queen's lawyer said-" I see by Hardinge. in it a perfect character, drawn by the culprit himself; and that character is his own. Conscious triumph in the ability and success of all his measures pervades every sentence. Not a crime remains. All is talent conducted by wisdom and virtue." Francis gratified his revenge by a terrible speech. He was listened to with great attention, as he had been six years in India, and was supposed to know the subject thoroughly; but there was that in his history, in his Indian adventures, and in his personal that deadly apimosity against Hastings, which ought to have detracted from the weight and value of everything he said. Wyndham, Wilbraham, Powis, Anstruther, Michael Angelo Taylor, and many others, including Fox, the greatest of them, spoke on the same side: on the other side Dundas was supported by Lord Mornington, Lord Mulgrave, William Grenville, Burton, Scott, and many others, including Wilberforce, who continued his close friendship with Pitt, and who had by this time made himself a very accomplished speaker, whose clear and melodious voice was always listened to with pleasure. and with the greater attention from the notion that he very often took his cue from the premier."

When the division, long and clamorously called for from every part of the House, did at length take place, Burke's motion, declaring that there was ground for charging Warren Hastings, &c., with high crimes and misdemeanors on the matter of the

[&]quot; In the spring of the present year we find Wilberforce, though "an altered man," and vasiting the bishops to concert with them the establishment of an association for the discouragement of vier, saying in his Diary—"Though I had told Pitt that I could not promise him unqualified support, I was surprised to find how generally me.agreed."

Robilla war, was negatived by a majority of fiftytwo, the numbers being 119 against 67. The friends of Hastings hailed the result as a triumph; and, if they did not expect that the whole proceed-



WILBERFORCE. From an early Portrait by J. Rising.

ing would be quashed at once, they confidently anticipated that the next charge would undergo a like defeat, and that Burke would then give up the The talk in clubs and prosecution in despair. drawing-rooms was, that the king's estimation of Warren Hastings would soon be seen in his elevation to the peerage, and in his introduction to his majesty's privy council, and a seat at the board of control, from which he would again regulate the empire in the East. Nay, the gossips par excellence, those men that whisper in corners with mysterious and portentous looks, denoting that they know a great deal more than they choose to tell, even affirmed that the title was chosen and the patent all but ready—that Hastings was to take his title from the seat of his ancestors—that he was to be Baron Daylesford. And there was far better foundation for these reports than club-house gossips usually trade upon. It was certain that the only obstacle to the peerage was the censure of the House of Commons; it was known that Lord Thurlow had expressed his contempt for this objection even before Burke's failure in the Rohilla charge, and had told the chancellor of the exchequer that, if he was afraid of the Commons and their recorded votes and resolutions, there was nothing to prevent him as lord chancellor and keeper of the great seal from obeying the king's pleasure about a peerage patent. There were still, however, some heads shaken in the manner of Lord Burleigh; there were still some doubts expressed whether it would suit Dundas to have Hastings at the board of control, or whether it would square with the calculating policy of Pitt to persevere in crushing Burke's charges, and thereby bring odious popular charges upon himself, for the nation was roused, and, though the people might not understand the complicated business, they were quite capable of being excited by Burke's eloquence, and by the pictures he had drawn and would still draw of cruelty and oppression. And, in effect, the fair prospects of the late governor-general were soon overcast. On the 13th of June, immediately after the Whitsuntide recess, Fox brought forward the second article of charge; namely, the treatment of Chevte Sing, Prince or Zemindar of Benares. The attendance fell short of the numbers present at the preceding debate; but there was still a pretty full House, and a great anxiety to hear what side the premier would take on this occasion. Some were of opinion that, with the single exception of Dundas, none of the individuals on the treasurybench knew, at the moment when the debate began, how the chancellor of the exchequer would vote, or what sentiments he would deliver. This anxiety, however, was soon removed, for Pitt, who had sat silent during the previous discussion, rose at an early stage of the debate, after Fox and Francis had spoken. He declared that he had attentively studied the whole subject, and that he had come to the conclusion that the governor-general was fully justified in celling on Cheyte Smg for aid, both in money and in men; that he was equally justified in imposing fines when that assistance was contumaciously withheld; and, finally, that the conduct of the governor-general, his firmness, decision, and vast resources of mind, during all the dangers of the insurrection, called for the highest admiration and praise. With a commanding flow of words, he accused Burke and Fox both of oratorical exaggeration and of party misrepresentation; but the bitterest part of his speech was reserved for the bitter Francis, who had seconded the present motion. Pitt reprobated the malignant spirit of that ex-member of the supreme council, questioned the rectitude of his character, and censured his conduct both in India and in that House, as being as dishonest as it was malignant. But the ears of the friends of Hastings had scarcely drunk in these pleasant sounds ere the premier filled them with much less welcome notes. Having made up his mind to a middle course, to a miserable compromise, not between right and wrong, but between what he considered as expedient and profitable, and what the country considered as wrong, Pitt went on to say that, though Hastings unquestionably had the right of demanding aid and imposing fines, he thought that the fines he had imposed were too great in amount, and his behaviour too severe on the occasion. It appears that these words dropped from him hesitatingly, and with a look that seemed to say he would blush if his hard, stiff face were capable of blushing; but that he afterwards added, with a little more energy---! The

fine imposed on Cheyte Sing was exorbitant, unjust, tyrannical. I therefore shall agree to the motion before the House. But I confine myself solely to the exorbitancy of the fine, approving every preceding as well as subsequent part of the late governor-general's conduct throughout the whole of that transaction." This was all the argument he used to reconcile his numerous followers and retainers who had gone down to vote for Hastings, but must now trim their sails for a different tack, and vote against him. The great flock were ready to follow the great bell-wether; but there were men who could not so easily reconcile their inclinations and their consciences. Pitt's own near relative, Mr. William Grenville, his bosom friend and protégé, Arden, attorney-general, and Lord Mulgrave, who were seated near the minister, protested that they must differ from him; that, as honest men, they could not think Hastings deserving of impeachment on this charge, or concur in the vote. There was murmuring and whispering in some other parts of the ministerial benches. force, who, with all his humanity, believed that the conduct of Hastings was in part justifiable and in part excusable, and who had been taught so to believe by his friend Pitt-for his own thoughts at the time were more engaged about a scheme for putting down vice by means of bishops and royal proclamations, than about the affairs of India-was evidently puzzled and confused. Pitt, quitting his seat, sat for some time by Wilberforce's side explaining his unexpected conduct, justifying it on scruples of conscience which he knew would have their weight on his conscientious and devout friend, and very earnestly declaring that this business of Benares was too bad, and that he had found it impossible to stand any longer by Hastings. He succeeded in convincing Wilberforce of the sincerity and purity of his motives;† but in the minds

* Hastings, in a letter to a friend in India, written a few days after

* Hastings, in a letter to a friend in India, written a few days after this debate, any—" You will hear from others what justice I have received. With ministry and opposition both united against me I have been declared guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, in having intended to exact a fine too large for the offence—the offence being admitted to merit a fine—from Cheyto Sing. This has given consequence to my accuser, who was sinking into infamy, and had every reason to expect punishment for the buseness and taleshoods of his charges against me. It is new to me to see a criminal prosecution hang over a man's head the length of a chancery suit in a land where the laws will not permit the jury to sleep over a trial for murder."—Letter 16 Mr. Thomson, dated 18th July, 1786, as pices by Olicig, 14ft.

† We glean these particulars from the writer in the Edinburgh Review, who, we divine, has had family sources of information and ample means of hearing Mr. Wilbertoree's sentiments from his own flips. He says that that good man used often to relate the events of this remarkable night, and describe the amazement of the House at Fitt's unexpected conduct. The sons of Mr. Wilberforce and the authors and editors of his Life and Correspondence seldom deign to sotice such profine matters. It would be difficult to find in any other case seven long volumes (there are five of the Life and two of the Letters) relating to a public man so destints or information about gabile affairs. In opening the Life at this particular point, we find decotations from Mr. Wilberforce's diarry like these:—"On twe me saw beart, and pat a right spirit within me, that I may step thy statutes and do them."—"Near three hours going to and seeing Albion Mill. Did not think of God "—" Meditation; what shall I do be saved ?"—" 23rd. Thought too faintly. Meditation; heart deceited above all things.—28th. I thus day received the sacrament "— Things proper for Mr. Wilberforce to note in private memoranda, but neither proper are predicable to there, and whic

of other men the course he took continued to be accounted for in a very different manner, and few but those who were sold body and soul to the minister had the face to deny that his conduct, if nothing worse, was mean and evasive. Even Major Scott was listened to when he reprobated the paltry quibbling, and said that the minister, after acknowledging the transcendant services of Hastings, was now abandoning him to his enemies, on account, as he said, of the quantum of a fine, levied, not from any corrupt motive, but for the public service, in a moment of danger and distress. Dempster, a Scotch member and country gentleman, who had usually voted with the party of Fox and Burke, maintained that Hastings had been the saviour of our possessions in the East; and that the only fault he had committed was in returning to this country with a very limited fortune. Dundas, to whom unfavourable suspicions attached, perhaps more closely even than to Pitt, never opened his lips during the debate—but when the division came he voted with the premier. That division affords a curious index to the state of conscience of the House of Commons. Exactly the same numbers-119—that had acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge voted him guilty on this Benares charge, the minority voting in his favour being 79. According to the calculation of a member who voted in the minority, full fifty individuals followed the voice and signal of Pitt without conviction, examination, or hesitation. "Every first minister of England," says this worthy member, who is neither so dull nor quite so incorrect as he has been represented, "must be able to rely on such a phalanx, who ask no questions: such is necessarily the genius of our government and constitution in practice, though not in theory." The friends of Hastings, all the numbers representing the India interest, who had been accustomed to give a general support to administration, and who on some other questions had been just as subservient to Pitt, exclaimed against the baseness of those who had followed him on this occasion, and attributed to the premier and to Dundas the selfish motives which others suspected them of; that is to say, they accused the head of the government and the head of the board of control of a jealousy and

at the moment, would have been interesting. At the end of the Life, among two or three scuaty reminucences, we find the following, without date—"Oh, how little justice was done to Pitt on Warren Hastings's business I People were asking what could make Pitt support him on this point and on that, as if he was acting from political motives; whereas he was always weighing in every particular whether Hastings had exceeded the discretionary power lodged in him. I well remember —I could swase to it now—Pitt listening most attentively to some facts which were coming out either in the first or second case. He beckoned me over, and went with me behind the chair, and said, Does not this look very ill to you? "Very bad, indeed. He thea returned to his piace, and made his speech, giving up Hastings's case. He paid as much impartial attention to it as if he were a juryman."

Sir N. Wwaxall, Posthumous Memoirs. The baronet, however, seems to confess that, in a case like the present, where the at the moment, would have been interesting. At the end of the Life,

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs. The basonet, now-ever, seems to confess that, in a case like the present, where the House assumed a judicial capacity, and where the character, the fortune, and, it might be, even the life of an emissent man were con-cerned. "more severe scruples might have directed their votas." "These reflections." he continues. "derive strength, if we consider that the far greater number of those who divided with Pitt were mea-of high high and independent fortunes, though not, it may be thought, of independent minds."

fear of the late governor-general. This was Hastings's own conviction, and he never afterwards forgave Pitt. We confess, however, that we must continue to doubt the correctness of the notion, at least in as far as relates to the premier, who, though his ruling passion might be the avarice of power, could scarcely feel either fear or jealousy of Hastings. Our doubt scarcely extends to Dundas. We also admit that, if Hastings's violent advocate Thurlow-a man, seemingly, violent in everything—really acted in the way he is said to have done, and had hinted that Hastings might have a peer-ge without the interference of the chancellor of the exchequer, Pitt may have been actuated by rage and indignation at what he would certainly consider an encroachment on his rights and province as premier This greatest of peermakers never could bear a peer to be made except at his own selection and recommendation. indeed, had long been an established part of official prerogative; but perhaps no prime minister had ever guarded it so jealously as Pitt. The worst impression, however, remained; and Hastings's friends did not content themselves with entertaining it in secret. Out of doors, both publicly and privately, they attributed the conduct of the premier to motives of the basest jealousy; they declared it was in the full confidence of his protection and support that they had urged Burke to bring forward the charges with which he had been so long menacing the governor-general; and that it was in this confidence that their friend had been persuaded to come to the bar of the Commons with a hasty and premature defence.* On the 14th of June, the very day after the decision of the Commons on the Benares charge, Hastings presented to his majesty a splendid diamond, sent

* Ann. Regist. It appears that Hustings himself never felt half the animosity against Dundas that he felt against Pitt—that he always considered that the great wong done him was by the piamier. In a letter written many years after and only four mouths before his death. Hastings tells Mr. E. B. Impey, the son of his old friend Sir Elijah, that he will give him "a well attested anectote," and then adds:—"Previous to the day on which the article of Benares was debated the ministerial members had received instructions to give their votes against it. At an early hour of that morning Mr. Dundas called m Mr. Bitt, awake him from his sleep, and engaged him in a content of three hours' dunding, which ended in an inversion of the ministerial instructions, of which it was my chance to be apprised the same morning." The inversion of the word of command to the ministerial instructions, of which it was my chance to be apprised the same morning." The inversion of the word of command to the ministerial members is quite certain, and was made evident in the debate and in some conversation across the table after the division. It was this that caused the amazement and awakened the scruples of Mr. Wilberforce. From this passage in one of the last letters Hastings over wrote, it should appear that he firmly belleved that in this matter Dundas had led Pitt, and not Pitt Dundas Hastings states repeatedly that he was all along looking to a seat at the board of control, and to the pricalcyla management of Indian affairs, as a proper reward for his past services. Now, Dundas was the last man in the world to bear any brother near his throne, or to be over-scruphlous as to the means to be employed to extinguish so dangerous a rival as Hastings.

From pride, and perhaps from some better motives, or it might be also from a conviction that his trouble would be thrown away, as he had little money and no patronage, the ex-governor-general did not try to make a party in the House of Commons. He says:—"I have see a thing of course. In the mean ti

VOL. II.

by the Nizam of the Deccan, who had contrived to act a neutral part during the last war, but who was anxious for the friendship of the English as soon as he saw that Tippoo Sultaun was not to be the conqueror of the Carnatic or the Northern Circurs. It is said that the Nuzam had transmitted the precious jewel to Calcutta; that it did not arrive there until after Hastings had quitted the Ganges; that the packet containing the diamond was sent after the governor-general by the first good ship; that it did not reach him till the 2nd of June, when the Rohilla charge was pending; that a variety of casual circumstances had hindered the presentation to the king till the 14th; and that it was then presented by Lord Sydney at a levee, at which Hastings was present. It was also said that the bulse, or purse, beside the diamond of great size and value, contained a letter from the Nizam to his majesty, which clearly showed that the present proceeded from the spontaneous generosity of the Indian prince, and that the late governor-general had nothing whatever to do in the affair except as having been chosen as the proper channel for the transmission of the present. All this might be perfectly true, but the diamond was nevertheless presented at an unlucky moment. Two nights after, when Major Scott was calling the attention of the House to some alarming circumstances in Bengal, and to some suspicious preparations making in the Mauritius by the French, Sheridan said that the only extraordinary news that he had heard of was the arrival of an extraordinary large diamond, said to have been presented to his majesty at an extraordinary and critical period, andwhich was also extraordinary—presented by an individual charged, by that House, with high crimes and misdemeanors! Scott harangued, explained, and read letters in confirmation of his assertions, but to little purpose. The caricaturists. pamphleteers, news-writers, song-writers, and epigram-makers of the day caught up the story, and by the united means of their various arts spread it rapidly over town and country. The "mysterious diamonds," meant to check "the impending vote, were put into smart satires and decent verses by the authors of the Rolliad, and into coarser verses by authors of less repute. The diamonds were sung about the streets and stuck up in the printsellers' windows. The Nizam's unit was multiplied ad infinitum—there was no end to the diamonds! One ingenious caricaturist represented on one side of his picture the king on his knees, with his mouth wide open, and on the other Warren Hastings pitching diamonds into his majesty's opened mouth. Another artist represented the king with crown and sceptre huddled in a wheelbarrow, and Hastings wheeling him off, with a label from his mouth saying, "What a man buys he may sell." Luckily for the droll who made the hit, and money by it, there chanced to be exhibiting in town a man that pretended to masticate and digest the hardest stones, and the walls of London were placarded with invitations to the curious, headed "The Great Stone-Eater." The king was drawn with a diamond between his teeth and a heap of diamonds before him, and underneath was written, "The Greatest Stone-Eater."

The proceedings against Hastings went no further this session, which was terminated by prorogation on the 11th of July. We must now mingle what remains of that desperately long affair with our narrative of other events, which are neither very numerous nor very important, until we come to the great outbreak of the French Revolution.

On the 2nd of August, as the king on his return from Windsor was alighting at the garden door leading from the park into St. James's Palace, a female, who had placed herself by the door, presented a petition, and, as he was in the act of receiving it, struck at him with a knife which she had previously kept concealed. She aimed at the heart, but the blade being weak in the middle from frequent grinding, doubled or bent, and the king stepped back without receiving the slightest wound. Before the maniac could repeat the stroke one of the king's yeomen of the guard caught her arm, and one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king's nerves were not easily shaken: he said—" I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her." On being examined before the privy council it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, that she came from Stockton-upon-Tees, that she was a common needlework-woman and very mad, having taken it into her head that the crown of England was by right hers, and that England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations if she did not get her right. After undergoing another examination by Doctor John and Doctor Thomas Munro and the lords of the privy council, who were unanimously of opinion that she had been and was insane, the poor creature was conveyed to Bedlam, where she lived for many years. In the mean time the king, who had come up to town for the purpose of holding a levee, had dressed himself and taken his station as if nothing had happened. It was scarcely a subject for jesting; for, though the woman was mad, if she had used a stronger knife there would have been blood and very possibly death; yet the wits of the opposition party took up even this business as a matter of joke and burlesque. They ridiculed the notion of a sempstress regicide, as if a sempstress could not kill a king; they maintained that there had not been the alightest danger from the attempt; and that the addresses and congratulations from loyal counties, boroughs, universities, and bodies corporate—some of them, no doubt, exaggerated and silly enough as compositions—were all hollow farce and non-sense. It was the king's pleasure to come the honour of knighthood on some of the bearers of these addresses, who, in several instances, had come from the furthermost parts of the kingdom to present them. The Whig wits immediately christened them all "The Knights of St. Margaret." It is said that George III. could laugh at these jests at his

own expense; but many of them, hurtful to all kingly pride and state, must have rankled in his mind; and we can very well believe that the Whig party was injured by these bitter jokes, and by their own violence in parliament, and that Pitt's newly formed administration really profited by these mistakes of their rivals.

But another step taken long before this made the breach broader and more irreparable: the Whigs had rallied round the Prince of Wales, and two of their principal leaders and ornaments, Fox and Sheridan, continued to be the



THE PRINCE OF WALLS. From a Painting by Sir William Berchey

chosen boon companions of the heir apparent, whom-or so, at least, thought the king and queen-they encouraged not less in his extravagance and dissipation than in his political opposition to his father and Mr. Pitt. young minister was so odious to the prince, that it is said his name was seldom mentioned by him at this time, without the addition of some term or terms much more energetic than princely or polite. From Fox, a man abounding in high intellectual qualities, with much goodness of heart, and even from Sheridan, with all his faults, the prince must have learned something more and better than dissipation and extravagance—supposing he needed their tuition, example, or encouragement in those particulars, which, to say the least, is very doubtful;—he must have learned something more of mankind, and of the out-of-door world and its ways, than could have been taught him by the more staid and correct and much duller society which his father would have prescribed to him-much more than he could possibly have learned from those animated or half-animated formulas, the lords and ladies, all high Tories and all highly respectable, that surrounded the king and still more the queen. It was scarcely possible for the prince to live so much with Sheridan without catching some sparks of his wit and fancy, or to live with Fox without being warmed occasionally by the glow of his loftier and more generous passions; but the prince had companions and connexions that had all the vices or faults of these remarkable men

without their genius and other qualities-men that gambled as much as Fox and drank as much as Sheridan, without having any of the bright redeeming points of either. One of his greatest intimates, the highest in rank and perhaps the lowest in character, was that scion of the ancient and most royal Bourbon stock, the Duke de Chartres, soon afterwards Duke d'Orleans, Philippe Egalité, and a headless corse. He first came over to England in 1783, shortly after the conclusion of peace with France; he repeated his visit in the spring of 1784, when he became still more intimate with the Prince of Wales, who was then in his twenty-second year. The two princes frequented the great meetings where bets are made on the speed of horses and the skill of training-grooms and jockeys; went together to Newmarket, to Epsom, and to other races, with abundance of lords, marquesses, and dukes in their train, and they won and lost large sums of money. In the autumn of the same year his Highness of Chartres came over again and revelled with his Highness of Wales at Brighthelmstone, then little better than a fishing-town, but which, from the date of this royal sojourn, began to rise in importance, and to advance, though at first by very slow degrees, to what Brighton now is. In the course of the present year (1786) the Duke de Chartres, who had lately become by the death of his father Duke d'Orleans, and the possessor of enormous wealth, again came over to visit his friend the Prince of Wales, to drink, bet at races, and gamble with dice and cards, to set him an example in waste and profusion, and to finish involving him in debts by exciting a rivalry with his own almost boundless means of riot and extravagance. We do not believe all the monstrous stories told of this unhappy man by his rabid countrymen of all parties, many of whom sought excuses for their own crimes or madness by heaping accusations upon him—a tool at the best, and nothing but a tool, in the crisis of the revolution but, without giving credit even to half of these accusations, we are disposed to believe that drinking, gambling, and libertinism were not the worst vices of Philiope Duc d'Orleans. The orgics of his eldest son must have been particularly distressing to the regular, religious king, who just at this period had issued, at the prayer of Mr. Wilberforce and some other devout gentlemen who had formed themselves into a society for the reformation of manners, his royal proclamation against vice and immorality, and all kinds of swearing, drunkenness, and licentiousness. It was apparently during this visit of the French prince that he offered to relieve the necessities of the heir-apparent to the English throne by a round loan of French money. The thing got wind immediately, and as soon as it was known great pains were taken to prove that the Prince of Wales had immediately rejected the offer as "involving the honour of England." It appears, however, from a letter from the great

Whig nobleman, the Duke of Portland, to Mr. Sheridan, that the transaction had proceeded much farther than this, that something very like a regular bargain for the loan had been all but concluded, that it had been publicly spoken of in the presence of the French minister by two Frenchwomen and a Frenchman, when the Prince of Wales's friends discovered it, and, knowing the dangerous consequences that must follow such a transaction, interfered and stopped it.* If the Prince of Wales had been allowed to conclude the bargain and to take the money of the French prince, no matter upon what conditions, he would have brought down upon the Whig party of that day a darker odium than attaches to the memory of the patriots of the days of Charles II. for taking money from Louis XIV. That band of patriots were in their graves a hundred years before the prying eye of Dalrymple detected their disgraceful connexion with the court of France, and published the letters and accounts of M. Barillon. † Those Whigs had been so far fortunate that they could only be punished in their memories and posthumous fame; but the Prince of Wales's friends were living men; and, however innocent, or even ignorant, they might be of the transaction, the prince's imprudence would, in the violent party warfare of the time, have been charged upon them as a heinous state crime, for who but they were his associates, champions, and advisers? Well might the Duke of Portland, as a chief of the Whig party, feel alarmed at this "odious engagement," at this "bad business;" and well might even Sheridan, lackpenny as he was, exert himself in preventing so perilous a loan. The king himself, upon other grounds than any affection for the Whigs, must have partaken in their alarm and anxiety; and, this being the case, it is rather extraordinary that he did not make some sacrifice. or permit some effort to be made by others, in order to relieve his son from the pressure of debt which had driven him into such a negotiation. It

which had driven him into such a negotiation. It

The curious letter of the Duke of Portland was first made public
by Mr. Moore in his Life of Sheridan. The duke gives the day of
the week and the duy of the month, but not the year. It is praify
clear, however, that the year must have been 1786, for the year before the party lending, or offering to lend, was not Duke of Orleans,
but only Duke of Chartres; and there are several reasons why it
could not have been later than 1786. From the Duke of Portland's
letter we may conclude that his gance had been the first person to
make the dangerous discovery, and that he had already spoken to
Sheridan, as a favourite and confident of the Prince of Wales, in the
hope that he would warn his royal highness. In the letter, Fortland
tells Sheridan that he had received a confirmation of the intelligence.

"The particulars," says his grace," varied in no respect from those
I related to you, except in the addition of a pension, which is to take
place immediately on the event which entities the creditors to payment, and is to be granted for life to a nomince of the D. of O—a.

The loan was mentioned in a mixed company by two of the Frenchwomen and a Frenchman (none of whose names I know) in Calones's
presence, who interrupted them by saking how they came to know
anything of the matter, then so them right in two or three particulars which they had mistated, and afterwards begged them, for God's
sake, not to talk of it, because it might be their complete rule. I am
going to Bulstrode, but will return at a moment's notice if I can
be of the least use in getting rid of this odium engagement or presenting
tis being entered isso, if it should not be yet competed."

On the very next day the Duke of Portland writes a very shart
note to thank Sheridan for what he has done. "I hope," says his
grace," I am not too sanguine is looking to a good conclusion of this
dood beginger."

M. Calonne had been employed in the finances by Louis XVI., and
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† See ante, vol. iii. pp. 736, 737, 728.

is true that the danger, in the present instance, would be pretty well over as soon as the negotiation was known; but, if left in his embarrassment, the prince might very possibly have re-course to other means equally objectionable. It appears, however, that George III., who seldom changed a resolution which he had once come to, had made up his mind that the prince, who, in his opinion, made so bad a use of the money he already had from the nation, should not be allowed to get any more. His own economical habits indisposed him to tolerate the extravagance of others; and he may very well have foreseen that, if his son's debts were paid off now, it would only favour a fresh accumulation, to be paid off, or clamouring to be paid off, at no distant period; and his conscience, as a man of strict private morals, no doubt, stepped in to sanction his pursimony by hinting that to allow the prince more money would only be giving him the means of indulging more freely in vicious irregularities. There was also another circumstance which, in the eyes of the king, and still more in the eyes of the queen, was fraught with as much disgrace as danger, and which, in reality, was calculated to excite alarm. We mean the connexion of the prince with Mrs. Fitzherbert, which had been for some time no secret, and which we shall soon find dragged before parliament. If all these things are calmly considered, the estrangement of the king from the prince, which has been so often made the subject of wonderment and bitter condemnation, will appear neither very extraordinary nor very blamcable. It was impossible that there should be any harmony between such a father and such a son. All the Georges, and we believe we may say all other sovereigns their contemporaries or predecessors, had lived on very bad terms with the heirs to their crowns: such, indeed, seems-to be an inherent necessity in the royal condition, and it must be strongest and most pronounced in a free or constitutional country like England, where there ever has been and ever must be a powerful and violent opposition party, (including names, and reputations, and fortunes as high as those of the party that may happen to be in power and in the favour of the sovereign.) who are sure to rally round the heir-apparent, encouraging his discontents, his unfilial disobedience and disrespect. It may not, as we have already remarked, he very moral or even decent to throw a wall of fire between the king on the throne and the prince that is to be his successor, to pit the son against the father, to make a disruption of all the ties of family and nature that are held sacred between other individuals; but such is royalty -such is party. We are not aware that of the two great parties that long divided the nation, either can accuse the other of being the guiltier in this respect. In George II.'s time, when the Whigs had the ascendancy, the Tories seized upon his son and heir Prince Frederic, driving him on to almost every extremity that suited the views of the opposition; and, what was more, when Prince

Frederic died and his son Prince George was heir to the throne, the Tories rallied round, pitting him even as a mere stripling against his grandfather, and making him and his mother a constant thorn in the side of the old king.* George III., however, was not likely to moderate his displeasure against his heir-apparent, by the recollection of his own conduct, when he occupied something like the same position;—he indeed, besides that he was too young to be accountable for what was done in his name, had not been chargeable either with indulgence in vicious irregularities, or with anything unfilial; -- and he complained, at times, it is said, with more bitterness than became his religious professions, and at times, it is said, with tears in his eyes, that his eldest son was linked with his enemies and revilers, with men who were in the daily habit of condemning his most innocent actions, and ridiculing his best. Thus, for example, at the very moment that Sheridan more than hinted in the House of Commons, that he, the king, was capable of being bribed or basely influenced by a diamond presented by Hastings, Sheridan was the chosen counsellor and most constant companion of the Prince of Wales. We mention the case of Sheridan, as the diamond question will be fresh in the reader's mind, together with the loan transaction, which shows the closeness of his intimacy with the heir-apparent; but Fox and others had said and done things far more hurtful to the king's feelings than the talk about the "extraordinary diamond;" and these gentlemen, and Fox at the head of them all, were high in the prince's favour and confidence. Against Fox in particular, George III. entertained an unmodified and unvarying dislike. It has been usual to find the cause for this strong feeling in the gambling propensities and irregularities of the idel of the Whigh; and, no doubt, the king's strict notions would be shocked by these improprieties, and dispose him to disapprove and reprobate the intimate union of his son with such a man as Fox, whose high qualities were precisely of that kind which George III. could not comprehend. But there was assuredly something more than these objections—something more than this moral squeamishness:—the king had admitted into his councils and government, and even into no small degree of favour at court, certain noblemen and gentlemen who had sinned against strict morals as much as ever Charles Fox had done, and that too in an open and barefaced manner. There was, for example, Dashwood, Lord le Despenser, the associate of John Wilkes in his worst orgies, the father-abbot or president of the obscene madmen of Medenham Abbey, who styled themselves "Franciscans," after his Christian name of Francis: -there was Lord Sandwich, whose name had become a sort of synonyme for debauchee or libertine, and one of whose amours had come before the

[•] See Pict Hist. vol. iv. pp. 421, 422, 423, 424, 427, 428, 429, 459, 565, 576, 584, 585, and various other parts of the narrative of the reign of Gourge II. George II., it will be remembered, had lived on equally bad terms with his father, George I.

public in a murder trial at the Old Bailey;* yet both these noblemen were well received at court, both had been acceptable members of his majesty's government, and Lord Sandwich had only recently quitted office with a profitable appointment in lieu of a pension. We suspect that the real cause, or, perhaps, the strongest of several causes, for the great and lasting dislike to the Whig leader must be sought for in Mr. Fox's politics and change of party. He had begun public life, as we have seen, a most violent Tory, and, though but a young man when he thus committed himself, and though he went over to the opposite side before his extraordinary abilities had fully developed themselves, George III. had no belief either in the sincerity of his conversion to Whig principles, or in the sincerity of the passionate cloquence and earnestness with which he afterwards advocated those principles, carrying them out to an extent that was hardly known before, and that, in the end, alarmed and alienated more than one-half of the Whig aristocracy. We know that in private the king always spoke of Charles Fox as a deserter, and as a man not to be trusted. The conduct and character of Mr. Fox will not be weighed exactly in this royal balance: we merely mention the king's feelings to account for the king's strong personal dislike to an eminent man who was not only the idol of his party, but who had in most other instances the art or quality of winning the affection even of his political opponents. What added to the gall and bitterness in the royal mind was a conviction that, die when he would, his successor would place Fox at the head of the government; and the persuasion, inseparable from that belief, that Fox and the rest of his party must be looking with eager eyes for his decease. As if to put his other sons out of the way of temptation and of the force of the Prince of Wales's example, the king sent the Prince Frederic (Duke of York) to study the science of war, or Prussian tactics, in Hanover; and placed Prince William (Duke of Clarence) as a midshipman on board the 'Pegase;' he dispatched his fourth son, Prince Edward (Duke of Kent), to Geneva, under a governor; and soon after this he entered his three youngest sons -for the princes were seven-Ernest (Duke of Cumberland), Augustus (Duke of Sussex), and Adolphus (Duke of Cambridge), as students in the Hanoverian University of Göttingen. Except in the disposal of Prince William, his majesty incurred no trifling share of unpopularity by these precautionary measures, the queen of course having her full share of the blame, for her country was never forgotten, and it was the constant practice of murmurers to accuse her of a design of making her sons as German as herself. It was said by the censurers and satirists of the day that the princes were sent to get un-English notions—an anti-liberal and anti-national education; and many, not so

prone to censure, doubted whether Hanover and Prussia were the best schools for British princes. It is said—what may be easily believed—that the king had nany conversations with the heir-apparent on his dissipated conduct, and particularly on his extravagance. It is also said that the queen's chief concern was to detach him from the contumacious Whigs, and more especially from Mr. Fox. This also may be assumed as true, as may likewise the prince's rejoinder-" that proscriptions of persons were both impolitic and unjust, and that the time might arrive when Mr. Fox would be necessary as a check upon Mr. Pitt, if that minister, as it was likely, should grow insolent upon the security of his power." In other places the prince continued to express more generous feelings, or to give a higher cause for his marked preference of Fox, asserting that his principles of government were the best and his ability and character the foremost of the day—declaring that he loved the man, and his Whig politics as much as the man. Against Mr. Pitt the prince kept up a thorough dislike, the sincerity of which, at least at this time, there was no doubting. He had even, it is said, complained to the king, that his minister had shown him marked disrespect by bringing a city rabble in his train to shout and hoot in front of Carlton House.* Though scarcely two years older than the prince, and though comparatively almost as much in debt, the chancellor of the exchequer had no commiseration for the embarrassments of his royal highness, no feeling that prompted him to undertake a struggle with the kings love of money, or to move or approve a vote of public money. Economy could scarcely at any period be called a cardinal virtue of his administration; but here he looked upon any grant from the House of Commons as so much money to be thrown into the enemy's camp. People spoke to him of the dangerous impropriety of suffering the honour of the heir-apparent to be tarnished and his peace destroyed by clamorous creditors; but Pitt was inexorable. In the preceding session of parliament, when the minister had called the attention of the House to the civil list, which had a great propensity to get into arrears, Sheridan had taken the opportunity of mentioning the prince's debts, and he had been joined by several of the Whig party; and Pitt had then coldly replied that he had received no commands from his majesty on the subject, and could not interfere, though he would willingly obey any commands he might receive officially from the king. After this the prince had sent Lord Southampton, his groom of the stole, to lay the state of his affairs before the king. Lord Southampton was graciously received, but did

That of the Reverend James Hackman, for the murder of Lord Sandwich's mistress, Miss Reay, in 1779. He was found guilty and electrical.

This happened in 1784, when Pitt, after his triumphant success at the general election, had been dining with his admirers at a public dinner in the city. The young premier, in the same curriage with Lord Sydney, and drawn by the mob, passed by Carlton House, opposite to which the rabble made a halt, and a terrible shouting, in which the prince's name and the name of his ricent Fox were blutted with very little respect. The prince chose to consider the two mististers in the carriage responsible, and called upon the king to make them apologies.

not obtain any definite answer. The statement or schedule of his royal highness's debts was too long to admit of a prompt reply. At the end of a month his majesty informed his son, by letter, that he could sanction neither a motion in the Commons for the increase of his annual allowance, nor a motion for a grant to discharge his debts. Upon this the Prince of Wales carried into effect a plan which had been debated for some time and recommended or highly approved of by his Whig friends. The very day after receiving the king's answer, he dismissed the officers of his court, and reduced the establishment of his household to that of a private gentleman; he ordered coach-horses, saddle-horses, race-horses, all to be sold; put a stop to the works carrying on, with more expense than taste, at Carlton House; shut up the state apartments, and confined himself to the use of a few rooms. savings, estimated at 40,000l. per annum, were set apart and vested in trustees for the payment of his debts.* The tender sympathies of no inconsiderable a part of the public were greatly affected by these proofs of distress and of generous self-denial. It is even said that there were wet eyes in Pall Mall as the prince's beautiful horses were led in a string through Pall Mall, St. James's-street, and Piccadilly to be sold by auction at Tattersall's. His friends, or all the gentlemen in opposition, cried out, "How great!" "How noble in the prince!" It is said that even his foes joined in the same cry of wonder and applause; but this is said by a courtly friend, and the truth of it may be doubted. Indeed it is certain that his conduct was much more censured than admired by the party in power, and by all the members of his father's court, who joined in attributing it to childish spite and spleen, or to a malicious design of injuring the popularity of his majesty and his majesty's ministers. They held that it was highly disrespectful to the king to dismiss the court or household which had been formed for him by his father, and to sink into an obscure way of living on pretence of paying his debts. It is also somewhat questionable whether the dismissed grooms of the bedchamber, gentlemen in waiting, &c. &c., very sincerely approved of a sacrifice made at their expense, although it is said that, with one single exception, they behaved with an heroical disinterestedness.† The prince, explaining and justifying

• The Prince of Wales's income was— Allowance on Civil List Duchy of Cornwall revenues, &c. . £50,000 14,000

Of this sum, 20,000L a-year was swallowed up by the household officers, &c., who had all been appointed by the king, and about 10,000L a-year was for the expenses of the table, &c. † "Lord Southampton and all the prince's people behaved to him in the most grateful, meritorous, and manly way, excent Colonel Hotham, who has 1000L a-year salary, and poundage upon all the others' aslaries, which amounted to 100L a-year more. This man had the modesty to write to the prince, that it was lard he should lose 500L a-year, and begged of his royal highness, as he had determined upon dissinishing his household, since he was so good as to keep him, to give him an equivalent to make up the 500L a-year he lost by his royal highness's resolution. The prince, it is sind, means to ducard him. You may depend upon all I have told you for truth."—Latter from a gentlemae connected with the prince's court, as given by the late Mr. Wallace us 'Memoire of the Life and Raign of George IV.

the proceeding in a letter to the king, says, that he had "sent in various applications for two years successively;" that through the various delays which had occurred his original embarrassments had been greatly increased; that the pressing importunities of many indigent and deserving creditors (some of them persons whose very existence depended upon a speedy discharge of their accounts) had made too forcible an appeal to his justice and honour, and to the feelings of his heart, to permit the measures he had taken to be any longer delayed. "Another consideration," adds the prince, " is, that any further procrastination might have exposed me to legal insults, as humiliating to me as I am persuaded that they would be offensive to your majesty." He further told the king that he had fully determined, in case of his not being so fortunate as to meet with that relief from his majesty which he thought he had the greatest reason to expect, to exert every nerve to render that best redress and assistance to his creditors which he could not help thinking was denied to him. "These," said his royal highness in conclusion, " are the motives, Sir, that have actuated my conduct in the steps I have taken, of reducing every expense in my family, even those to which my birth and rank entitle me (and which I trust will ever continue to be the principle and guide of my conduct), till I have totally liberated myself from the present embarrassments which oppress me; and the more so, as I am persuaded that such a line, when pursued with consistency, will meet with the approbation of every candid and dispassionate mind." This letter is said to have been written after the king had sent again for Lord Southampton on learning the decision the prince had come to, and had also written to his lordship that he had not said absolutely that he would not pay the debts; but that, if the prince chose to take a rash step, he must likewise take the consequences. These letters and messages passed early in July. In August, when the maniac attempt was made upon the king's life, no notice whatever was sent by the court to the prince, who was at Brighton, and who learned it from a private correspondent. It is said that his royal highness immediately flew to Windsor, that he was received there by the queen, and that the king would not see him.* The Duke of Orleans came over in the autumn, and it appears to have been then that the loan was offered or requested. The party favourable to the Prince of Wales represent the French prince as pressing his royal highness in the strongest manner to make use of his fortune till some favourable change should take place in his circumstances, to whatsoever extent he might find necessary; and it is but fair to state that the duke had a certain generosity of disposition, and was always free of his money when friends or favourites were to be served, or any purpose pro-

Ann. Regist. It may be necessary to remind the reader that this respectable publication was strongly projudiced in favour of the prince, and was completely under the control of the Whig party.

moted on which he set his heart. As there was no war to excite the people with its adventures and vicissitudes, as there was a dearth of public excitements of any kind except such as arose out of the Indian accusations, the prince's debts, next to Warren Hastings's impeachment, formed the staple of public and private discussion. Little decency was observed by the two great contending parties, who used the names of king and prince as best suited their respective views or passions. On the one side George III. was represented as an unnatural father—a merciless miser, who was hoarding up millions which he had not the taste or spirit to employ; on the other hand the prince was held up as a living miracle of honour, a martyr to his high principles and delicate feelings, and Carlton House, now shut up in gloom and silence, was represented as the very temple of taste and elegance. We believe the taste was pure in neither quarter: yet still any comparison must be disadvantageous to the cumbersome monotony of St. James's; and the prince, young, gay, and handsome, carried with him the suffrages of all the fashionable world, which is a world that will always have its weight. We are not aware when the advice was given-it might be before the prince dismissed his household and his horses, or it might be after that grand crisis—but the advice was given, it is said, "by several respectable members of the House of Commons," that his royal highness ought to permit an appeal to be made to the justice and generosity of the nation in parliament; or that, since the king refused to sanction any motion by ministers or their adherents for an increase of income or for a grant, some stanch members of the Whig opposition should be permitted to take the initiative. should appear that both Fox and Sheridan assured the prince that his personal popularity was so great that a money-vote might be carried in the teeth of his father and the chancellor of the exchequer, and that, by these means, his royal highness's assent was obtained. Or, in the language of his party, " to this measure the prince appears to have assented, not more from a natural wish to free himself from his pecuniary embarrassments, than from a desire to do away any bad impression that the misfortune of having incurred the royal displeasure, and the consequent refusal of affording him any relief, might have left upon the minds of the public." Indefatigable exertions were made in procuring the support of independent members of parliament-a small body, and which would have been perhaps still less numerous if any rigid inquest into, or definition of, independence had been established. If the term was to mean honesty and entire disinterestedness, such a party might have been covered by a cloth no broader than that which lay on the table of the House; the greater part of the so-called independent members being composed of cool, calculating gentlemen who did not bind themselves either to the minister or to the

* Ann. Regist.

opposition, to Whigs or Tories, only because by keeping aloof they could make themselves important to both parties, and by some lucky hit, some step taken at a critical juncture, obtain to themselves far greater advantages than the ordinary ones secured to the constant and pledged adherents. These were the kind of men whom half a century before Sir Robert Walpole was accustomed to buy for the nonce with bank-notes: and, if this direct mode of dealing had gone by, the processes which had succeeded, though more refined, were scarcely more honest. It was understood by all the Whig party that a struggle should be made on the subject of the Prince of Wales's debts and distresses at an early stage of the next session; and, as so many individuals were called into consultation or solicited for their votes, it was not possible that ministers should remain ignorant of the intended blow.*

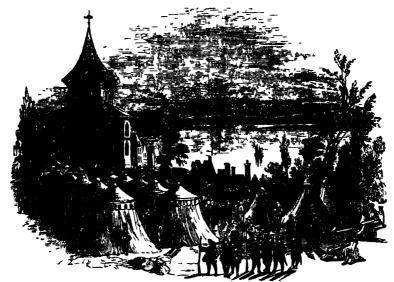
On the 17th of August of the present year (1786) Frederick the Great of Prussia, who hastened his death by the indulgence of a voracious appetite and by a sort of diet sufficient to kill a young man, expired in the 75th year of his age, self-possessed and cynical to the last gasp. was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William. who determined to interfere immediately in favour of the expelled Prince of Orange, who was married to his own sister, a woman generally supposed to have a more manly spirit than her husband. By the democratic party, who were represented, according to men's opposite principles or prejudices, as enlightened patriots or as a stupid and selfish faction, the House of Orange had been in effect deprived of the stadtholdership and driven into a kind of exile at Middleburg. They had also undergone many personal insults and humiliations which rankled in the mind of the Prussian princess. At first his new majesty of Prussia was willing to try the effects of diplomacy and peaceful negotiation, and, jointly with the King of Great Britain, he offered himself as a mediator between the Orangists and the democratic party. But this offer of mediation was rejected by the democrats upon the ground of partiality, George III. being considered to be as friendly to the House of Orange and quite as adverse to the popular party as Frederick William His Prussian majesty then proposed joining in the mediation the King of France, who had all along sustained the democratic party. The court of Versailles embraced the idea, but proposed that the King of England should be left out, and that the mediation should be managed solely by France and Prussia. It was an insult to England, but Frederick William accepted this proposal, and M. de Rayneval (the French minister) and Baron de Geertz (the Prussian minister) met at

During the long recess of parliament several peerages were conferred. Jenkinson, who had begun public life as secretary to Lord Bute, and who was accused by the opposition of having succeeded to the favour and secret inducese of that nobleman, was created Baron Hawkesbury, and made chanceller of the dealy of Lancaster and president of the board of trade; Sir Guy Carleton was exeated Baron Dorchester; and three or four Septch and Irish peers were made peera of Great Britain.

the Hague and entered upon the difficult business of mediation. But the French court wished for almost anything rather than the re-establishment of that hereditary enemy the House of Orange; and the King of Prussia and his sister the Princess of Orange were of opinion that the only way of settling matters was by force of arms, that the democratic party must be broken and chastised, and that negotiations were only to be adopted as a decent prelude to the march of a Prussian army into the heart of Holland. At the same time the animosities of the two contending parties were enough, without any spurring, to defeat any attempt at a pacific arrangement. The democrats continued to look to France for aid and support, and the Orangists and aristocrats fixed their hopes on England, who, though set aside as a mediatrix, continued to interest herself in these affairs, not certainly from any vehement affection for the one party more than the other, but through the natural and inevitable desire of preventing France from obtaining the command of the Low Countries. As soon as the negotiations began M. de Rayneval and Baron Goertz acted as if they had met rather to make a war than to establish a peace; the Freuchman insisting that the Prince of Orange must surrender nearly all his privileges or prerogatives, or at least so much of them as would have left him with scarcely half the power of an American president; and the Prussian insisting that the Prince of Orange, as stadtholder, should have much more power than he had hitherto possessed, and that all concessions and sacrifices were to be made by the popular body. It was surely ominous to the French monarchy that, lately in America and now again in Holland, it should be committed and pledged to the support of democratic principles, and that it should persevere in so dangerous an anomaly as that of an absolute and arbitrary government making itself the protectress and champion of thorough-going and enthusiastic republicans, and that too at a time when France was in a most discontented and fermenting condition, in which nearly all men were wishing for a change, though few as yet had made up their minds to erect a modelrepublic on the ruins and ashes of the old monarchy. Baron Goertz accused Rayneval of arrogance and insolence, of affecting a superiority which was not to be borne by the minister of a great and warlike power like Prussia—accused him of treating the Prince of Orange like a convicted criminal, and of siding with the most violent men of a furious faction. Rayneval rejoined with interest, accusing Goertz of acting as an advocate rather than as a candid and impartial umpire, and rating the Prince and Princess of Orange as fully obstinate and unaccommodating. The French minister, too, was the first to break off the negotiations, which he did in an abrupt manner at the end of December, and set off for Paris. Baron Goertz was then recalled by his Prussian majesty, who had not waited so long to put an army in order and make his preparations for marching it

at the proper season to the Rhine and the Scheldt. The baron did not even take leave of their high mightinesses the States-General, having merely written them a short note enclosing a letter from his royal master, who merely expressed his deep concern at the failure of his good offices for restoring the tranquillity of the country. No ill-will was expressed, no threat held out; and many over-credulous Dutchmen believed that there was no danger of their being disturbed by the prince who had inherited the renowned armies of Frederick the Great. Some even went so far as to assert that Frederick William had quarrelled with his sister and brother-in-law for not accepting the terms which had been proposed to them by the Even those who took a correcter view of the matter found comfort and encouragement in the notions that Frederick William was not a Frederick the Great, and that if he interfered they had only to raise up their hands to obtain the assistance of a French army. These men were too far gone in their madness to feel that the French assistance might be as dangerous to the independence of their country as any Prussian in-Their confidence in French virtue and disinterestedness and their assurance of obtaining whatever aid they might require were kept alive, not so much by the ministers and envoys of Louis XVI., as by a numerous swarm of political propagandists from Paris and other parts of France, who were initiating themselves in Holland in the craft and mystery of revolution which they were so soon to practise on an infinitely grander scale in their own country. By means of these men, too, Holland was deluged with French books and pamphlets, in which democracy, atheism, and obscenity were mixed in pretty equal proportions. The question was complicated by division of the country into so many separate states, each of which had its own views and interests and its own political predilections, while all claimed the right of judging for themselves, together with the right of perfect independence or separate sovereignty. In some of these states the Orangists were still the more powerful; and, whether aristocrats or democrats had the upper hand, no one state would tolerate the minority. It was evident by the end of the year that these differences could only be settled by arms. Previous to the negotiations and during their continuance many changes and movements took place, amounting in some instances to actual war. Prince of Orange having joined his wife, the highspirited Prussian princess, removed into Guelder-land, which, together with the neighbouring province of Utrecht, bordering upon the Prussian territories, was strongly attached to his family and interests. The states of Guelderland, by a variety of votes and resolutions, confirmed the prince's authority of stadtholder, and forbade any armed associations of burghers within their jurisdiction. In the towns of Hattem and Elburg the burghers were refractory, and, being encouraged by the states of Holland, they resisted the proclamations, and intimated that they would meet force by force. The states of Guelderland immediately called upon the prince, as their stadtholder and captain-general, to send a body of troops to chastise these citizens. The prince, who was staying at Nimeguen, or Nimwegen, a strongly fortified town in Guelderland, immediately dispatched General Spengler with four regiments and a respectable train of artillery, enjoining him, if possible, to avoid bloodshed. When Spengler appeared before Hattem the burghers, who had

been joined by volunteers from the province of Holland and from other quarters, made a bold show of resistance; they had mounted cannon and erected barricades, but a very few shots drove them from their guns, and they fled out of the town at one gate as Spengler's troops entered at the other. Nor were the burghers of Elburg more valorous, abandoning their town in the same manner. The states of Holland represented these hostile proceedings as fully justifying their own



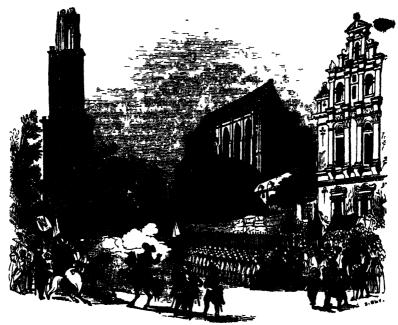
NIMEGUEN From a Drawing by Anelay.

jealousies and the violences which they had committed at an early part of the quarrel in persecuting and deposing the magistrates, senators, and members of town-councils that were attached to the Orange interests; they appealed to the people of all the provinces still called United, though there was nothing but disunion and discord among them; and they suspended the prince from the right of nominating to any military charge, and from all the functions appertaining to him as captain-general of the republic. The states of Holland also recalled their troops from Maestricht and other garrisons, formed a defensive line on their own mland frontier, and instructed their general to encourage the democratic party in Utrecht, where the burghers had shown considerably more spirit. As the Prince of Orange retained the military command of five of the provinces, whose united forces were about equal in number, and, on the whole, somewhat superior in quality, to those of Holland, the Orangists would have had a fair chance of settling their own quarrel without Prussian assistance if it had not been for French assistance which their epponents had called in, and which they would be sure to call in again.

A.D. 1787.—In Lord North's time parliament | vol. 11.

was generally assembled as early as the month of November, but the rule seems now to have been adopted, that it was not to meet until after the Christmas holidays. The Houses met on the 23rd of January. The speech from the throne contained no allusion to the troubles in the Netherlands and to the disagreements which had broken out on their account between the French and the English governments; but it dwelt almost solely upon the treaty of navigation and commerce which had been concluded with the most Christian king. It promised that a copy of this treaty should be laid before the two Houses, which were recommended to take such measures as they might judge proper for carrying it into effect. "And I trust, added his majesty, " you will find that the provisions contained in it are calculated for the encouragement of industry and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries, and, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between our respective subjects, appear likely to give an additional permanence to the blessings of peace. I shall keep the same salutary objects in view in the commercial arrangements which I am negotiating with other powers." This treaty of commerce and naviga-tion had been negotiated and finally signed at Versailles on the preceding 29th of September by Mr. Eden, who had abandoned his former political connexions to become the supporter and friend of Hence the Whig opposition were Mr. Pitt. equally inveterate against the negotiator and the treaty. In the debate upon the address, Mr. Fox, who had long professed and who certainly entertained a more friendly feeling towards the French nation, and who was far more of a cosmopolite than his rival, censured the recent arrangements and sounded the old trumpet of war and national hatred. He declared that all the wars of Great Britain with her neighbour had been on her part wars of necessity; and that jealousy of the power of France, which we were now called upon to lay aside, had been our safeguard and preservation, and had always been founded upon our experience of the ambitious designs, and intermeddling, encroaching spirit of France. With a woful or wilful blindness to the real condition of the country, and to the character of the reigning monarch, Fox affirmed that Louis XVI. was as dangerous as his great grandfather had been, and that the power of the French monarchy was greater now than in the reign of Louis XIV. Ministers, he said, might as yet be considered as being in the honeymoon of their new connexion; but he would ask them, even during this fond period, whether they felt the influence of France operating in their favour with those powers with whom they were now negotiating for other commercial arrangements or alliances? Did it manifest itself in the court of Vienna, in the court of Madrid, in the court of St. Petersburg, or at the Hague? He believed the very reverse was the fact, and that it was well known at this

very moment that the court of Versailles was labouring to counteract Mr. Pitt's diplomatists. And at the same time France was daily increasing her navy and directing her chief attention to that object. Was this a favourable symptom of her friendly disposition towards this country? Did it indicate any extraordinary partiality towards Great Britain? Did it not rather prove that she was looking forward to and preparing for some favourable opportunity of indulging her inveterate animostly against her ancient enemy? In concluding his speech he put forward as popular with the nation, and perfect in itself, our old commercial treaty with Portugal-the well-known Methuen treaty, which subsisted down to our own day, to the detriment of Englishmen's stomachs and heads, as it obliged them to drink heavy port instead of the finer wines of France—and he trusted that, before parliament gave its sanction to any new engagements that might endanger so sure and tried a source of commercial advantage, they would require from his majesty's minister the fullest satisfaction upon this essential point. Pitt, as usual, replied to his great rival with his own mouth. His speech is memorable as exhibiting so striking a contrast to the many speeches he delivered in after years when he was pressing for a war and general crusade against France, and when Fox was as carnestly recommending peace and good fellowship with the French republicans, who had by that time made France as powerful and dangerous as he chose to represent it now. Pitt denied the necessity or policy of a constant jealousy and animosity in regard to France, and reprobated the doctrine of our being ancient and natural foes that



UTRECHT. From a Drawing by Anelay.

never could and never ought to agree. These doctrines, he contended, were opposed both by humanity and by common sense. He asked whether we were to sacrifice every commercial advantage we might expect from a friendly intercourse with one of the best peopled and civilized nations of the earth to an antiquated jealousy and hatred? A treaty like the present would, he said, make it the interest of each nation to cherish and preserve friendly connexious, and would essentially tend to implicate and unite the views, conveniences, and interests of a large part of each kingdom, and so to insure the permanence of the present peace in If war was the greatest of evils, and commerce the greatest blessing that a country could enjoy, then it became the duty of those to whom public affairs were entrusted to endeavour, as much as possible, to render the one permanent and to remove the chances of the other. " This," added Pitt, "is the true method of making peace a blessing—that, while it is the parent of present wealth and happiness, it should also be the nurse of future strength and security. The quarrels between France and Britain have too long continued to harass not only these two great and respectable nations themselves, but also to embroil the whole peace of Europe; - nay, they have disturbed the tranquillity of the most remote parts of They have, by their past conduct, acted as if they were, indeed, intended by nature for the destruction of each other; but I hope the time is now come when they shall justify the order of the universe, and show that they are better calculated for the more amiable purposes of friendly With regard to intercourse and benevolence." the Methuen treaty, he reminded the House that the court of Portugal had for some years withheld from us our fair proportion of the mutual advantages that treaty stipulated: yet that we were not bound by our present arrangements with France to annul that treaty. Though Fox had consured the French treaty, which formed the principal and almost sole topic of the speech from the throne, and the responsive address, he gave his assent to that address, which, indeed, passed without opposition or any motion for amendment. Pitt indulged his sarcastic humour in pointing out this incon-"I am happy," said he, " that notwithstanding the vehemence with which the right honourable gentleman has argued against the address, he is ready to vote for it. I hope he will continue the same line of conduct throughout the session. For, if he makes a practice of voting in direct opposition to his own speeches and arguments, we may look for a greater degree of unanimity than could otherwise be expected."

We shall follow the debates on this subject to their close, before entering upon any other parliamentary proceedings. On the 5th of February Pitt moved that the House, that day week, should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration that part of his majesty's speech which related to the treaty of commerce and naviga-

tion formed with his most Christian majesty. The opposition objected that this was not allowing them sufficient time; and Lord George Cavendish moved that Monday se'nnight should be substituted for Monday next, and that in the mean time a call of the House should be ordered. Ministers insisted that every moment's delay would be attended with serious inconvenience; that the importance of the measure had of itself operated as a call of the House, rendering any vote or order to that effect unnecessary; that the whole business had been already before the public for more than four months; and, upon a division, Lord George's amendment was negatived by 213 against 89. The committee of the House on the French treaty, therefore, remained fixed for the 12th of February. On the 9th Mr. Fox endeavoured to bring the negotiations with Portugal then pending before the House previous to their coming to any decision on the French treaty; but the motion, which was for copies of papers, instructions, &c., sent to his majesty's minister at Lisbon, was rejected without a division. On the great field-day—the 12th before the House resolved itself into committee, a petition was presented by Alderman Newnham, from certain manufacturers, praying that the House would not that day come to any decisive resolution upon the commercial treaty with France, as the petitioners had not had lessure to understand the treaty, and, consequently, were not yet aware to what degree their interests were likely to be affected by it. Pitt remarked that there was something singular both in the contents of this petition, and in the moment chosen for presenting it. He observed that the French treaty had been published between four and five months, during which time the petitioners, it seemed, had not chosen to find leisure to examine and understand it; and now, on the very day upon which the House had agreed to take it into their consideration, without pointing out one specific objection, they had the modesty to request parliament to delay, for an indefinite period, all further proceedings upon it. This he thought the House would on no account The House responded by loud calls for the order of the day, and, having formed themselves into committee, the minister began one of his greatest speeches, which occupied more than three hours in the delivery. He said, that, if the commercial treaty with France should be found to comprehend principles hostile to the received notions and doctrines of British commerce, and that thereby a general spirit of objection had spread over the country, he was assured that it would little avail him to stand up in that committee and argue for the acceptance of the treaty; and that they would certainly not be bound to confirm this treaty, unless, after deliberate discussion, they should perceive it supported by the most rational principles and by the most incontrovertible policy. He again asserted that, though the treaty had been between four and five months before the public, nothing like an objection had been heard against

it, not a murmur from any of the classes of manufacturers who were thought to be more particularly affected by it. For the present he said he meant only to submit to the House certain leading resolutions, namely—1. That all articles not enumerated and specified in the tariff should be importable into this country on terms as favourable to France as those allowed to the most countenanced nation, reserving always the power of preferring Portugal under the provisions of the Methuen treaty. 2. That if any future treaty should be made with any other foreign power, in any articles either mentioned or not mentioned in the present treaty, France should be put on the same or on as favourable terms as that power. 3. That all the articles specified in the tariff should be admitted into this country on payment of the duties, and with the stipulations stated in the treaty. He called upon the House to consider the relative state of the two kingdoms. On the first blush of the matter, he believed he might venture to assert, as a fact generally admitted, that France had the advantage in the gifts of soil and climate, and in the amount of her natural produce; and that Great Britain was, on her part, as confessedly superior in her manufactures and artificial productions. He observed that as regarded natural produce France had greatly the advantage, as she could export her wines, brandies, oils, and vinegars, while we could only export to her, in return, the article of beer. Thus, he said, all idea of reciprocity as to natural produce must be completely given up. But then he reasoned that Britain possessed some manufactures exclusively her own, and had such a superiority in other manufactures as to give her the advantage over her neighbour, and set competition at defiance. This then was the relative condition of the two countries, and this the precise ground on which he imagined that a valuable trade and connexion between them might be established. Having each its own distinct staple—having each that which the other wanted—and not clashing in the great and leading lines of their respective riches, they were like two great traders in different branches, and they might enter into a traffic which would prove mutually beneficial to them. Our manufactures must be greatly and eminently benefited in going into the French market loaded only with duties of 12 or 10 per cent., instead of being overlaid with enormous imposts, restricted in their importation to particular ports, or altogether prohibited and excluded. A market of so many millions of people—a market so near and prompt -a market of expeditious and certain return-a market of necessary and extensive consumptionwas an object we ought to look up to with ea and satisfied ambition. To procure this market we ought not to scruple to give liberal conditions. We ought not to hesitate on the ground that France would be benefited as well as Great Britain. He considered it not merely a consoling but an exhilarating speculation to the mind of an Englishman. that, after the empire had been engaged in a con-

test with a combination of hostile powers the most formidable of any that ever threatened a nationafter struggling for its existence—it still maintained its rank and efficacy so firmly, that France, finding she could not shake it, now opened her arms and offered a beneficial connexion, on easy, liberal, and advantageous terms. He could not, in the common philosophy of the day, help striving to demonstrate that few or no French manufactures could compete with our own in an English market; and, apparently without having consulted with his sisters and nieces, who might have told him better, he expressed a doubt as to the preference said to be shown to French laces and French millinery. "But," said he, with his ordinary solemnity, "the clamours about millinery are vague and unmeaning when in addition to other benefits we include the richness of the country with which we are to trade, with its population superior to ours as 20,000,000 to 8,000,000, and of course a proportionate consumption." It would have been easy to show that consumption is not always strictly proportionate to population, not even in the articles of absolute necessity; and that, under the favour of other circumstances, a population of 8,000,000 may consume as much, in articles not of primary necessity, as a far larger population. Pitt's comparison or picture of the advantages of selling to a large market and buying for a much smaller one was complacently received by the House, who seem, moreover, to have disregarded that other important fact, that France after all could only buy in proportion as she sold. The minister went on to say that, viewing the relative circumstances of the two countries, he could see no objection to the principle of the exchange of their respective commodities; that he could see no objection because he perceived and felt that our superiority in the tariff was manifest; because the excellence of our manufactures must incline the balance of trade to our side. He argued that it had been incorrectly stated that we had invariably considered it as our policy to resist all commercial connexion with France; that France had been more jealous of us than we of her; that trade prohibitions began on the part of France, and that we had only retaliated in our own defence. The unratified commercial treaty of Utrecht, in Queen Anne's time, which admitted some trading with France, had been indeed opposed by popular prejudice and by the party violence of that day, but not by the deliberate judgment of the nation, or by parliament, who, on the contrary, had voted an address praying Queen Anne to renew commercial negotiations with the court of France. At that time the relative situations of the two countries differed widely from what they were now: at the treaty of Utrecht we had but little to send to the French, but now we had much to send them-so much, in our manufactures, as greatly to counterbalance what we might take from her in natural produce. He asked whether men could conceive that there was a preposterous and inscrutable, a fixed and eternal something, between the two countries, which must

prevent them from ever forming any connexion, or cherishing any species of amity? He acknowledged that there might be a diminution of the revenues to the amount of 180,000l. or more; -- "but," said he, " a temporary surrender of revenue is contradictory neither to sound policy nor to established practice:—the surrender of revenue for such great purposes is a policy by no means unknown in the history of Great Britain; and in the present instance it will be made up and returned to us in a three-fold rate by extending and legalizing the importation of French wines, brandies, and other articles hitherto, for the most part, smuggled." He confessed that increase of revenue by means of a reduction of duties had once appeared to him a mere paradox; but experience had at length convinced him that it was more than practicable. In considering the treaty in its political bearing, he again contended against the doctrine that France was and must be the unalterable enemy of Great His mind, he said, revolted from this position as monstrous and untenable: it was a libel on the constitution of political society, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the frame of man. Some persons, he said, reasoned as if this treaty with France was completely to annihilate our means of defence, as if it was to give up our army, to sink our navy, to cut off our colomics, and lull us into a state of helplessness and listless apathy. But he asked whether it did not much rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this forcible language—that the interval of peace, as it would enrich the nation, would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come. That we should not be taken unprepared for war was a matter totally distinct from the provisions of any treaty of commerce; it depended in no degree on such arrangements, but simply and totally on the watchfulness and ability of the administration for the time being. Alluding to the recent American war, he allowed that France had, at that moment of our distress, interfered in the hope of crushing us;—this was a truth over which he did not desire to throw even the slightest veil. Of that unhappy war—unhappy, yet scarcely inglorious—Pitt spoke with a lofty English feeling. " Oppressed as this nation was," said he, " during the last war by the most formidable combination for its destruction, yet had France very little to boast of at the end of the contest that should induce her again to enter deliberately into hostilities against this country. In spite of our misfortunes, our resistance must be admired, and in our defeats we gave proof of our greatness and almost inexhaustible resources, which, perhaps, success would never show us:

Duris at ilex tones bipennibus, Nigras feraci frondis in Algido, Per damna, per cades, ali ipso Ducit opes animumque ferro.

Indeed, in recollecting the whole of that dreadful controversy, I can deduce arguments from it to reconcile the present conduct of France with more

equitable and more candid principles of policy than gentlemen seem willing to attribute to our rival. When France perceived that, in that dreadful contest, in which, with the enormous combination of power against us, it might the truly said that we were struggling for our existence, we not only saved our honour, but manifested the solid and almost inexhaustible resources of this country; reflecting that, though she had gained her object in dismembering our empire, she had done it at an expense which had sunk herself in extreme embarrassment; and reflecting also that such a combination of hostile power against us, without a single friend in Europe on our side, can never be imagined again to exist" -(Pitt lived to see something very like it);—" may I not be led to cherish the idea, that, seeing the durable and steady character of our strength, and the inefficacy as well as the ruin of hostility, France would eagerly wish to try the benefits of an amicable connexion with us?" Pitt concluded with moving as the first resolution necessary to be passed -" That it appears to be expedient that all the articles of the growth, produce, and manufactures of the European dominions of the French king, which are not specified in the tariff of the treaty, shall be imported into this kingdom on payment of duties as low as any which shall be payable on the like articles from any other European nation." Fox rose to answer the chancellor of the exchequer, to repeat his condemnation of the treaty, and to assert again that France ought to be considered not only as a rival, but as a nation with whom there ought never to be any political or commercial connexion whatever. The sentiments he uttered may be considered as alien to his nature—as opinions dictated merely by his party position at the moment-yet they were uttered with every appearance of conviction and carnestness. He spoke of the restless ambition of France, and even of the character of Louis XVI., with the greatest bitterness. He too alluded to the American war, but, though his views had once been very different, it was only to heap coals of fire on the heads of the Frenchto accuse them of treachery and duplicity, to point out the mean way in which they had taken advantage of our difficulties, and to revive the national animosity on that account; --- and he reaffirmed that no doubt could be left on the mind of any thinking man but that the French nation was actuated by a regular, fixed, and systematic enmity to this country. France might have changed her policy, but where was the proof that she had changed her sentiments? Was it not reasonable to suppose that her end was the same, though the means she meant to pursue were different?-that, instead of force, which she had found would not avail, she intended to employ stratagem, to put us off our guard, to lull us into security, to prevent our cultivating other alliances, to lessen the dependence of foreign states upon us, to turn all our views to commercial profits, to entangle our capital in their country, and to make it the private interest of individuals in this country

rather to acquiesce in any future project of ambition France might engage in than come to a rupture with her? Such, said Fox, were his convictions; and perhaps no great man ever uttered so much nonsense in a like number of words. With equal energy he supported the petition from the manufacturers which had been presented by Alderman Newnham, asking the minister whether he could pretend to understand the interests of the cotton manufacture better than Mr. Walker of Manchester, or the interests of the woollen manufacture better than the house of Milnes in Wakefield? Having condemned nearly every part of the treaty, and having asserted that the revenues of this country must suffer a very serious and uncompensated loss, Fox moved "That the chairman leave the chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again." He was followed and stanchly supported by Francis, who was making himself one of the most important members of opposition. Francis pretended to fear that the treaty was meant, by encouraging French intercourse, to degrade and emlave the free people of England. He dreaded, he said, the effects of an intimate connexion with France upon the character and morals of the British nation; and he also dreaded that there might be too close a union between the two crowns, which would assuredly be fatal to the liberties of Great Britain! He drew a comparison between the late great Pitt and the present one. "The polemical laurels of the father," said Francis, "must yield to the pacific myrtles which shadow the forehead of his son. The first and most prominent feature in the political character of Lord Chatham was antigallican. His glory was founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the house of Bourbon. The present minister has taken the opposite road to fame; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of Lord Chatham, is the gens amicissima of the son." Mr. Powys thought that the treaty would utterly ruin our glass manufacture; and doubted whether in the end it would not considerably injure our cotton trade. Mr. Baring, whose opinions in commercial matters were always looked up to with respect on account of his experience and extensive mercantile transactions, thought that there was good and bad in the treaty, but that the good, on the whole, predominated. Upon the question being called for, Fox's motion was negatived by 248 against 118, and Pitt's resolution was then put and carried.

On the 15th of February, while other business was proceeding, the premier, at a late hour, proposed that the House should go again into committee to consider the commercial treaty. The opposition complained that this was an indept haste and a taking of the House by surprise; but they were outvoted by 145 to 59, and, the House being in committee, Pitt read without any preface his second resolution:—"That the wines of France be imported into this country upon as low duties as the present duties paid on the importation of Portugal wines." Mr. Flood opposed the

resolution in a long speech, which was not without its curious passages. He said, for example, that France was endeavouring to carry on an extensive trade with the United States of America; that the Americans wanted long credit, which the French could not give them; but that now the French would take credit from the English merchants and give the Americans the benefit of it. Mr. Wilberforce in replying to Flood took occasion to reflect very severely on the parliamentary conduct of He said he wished that that gentleman could come down to the House coolly and dispassionately, that he could sometimes forget that he was a politician, and consider matters with more attention to their intrinsic merits. He declared that he had frequently been run away with by the oratory of the right honourable gentleman, and been obliged to appeal to his reason and his principles to prevent his being declaimed out of his understanding. After this address to the man who had much wit and no money, Wilberforce addressed himself to the plain understandings and broad purses of the country gentlemen; asking them whether the way to get rid of their four shillings in the pound land-tax was by holding the balance of Europe against France, or by extending our commerce and increasing the sale of our manufactures? Fox called these arguments mean and desponding; and asked whether ministers were ready to declare that we were no longer in a situation to hold the balance of power in Europe, or to be looked up to as the protectors of the liberties of Europe? Mr. Powys, as a country gentleman, replied to Wilberforce's address to that quarter: he said that the country gentleman who should govern his public conduct by mere considerations of private interest must be a miserable animal indeed. Dundas, by far the ablest sup-porter Pitt had in the House, defended the treaty, as an arrangement that would reduce the debte and fill the coffers of the state—that would enable us in a time of peace to gather strength for war in case war should become necessary. Before the question was put Fox moved, as an effectual means of preserving the Methuen treaty, that the duties on the importation of Portugal wines should at the same time be lowered one-third. This was negatived by 91 against 76, and Pitt's original resolution was then put and carried. On the following day-the 16th of February-Fox made another and last effort to secure the Methuen treaty, the infraction of which, he contended, would go to deprive us of an ancient and faithful ally, and of a sure market for our manufactures to the amount of nearly one million per annum. He remarked, with perfect truth, that but for Portugal we should not have had in the last war a friendly port in Europe between Gothenburg and Gibraltar. Pitt argued that the Methuen treaty might be preserved notwithstanding the French treaty; and the House, on his motion, voted several resolutions necessary to carry the latter into effect. On the 19th the report of the committee upon the whole of the com-

mercial treaty with France was brought up and agreed to by a large majority. On the 21st Mr. Blackburne, member for Lancashire, moved an address—"To thank his majesty for the solicitude he had been graciously pleased to evince in forming a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France; assuring him that the House conceived that the most happy effects would result from it to his faithful subjects, and that they would take every necessary step to render the negotiation effectual." In supporting this address Mr. Blackburne said that he had received letters of approbation from his constituents, and that a numerous meeting of the cotton manufacturers, held at Manchester, had considered the treaty as highly beneficial to this country in general, and to their own trade in particular. The Honourable Captain Berkeley, member for Gloucestershire, in seconding the motion, declared that the treaty had met the approbation of many bodies of woollen manufacturers his constituents; and that it was in France only that the treaty was condemned, as being too advantageous to England, and as likely to ruin the French manufacturers. He added that the people of Abbeville had already declared that the treaty would ruin them: and it is quite certain that now, as at later periods, the English had not a monopoly of all the anti-free-trade notions, but that the French were far more exclusive and jealous than they. It was in this debate that Mr. Grey, member for Northumberland - now the venerable Earl Grey-delivered his first speech in the House of Commons. His person, his manners, his voice, and the copiousness and elegance of his diction, were all warmly admired by both parties. He was ranked on his first appearance among the accomplished orators who, in the course of a few years, had risen among the young members.* "With the single exception of Put," says one of that minister's great admirers, "I have not witnessed any individual in my time who, on his first attempt, has excited such expectation of future These expectations, it eminence as did Grey. must be admitted, he has fully realized." The opposition, on whose side he sat, admired the matter as much as the manner of the speech, and praised the strength of his arguments as much as his dic-But some of these arguments were little consonant with the maturer philosophy and liberal principles of Lord Grey; and, if he remembers certain parts of this his maiden speech, it can only be to smile or blush at them. He followed his leader Fox in representing any connexion with France as highly dangerous; and he declared that the present moment was perhaps that, of all others, in which our jealousy ought to be most awake, and in which we had the least reason for reposing any confidence in our old enemy. He read a state paper which had passed between the French minister and the plenipotentiary of the United States of America now in Paris, and which con-

Ann. Regist,

Sir N. W. Wiexall.

Jefferson, who was performing offices at Paris not generally considered compatible with one another in the person of an accredited.

tained a proposition on the part of France to concede to America, without stipulation, a great variety of commercial advantages detrimental to her own revenues, and in which no European nation, not even Spain, was indulged. Hence Mr. Grey concluded that France expected an equivalent from the Americans, and that equivalent would be nothing less than the monopoly of the American trade, which was once ours. This too, he said, must lead to the augmentation of the French navy, and to the ruin of the English. Whilst France was offering us as a temporary bait this treaty of commerce, ostensibly for the supply of her own market, she had been securing customers in the western world to take our commodities off her hands, and thus not only to become the great carrier on the high seas, but to trade to an extent hitherto unknown to her upon the mercantile capital of Great Britain. Another object which Mr. Grey thought France had in view was to cut us off from all continental connexions and alliances, and to insulate us as much politically as we were insulated naturally by the sea that flowed between us and the continent. He recommended, instead of a present treaty with France, a more intimate intercourse with the Americans of the United States, who, he said, were willing and eager to enter into a commercial treaty upon fair and equitable terms. He accused ministers of granting to France advantages in trade which had been refused to Ireland—of giving to a rival and a natural enemy what we had withheld from our friends and fellow-subjects. He did not as yet perceive or hint at the possibility of removing restrictions on all sides, and the propriety of opening our trade to France as well as to Ireland and America: he thought that France ought to be excluded from participation, and that all commercial connexion with her must be fraught with danger and deceit. Even the temporary advantages which might possibly arise out of the French treaty he considered as so many additional reasons for rejecting it: every offer of benefit from France he regarded with suspicion-" timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." Burke took a prominent part in the debate of this evening. He knew more of the science of public economy than any man in parliament, but on this occasion he chose to denounce economical considerations as unworthy of regard, and, yielding to his party connexions, to insist that the policy of the proposed treaty should be judged of on other grounds altogether. "The treaty," said he, "has been talked of as if it were an affair between two little counting-houses, and not between two great empires. It seems to be considered by its supporters as a contention between the sign of the Fleur-de-lis and the sign of the Red Lion which house should obtain the best custom." He censured the wonderful change of language which had

ambassador. He was negotiating with the ministers of the King of France about commerce and closer treaties of alliance, and showing them how, in case of another war, American seamen implift be employed in "deproductions" on the trade of Great Britain; and, at the same time, be was consulting with Lafaystet how a revolution night best be made to overthrow the King of France's government!

taken place in the House whenever France was mentioned. "Nothing," he said, "had been heard for some time but panegyrics of the French. And what are the topics we have chosen for our panegyrics? Do we commend the qualities the French really have—their valour, their ingenuity, their wit? No, it is their sincerity, their moderation, their truth, their good-will to this nation, that we have been so extremely taken with." Yet, even if a lower view of the matter were to be taken, he expressed great doubt whether the minister's sanguine anticipations would not prove wholly delusive. He maintained that we risked much, and could gain but little, by the treaty. One of the great dangers he apprehended was, that British capital might gradually find its way into France! He painted in his usual vivid colours the great power and greater ambition of the French nation, and he pointed out, as things sure to excite the popular mind, the attention France was paying to her navy, the stupendous works she was erecting at Cherbourg and other places, as if determined to create scaports in spite of nature, by which she appeared, as it were, stretching her arms all round to grasp and stifle us;—and hence, he conceived, the strange and unnatural desire that had all at once possessed us of running into her embraces to be nothing less than infatuation. Lord Mornington, Mr. Grenville, and others, defended the treaty and supported Mr. Blackburne's address. Welbore Ellis rose at a late hour to object to the address as being in the present stage of the business premature, unprecedented, and unparliamentary; but Ellis was out-voted by 236 to 160; and, about three o'clock in the morning, the address was agreed to without a division. This put an end to the business in the Commons. In the Lords the debates on the treaty, though not so long, were sufficiently interesting. The Marquess of Buckingham opened the business there with a long speech, in which he defended the treaty in all its points. He was answered by Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, who enjoyed the reputation of being well versed in the knowledge which ought to regulate commercial intercourse. The bishop, who had got his mitre from Lord North, and who was-not to detract from his other merits—a warm partyman, pulled the treaty to pieces without mercy, declaring it to be a most dangerous experiment, and one likely to undo Great Britain. Shelburne, now Marquess of Lausdowne, replied to the Bishop of Llandaff in one of the best speeches delivered on the subject in either House. He said that there were two fundamental considerations to decide upon -1. Whether our old commercial system should not be changed as totally erroneous?-2. Whet if it should be thought right to open our trade to the world, France, for political reasons, should be excepted? He believed that the first question would require very little discussion. Commerce, like other sciences, had simplified itself and taken a more liberal shape. In fact, truth had made its own way. The old system, with all its monopolies,

prohibitions, protecting duties, balances of trade. with all the calculations formed upon them, was now generally exploded; and consequently all the learned prelate's arguments, which were grounded upon that old system, fell to the ground. It was, he said, a proud day for the manufacturers of this country to see them come down in a body from their strongholds of prohibition and monopoly, to mix with other nations, with the world at largeto see them consenting without a murmur to give up all their fences and fortifications, to meet the foreign manufacturer on equal terms at their own or at his market; -and he was sure that they would bring home wealth for themselves in one hand and revenue for the state in the other. With respect to the second point, or the propriety or necessity of excepting France for political reasons, he was of opinion that the thing was absurd and impracticable. He thought, and so did several eminent French statesmen, that the two countries, greatly to the benefit of both, might live in amity with each other-that the talk about eternal and natural enemies was a chimera no longer suitable to the enlightenment of the age. His lordship, however, said that, as the tendency of the treaty was to increase the force or tranquillity of the French kingdom, we ought to have got some advantages in point of navigation; and that something of this sort ought to have been said to France-In proportion as we give up to you land, you must give up to us sea. He also thought that a good opportunity had been neglected of doing something for the security of India; that the armed neutrality or the neutral code ought to have been swept away, instead of being tacitly recognised by the treaty; and that steps ought to have been taken for putting a stop to the works going on at Cherbourg. His lordship concluded the declaring that, if this country should decline, it would not be owing to this treaty with France, but to very different and very obvious causes. If we continued under a perpetual fluctuation of administrations and of systems, as we had done for many years past-if we went on rotting in our corruption, and sacrificing the army, the navy, the church, the state, to the paltry purpose of procuring majorities in the two Houses of Parliament, we could never expect to be prosperous, wealthy, or powerful. Jenkinson, now sitting in this House as Lord Hawkesbury, defended and applauded every part of the treaty; and Lord Loughborough (Wedderburn) condemned every part of it. The necessary resolutions were, however, all adopted by large majorities; the Lords concurred in the address of the Commons as moved by Mr. Blackburne; and on the 8th of March the address was presented by both Houses to the king.

Before entering upon the business of the treaty their lordships had had a sharp discussion upon a curious point connected with the constitution of their own House. During the late recess of parliament two Scotch peers, the Earl of Abercorn and the Duke of Queensberry, who already

sat in the House of Lords as two of the sixteen elective peers of Scotland, were created British peers with the titles of Viscount Hamilton and Baron Douglas. The subject was brought before the House, on the 5th of February, by Viscount Stormont, who moved that their lordships should be summoned on the 13th to consider the new patents in a committee of privileges; and on that day he moved that the two Scotch lords, having been created English peers, thereby ceased to sit in the House as representatives of the peerage of Scotland. The question simply was, whether there should immediately be an election of two new Scotch representative peers, as would have been the case if the two lords had died. The question was complicated somewhat by a single precedent, the only one that existed. In 1736 the Duke of Athol, being then one of the sixteen elective peers of Scotland, succeeded by inheritance to the English barony of Strange, and still sat in his representative capacity. Lord Chancellor Thurlow, upon this precedent and upon other grounds, was decidedly of opinion that the two new British peers ought to sit in the same manner. Although such cases might have been foreseen, the Act of Union was silent on the subject. Lord Stormont contended that the elective and parliamentary qualities of a Scotch peer were merged and lost in his qualities of an hereditary British peer. Thus the House in 1709, soon after the passing of the Act of Union, had declared, in the case of the Duke of Dover, that a peer of Scotland, claiming to sit in the House of Peers by virtue of a patent passed under the great seal of Great Britain, had no right to vote in the election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. If therefore a peer of Scotland, under the circumstances described, could not vote in the election, so neither could he be elected. The motion was opposed by the Earl of Morton and by the Chancellor, but in the end it was carried by 52 against 38.

Another question soon arose out of this decision. On the 18th of May the Earl of Hopetoun represented to their lordships that at the election for two peers to supply the places of the two noblemen created peers of Great Britain, the votes of the Dukes of Queensberry and Gordon had been received, contrary to a resolution of that House passed in January 1709. This resolution, in fact, imported that no Scotch peer who had been created a British peer since the Union should be entitled to vote at any election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. Lord Hopetoun therefore moved that the rule should be enforced, and that a copy of the said resolution should be transmitted to the Lord Registrar of Scotland as a guide for his future proceedings in cases of election. The Duke of Gordon was abroad, but the Duke of Queensberry desired on his own part, and on the part of his brother duke, to be heard by counsel. This was objected to, as no new resolution was to be taken, but merely an old one to be put in force. Chan-cellor Thurlow doubted whether the old resolution was to be considered valid; and he told their

lordships that a resolution of either House of Parliament, however unanimously carried in that single House, did not constitute law. He also reminded their lordships of another resolution passed by their House in 1711, by which two Scotch dukes, who had been created British peers, were declared incapable of sitting in that House in the latter capacity. Thus of these two resolutions, passed within three years of each other, the first took away their votes as Scotch peers, and the other deprived them of their seats as British peers; so that, parliamentarily considered, they must cease to be peers altogether. The latter resolution—that of 1711—had been lately done away with; not, however, by a resolution of one House, but by a regular act of parliament passed in the usual manner by the three estates. And Thurlow maintained that if the resolution of 1708-9 was to be made effective it could only be so made by another act of parliament; and when that act of parliament should come upon the carpet it would be necessary to consider many circumstances and many interests. For example, supposing a Scotch peer should be made a hishop, would he in that case lose his right to vote at the election of any of the sixteen peers? Lord Hopetoun's motion was ably defended by Lord Kinnaird, who described an elective peerage as a thing perfectly novel in its nature, and wondered how the system had worked at all. The Earl of Morton said that, as the resolution of 1711 had been declared unjust, he saw no reason why the other resolution should not be declared unjust also. His lordship urged that the Act of Union directed that sixteen Scotch peers should be chosen and named by all the Scotch peers to be their representatives in the Parliament of Great Britain; and that, therefore, it would be unjust now to set up distinctions contradictory to the express Act of Union. The Duke of Richmond contended that no judicial court ever took upon themselves, upon their own mere motion, to re-promulgate a judgment long since delivered. If it were deemed proper to confirm the resolution of 1709 he would recommend a procedure by bill, which would remove all ground of complaint of injury, and afford the parties who conceived their rights infringed ample opportunity of making out their claims, in the progress of the bill through its various stages. Upon a division, however, Lord Hopetoun's motion was carried by a considerable majority; and the lord registrar was accordingly ordered not to take the votes of Scotch peers that had become peers of Great Britain. Lord Thurlow, in the course of the debate, had alluded to the exclusion from the House of Commons of the eldest sons of Scotch peers—a case which we shall presently find under debate in the lower House.

On the 26th of February Pitt introduced his

^{*} By a subsequent resolution, however, passed 7th June, 1793, the House reversed this decision, sustaining the right of the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Abertorn to vote at the election of sepressistative preess for Sociland, sithough created British power since the Union; and this has been ever since the rule and practice,

celebrated plan for consolidating the various duties upon articles in the customs and the excise so as to convert them into single duties upon each article, and thereby get rid of multiplied grievances to the people and of a perplexing confusion of accounts and wasting expenses of collection to the government. The necessity of some change in these important matters was so seriously and universally felt that hardly any opposition was offered to the bill or to the resolutions necessary to give it effect. The prime minister made more than one luminous speech, and acquired great reputation by the measure; and yet it is said the merits of the scheme belonged to a poor dissenting minister at Hackney -to the same Dr. Price who is the reputed father of a less healthy child, or of Pitt's grand plan for paying off the national debt.

On the 28th of March Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, who had previously distinguished himself in the same cause, made a motion for taking into consideration the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts as things grievous to a large and respectable part of the nation. Lord North, who had now completely lost his eyesight, came down darkling to the House, for the first time this session, to oppose the motion. He replied to Mr. Beaufoy, beginning with expressing a hope that he would not be considered as an enemy to toleration of opinion upon religious subjects. But he then urged that enough had already been done in removing penal restrictions upon religious opinions; and that the preservation of the Corporation and Test Acts was essential to the preservation of the constitution. Yet his lordship spoke as if this danger would proceed chiefly from the violence and fanaticism of the church party, sure to be provoked by any such ample concessions to the dissenters; he was assuredly no bigot himself, and we may reasonably doubt with him whether the time was yet come for so bold an enactment. "We all know," said he, "the perilous nature of the cry, 'The Church is in danger;' and an incendiary, watching his opportunity, may do as much mischief by that cry as was done not long ago by the cry of 'No Popery.' " Pitt followed Lord

North, and took the same side of the question. Fox, on the other hand, supported the motion in a long and able speech. He was followed by Sir Harry Houghton, Mr. Smith, Sir James Johnstone and others; but, upon a division, Mr. Beaufov's motion was negatived by 178 against

On the 20th of April, previous to the opening of the budget, Alderman Newnham, who had presented the petition of the manufacturers against the French treaty, and who had been for some time very much linked and closeted with Sheridan, rose in the House to speak on the subject of the Prince of Wales's debts and deep distress. He demanded to know of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing his royal highness from his present embarrassed and distressed situation? The alderman was of opinion that, however honourable to the prince was the conduct he had pursued under his difficulties, it would bring indelible disgrace upon the nation if he were suffered to remain any longer in his present reduced circumstances. To the question Pitt replied, with all his official coldness, that it was not his duty to bring forward a subject of that nature, unless by command of his majesty; and that it was not necessary that he should say more than that he had not been honoured with such a command. Upon this Alderman Newnham gave notice of his intention to bring the subject regularly before the House on the 4th of May. In the mean time great excrtions were made to secure the countenance and support of the independent members, and several meetings were held that were so numerously attended as to create some uneasiness in the mind of the minister. On the 24th of April, Pitt, after requesting Alderman Newnham to inform the House more particularly of the nature of the motion he intended to make, held out a threat with the evident object of preventing the motion altogether. He said that the subject was delicate—exceedingly delicate—and he declared that the knowledge he possessed of many private circumstances relating to it, made him extremely anxious to persuade the House to prevent any discussion of it, and that if the honourable member persevered in bringing forward his motion, it would be absolutely necessary to lay these circumstances before the public. It would, he said, from the profound respect he entertained for every part of the royal family, prove exceedingly distressing to him, yet he would discharge his duty to the public and enter fully into the subject. Three days after this-on the 27th of April—Alderman Newnham signified to the House that the motion he intended to make would be to the following effect:- "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into consideration the present embarrassed state of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, and to grant him such relief as his royal wisdom should think fit, and that the House would make good the same." Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire (the hero of

^{*}By this time the Protestant Champion had renounced Christianity and turned Jew. In the Chionicle of the Annual Register for 1786 is the following entry:—" May 4th. Lord George Gordon was excommendated in the parish church of St. Mary la-bonne." On the 25th of January of the present year (1787) he was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench for a libel on the Queen of France and M Barthelemy, the French charge d affaires at London, and for a libel on his British majesty's government, justices, &c. &c. Hie defended himself, gave evident signs of insentity, was found guilty, but fiel to Holland before judgment could be given. The place he selected for his residence was Amsterdam, because it abounded with Jews; but he had been there a very short time ere he reserved from the burgomasters orders to quit the city within twenty-four hours. In the month of December he was found at Brimiupham living with some Jews; he was arrested for a contempt of court manual living with some Jews; he was arrested for a contempt of court men. four hours. In the month of December he was found at Birmingham living with some Jews: he was arrested for a contempt of countries and the beginning of the following years shed to the King's Bench to receive judgment. His sentence was that he should be imprisoned in Newpate for two years, and then give security for founceen years' good behaviour, himself in 10,000! and two sureties in 2800! such. His noble relations, seem to have repoiced in the severity of the sentence, which was tantamount, in his circumstances, to imprisonment for life, as there was no other mode, except resorting to a madhouse, to keep him out of mischief. He was comfortably accommodated in apartments belonging to the keeper of Newgate, and there he field in 1793, deploring that, in, all probability, his remains would hot be suffered to be interred in a Jewish

the Rolliad, afterwards Lord Rolle), whose zeal was very conspicuous on this occasion, now spoke more alarmingly than the minister, declaring, as of his own knowledge, that the question involved matter by which the constitution both in church and state might be essentially affected; and that, if the friends of the Prince of Wales persisted in their attempt, it would be necessary to go into a full inquiry. Sheridan called upon Mr. Rolle to speak more plainly: he said he made this call the more earnestly from the evident connexion between the observation of the honourable member for Devonshire and the menace held out by the chancellor of the exchequer. The Prince of Wales, Sheridan added, shrunk from no inquiry, however searching -there was no part of his conduct which he wished to conceal-he (Sheridan) had the highest authority for making this declaration; and he only regretted that a hostile discussion had not been rendered unnecessary by pecuniary relief from another quarter. He declared that the insinuations and menaces which had been thrown out made it impossible for the prince to recede with honour. And he further declared that his royal highness, as a peer of Great Britain, was quite ready to answer in the other House any questions that might be put to him. Mr. Powys said that he dreaded any such discussion; and he pathetically implored Alderman Newnham, as he valued royalty and the house of Brunswick, to abstain, and apologise for having gone so far. Several other members joined in these entreaties, expressing their hope that the delicate business might be accommodated. Later in the evening Pitt rose; changing his tone and manner, he now said that he had been greatly misunderstood if it was conceived that he meant to make any insinuations injurious to the Prince of Wales—that the private circumstances he had alluded to, and which he might find it necessary to state fully to the House, related only to his pecuniary affairs, and to a correspondence that had taken place on that subject, without reference to anything extraneous. These might be the words of policy, but they certainly were not the words The most obtuse member in the House knew perfectly well that, in endeavouring to stop Newnham's motion by exciting fear, the mysterious threat he held out could only refer to the prince's connexion with Mrs. Fitzherbert, which had long been the topic of conversation among the public, who very confidently believed that the highly connected and very estimable lady was the wife (in so far as the marriage ceremony could make her so), not the mistress of the heir to the British throne. And Rolle's double allusion to church and state was well known to proceed from the circumstance of Mrs. Fitzherbert being a member of the church of Rome. These rumours, and the unquestionable evidence of an intimacy of the closest kind between the prince and the beautiful Catholic, had filled the minds of the king and queen with alarm and horror, and had contributed to the obduracy of his majesty in money matters.

It is said that the king had repeatedly offered to procure from parliament a grant of 200,0001. to pay his debts and finish Carlton House, and an addition of 50,000/. a-year to his income, if the prince would consent to marry a foreign Protestant princess; and that the prince's positive refusal to accede to any such condition induced him to believe that his son really considered himself as already married, and completed his estrangement from him. The king's dread of popery, if a very unwise, was yet a very deep and conscientious feeling, and the queen, in addition to this fear-perhaps not quite so vehement in her bosom—had a thorough abhorrence of what are called mesalliances. But it must be confessed that, even without these extreme feelings, there were sufficient causes to create doubt and dismay, not merely in the royal pair, but also in the breasts of many of their subjects, who looked reverentially to acts and laws. By the statute commonly called the Bill of Rights, passed at the Revolution, which drove the tyrant and papist, James II., from the throne, and brought in the Protestant William and Mary, it was enacted, that "every person who shall marry a papist shall be excluded, and for ever be incapable to inherit, the crown of this realm;" and further it declared that in case of any such marriage "the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance." These strong and comprehensive clauses were afterwards confirmed by the Act of Settlement. It was held, however, by many, that any such marriage as the alleged one between the prince and a subject was rendered null and void by the Royal Marriage Act passed under George II., and by which no member of the royal family could contract a marriage without the consent of the king or sovereign actually on the throne. As to this point there was no doubt; but the inference drawn from it—that, as the contract was invalid, the forfeiture was saved—was not quite so clear, for there are analogous cases in law where the nullity of an illegal transaction does not do away with the penalty attached to it. Thus, as it has been observed, a man by contracting a second marriage while his first wife is still living commits a felony; and the crime, according to its legal description, consists in marrying or contracting a marriagethough what he does is no more a marriage than that of the Prince of Wales would have been under the circumstances in question.* In bigamy there is and can be no second marriage, but the offender is nevertheless punished. The laws of all civilized countries abound in cases of acts prohibited and made void, yet punished by a forfeiture of the rights of him who contravenes the prohibition as much as if they were valid and effectual. † It was doubtful, moreover, whether statutes so solemn as the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement could be varied or repealed in any essential particular by a subsequent law like the Royal Marriage Act, which made no reference whatever to their provisions.

Maore, Life of Sheridan.
 Lord Brougham, Statesmen.

the therefore, very far from clear, if the marat not absolutely forfeited his right to the crown. After the conversation in the House on the 27th there was a great meeting of the prince's friends at Mr. Pelham's, the prince himself attending and taking part in the very serious deliberations. should appear that the meeting was informed by the prince's own lips that there never had been any marriage, and that, therefore, there could be no danger in continuing the struggle for money against his father and the minister. The altered tone of Pitt must also have tended to remove alarm, if any had been felt in this quarter. On the 30th Alderman Newnham again brought the subject before the House of Commons, declaring that he could not see why some gentlemen were filled with apprehensions and alarms at his perseverancethat he knew no ground for any uneasiness—that the prince knew none—that it was by his royal highness's express desire he was pursuing his design—that he conceived himself highly honoured by the prince's confidence on this occasion—that he was not to be intimidated, nor was his royal highness to be deterred from his purpose by the base and false rumours which were spread abroad concerning him. When the worthy alderman had finished this display of vanity and conceit, Mr. Fox, who had been absent on the former debate, came forward to give the weight of his authority to the assertions made by Sheridan. He said he spoke with immediate authority from the Prince of Wales, and could assure the House that there was no part of his conduct that his royal highness was either afraid or unwilling to have investigated. Looking at Rolle, Fox said, mysterious allusions had been made to something full of danger to the church and state. He wished the honourable gentleman had spoken more explicitly; but he supposed he alluded to a certain low and malicious rumour—a supposed marriage—a thing which not only had not happened, but which was even impossible. The whole thing was a story fit only to impose upon the lowest of the vulgar, and which ought not to have gained credit for a moment in that House. Rolle readily admitted the legal impossibility of such a marriage, but hinted that there were modes in which it might have been managed. He said they all knew that there were certain laws and acts of parliament which forbade it, and made it null and void; but still it might have taken place, though not under the sanction of English law, and upon this point he wished to be satisfied. Fox, speaking with great warmth, said that, when he denied the odious calumny in question, he meant to deny it, not merely with regard to the effects of certain existing statutes, but to deny it in to deny it in point of fact as well as law. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen in any way whatsoever, and had from the beginning been a base and malicious falsehood. Rolle then desired to know whether the words the honourable gentleman had last spoken

were to be considered as spoken from direct authority? Fox replied that he had direct authority for them from his royal highness. Another of the prince's friends then called triumphantly upon the Devonshire member to declare to the House that he was satisfied with these full explanations. But Rolle said that nothing should induce him to act contrary to his own judgment; that an answer had certainly been given to his question, and that the House might judge for themselves. This called up Sheridan, who said that such a line of conduct was neither candid nor manly, and that the House ought therefore to resolve it to be seditious as well as disloyal to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince of Wales. Rolle said a few more words, but as far as possible from concession; and then Pitt came to his rescue, declaring that his conduct had not been unparliamentary, but that Sheridan's was. "Those," added the premier, "who exhibit such warmth ought rather to acknowledge their obligation to the gentleman who suggested a question which has produced so explicit a declaration on this interesting subject-a declaration which must give entire satisfaction not only to him, but to the whole House." The Devonshire member, however, would not say even now that he was satisfied; and Sheridan returned to the charge, protesting that it was aggravating the malicious falsehood by implying that the Prince of Wales had authorised gentlemen to make a false denial of the fact. "Even the minister himself," said Sheridan, "is obliged to assume that the honourable member must be satisfied, as he has not sufficient candour to make the acknowledgment." Rolle then said that the honourable gentleman had not heard him say he was unsatisfied. Mr. Grey. the new and bright star of the opposition, insisted that Fox's answer was satisfactory to every man in his senses, and that the conduct of the member for Devonshire was unpardonable. Grey also censured, in the strongest terms, the premier's threats and equivocations, and insisted that Alderman Newnham ought to proceed with his measure for obtaining pecuniary relief for the Prince of Wales.

On the very next day overtures were made to his royal highness for a private accommodation, by which he was to get money without any further debate. On the 2nd of May, Dundas, late in the evening, waited upon the prince at Carlton House, and, after a long and private conversation, induced him to receive the visit of the premier on the next day. On the 3rd, Pitt went to Carlton House, and, to the consternation of the Whig party, was closeted two hours with his royal highness. From Carlton House, with a bundle of papers in his pocket, Pitt went straight to Buckingham House, where the king was expecting him, and where a council was assembled, which sat till midnight. There was no time to lose, for the morrow, the 4th of May, was the day fixed for Alderman Newnham's motion. Between twelve and one o'clock a letter was dispatched to the prince, assuring him that if he would cause the intended motion to be

withdrawn satisfactory arrangements should be made. This letter and the prince's answer were kept secret from all but a few. When the great to-morrow came the House was crowded, and as soon as Pitt came in and took his seat there Presently Alderman was an expectant silence. Newnham rose and said he felt the highest satisfaction in being able to inform the house that his intended motion was no longer necessary. Several members expressed their exceeding great joy at this announcement, but the countenances of many more seemed rather puzzled than pleased. Rolle said he hoped the alderman's conduct was not the result of any dishonourable compromise on the other side. Pitt then declared that for his part he could see no reason why the alderman's motion was less necessary now than before; that, as to terms or concessions, he knew of none; and that the conduct of the highest party in the transaction (the king) was uniform and consistent, depurting in no one instance from the principles which always directed him. For said he wished to avoid creating any division of opinion; but he felt it necessary, after what had fallen from the minister, to say that the conduct of the other party (the prince) had been equally consistent and explicit. The alderman's motion being dropped, and the minister denying that he knew of any terms or concessions, placed the prince in a doubtful state as to the money, and he wrote that night to the minister to demand an explanation. Pitt. in reply, requested a personal conference. This being granted, Pitt, accompanied by Dundas, went to Carlton House the next day and found the prince in company with Sheridan. He declined entering upon business in the presence of one who was opposed to the king's government. The prince then ordered both Sheridan and Dundas to withdraw, and remained alone with the premier. The conference was long, and the conclusion of it was that the prince, to prevent future mistakes or equivocations, put into the hands of the minister his own proposals in writing. They were-1. That his debts should be paid, at least in part; 2. That a grant should be made for completing Carlton House; 3. That such reasonable increase should be made to his annual income as would prevent henceforth the necessity of his contracting debts. These demands were immediately transmitted to the king at Windsor, who replied to them in a letter written in his own hand, not to the prince, but to the minister. majesty wrote-1. That he was gratified to find the prince ready to submit his debts to inspection; 2. That the prince should set forth not only the amount of his debts, but the manner in which each particular debt was contracted; 3. That the prince should engage not to contract debts in future; 4. That upon compliance with the foregoing conditions would depend the king's consent to the payment of the prince's debts, or any portion of them; 5. That the king could not think any increase of income necessary so long as the Prince of Wales remained unmarried. The king could hardly

escape the accusation of bad faith in these transactions. The letter written at twelve o'clock at night on the breaking up of the council at Buck ingham House, and which letter procured from the prince the revocation of Alderman Newnham's high mission, was indeed expressed in very general terms; but these terms may have been purposely chosen, and they certainly promised a sisfactory arrangements," unclogged by any other condition than that of the abandonment of the alderman's motion. It is said that the prince at first refused the conditions as harsh and unreasonable, and that he and his friends conceived or revived a notion of calling upon the king to render an account of the proceeds of the heir apparent's estates or revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during his minority. The king had appropriated these revenues to the civil list, and had rendered no account on the prince's coming of age. When the question first was broached his majesty maintained that he was entitled to those revenues (about 14,000/ per annum) during the minority of his son, and that he had spent the money in the prince's education and maintenance. But the Whig chiefs, or such of them as were enumerated among the prince's friends, contended that provision had been made for those great national objects, the education and maintenance of the prince, in the civil list, and that the king had no claim or right to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, which ought to have been set aside and left to accumulate like the property of any other minor. This nice question, however, was not pressed, for, while the prince's friends were rumouring that Mr. Courtenay, one of his law-officers, would bring it before parliament, the king, on the 21st of May, sent a message to both Houses on the subject of the debts, &c. After stating, "with the greatest concern," that the prince had incurred debts to a large amount, which, if left to be discharged out of his annual income, would render it impossible for him to support an establishment suited to his rank and station, the message continued :- "Painful as it is at all times to his majesty to propose an addition to the heavy expenses necessarily borne by his people, his majesty is induced, from his paternal affection to the Prince of Wales, to recur to the liberality and attachment of his faithful Commons for their assistance on an occasion so interesting to his majesty's feelings, and to the ease and honour of so distinguished a branch of his royal family. His majesty could not, however, expect or desire the assistance of this House, but on a well-grounded expectation that the prince will avoid contracting any debts in future. With a view to this object, and from an anxious desire to remove any possible doubt of the sufficiency of the prince's income to support amply the dignity of his situation, his majesty has directed a sum of 10,000l. per annum

⁶ The expression may have been the more called for, as his majesty had already applied for times to parliament for money to pay off his own debts on the civil list.

to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to the allowance which his majesty has hitherto given him; and his majesty has the satisfaction to inform the house that the Prince of Wales has given his majesty the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expenses within his income." The message further informed the House that his majesty would direct an estimate to be laid before them of the sum requisite to complete the works at Carlton House, and that he recommended it to his faithful Commons to conaider of making some provision for that purpose. Two days after this-on the 23rd of May-an abstract account of the debts and of the expenditure of the Prince of Wales was laid before the House, who, with "dignified generosity," declined any inspection; and on the following day voted an humble address to the king, in which, after the usual thanks, they humbly desired that his majesty would be graciously pleased to direct the sum of 161,000/. to be issued out of the civil list for payment of the prince's debts, and the further sum of 20,000l. on account of the works at Carlton This termination of the business appears to have satisfied none of the parties concerned. The abstract of accounts did not contain all the prince's debts; the sum of 20,000%. was like a drop in that deep well of tasteless expenditure, Carlton House, and, as the prince had resumed his state and expensive household, it must have been foreseen that in a very short time there would be another application to parliament to pay his debts. Nor can it be said that any party had come out very honourably from the long contention and unsatisfactory arrangement. At least, we think that, if the varnish of party, and that other varnish which people spread over princes, illustrious orators, and beautiful women, be rubbed off, there will appear underneath something censurable or unaccountable in the conduct of every one engaged or interested in the various transactions and in what followed them. Notwithstanding the solemn assurances of Fox and Sheridan, " on authority," that there never had been any marriage, Mrs. Fitzherbert continued to live with the prince as before. She never forgave Fox, she would never consent to speak to him again; and she alleged, and her friends publicly alleged for her, that the Whig leader knew that there had been a private marriage

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that was good and binding in fore conscienties, whatever it might be by act of parliament. It has been reported that a ceremony was performed more Catholico in the town-house of the lady's uncle, Lord Sefton; but if there was a performance of the kind the lady and her uncle, and all present at it, must have known that it was valueless, any such pretended marriage being expressly declared to be null and void by the law of the country, which surely the law of no foreign country or church can be supposed to set aside. Mrs. Fitzherbert was not an inexperienced girl fresh from a convent or boarding school, or just emancipated from the control of a governess-she had lived in the great world for a good number of years (she was several years older than her royal lover), she had been twice married, and twice a widow. before ever she met the prince; and we cannot therefore conceive how she ever could have been "trepanned into a sacrifice of her honour," or made to believe that any ceremony, whether performed by a Catholic priest or by a Protestant clergyman, or by the functionary at Green, or by any other party, could be a legal marriage, or could be held by her to be one, or could possibly satisfy her even in foro conscientice. The lady had many estimable qualities, and some of the most generous and highest of human virtues-she was a sufferer by her connexion, which was indeed attended from the first "with more danger to her own peace than to that of either church or state;"+ but it seems scarcely fair to release her from the imputation of an impropriety or a minor sin, by attributing perfidy to the prince, or charging him with any greater guilt than evidence or circumstances appear to justify. It is said that the lady was only reconciled to the prince by his assurance that something should be done or said in parlia-ment to save her character by mose very friends who had so emphatically denied there being any marriage—that the prince applied to Mr. Grey, in the expectation that he would find out some method of eating his own words, or of getting up an equivocation which should make the marriage appear, if not certain, at least doubtful, as it had been before—that Grey, with the highmindedness which might be expected from him, refused any such office—that Fox was applied to without any more effect—and that, as a last resource, his royal highness addressed himself to the easier morality of Sheridan. And, in fact, Sheridan, in one of the conversations in the House, spoke of the great injury which had been done to the character of the lady. But, even Sheridan, bold-faced as he was, and accommodating as he was to all the prince's wishes, did not venture to unsay what had been said, or to affirm more than that "another person" who had been alluded to was without reproach, and "was entitled to the truest and most general respect." Indeed he could hardly have said more without travelling from the record prescribed to

Lord Brougham. Character of George IV., in Statesmen, &c.,
 Moore, Life of Sheridan.

him by the prince, who was only anxious to soothe the lady, and save appearances for her in society, but by no means disposed to risk the forfeiture of the crown, or at least a long and irksome investigation, by having it stated that he was really married to a Catholic. The lady appears to have rested satisfied with Sheridan, and the society in which she moved pretended or really felt a conviction that Mrs. Fitzherbert's character and reputation were just as spotless now as they were before Fox's famous speech, in which, though upon different grounds, we agree with them. The principal friends of the lady were persons that had great influence and almost an absolute dominion over the fashionable world, and who, from party iceling, and for other reasons, were disposed to bestow all their leniency on this particular case, and to treat the lady with a consideration her birth, her beauty, and her many merits might not otherwise have obtained. The greatest proneuses of the Fitzherbert were the Duchess of Devonshire, the chieftainness of the Whig party, the supreme leader of ton: and the Duchess of Cumberland, the fair Luttrell, who, though lying under no Roman Catholic disqualification, was excluded by the Royal Marriage Act from the honours of the place she held. Both these high dames were at a kind of open war with Buckingham House and the court of St. James's, to which one of them—the Duchess of Cumberland-had never been admitted since her union with the king's brother. In fact, in the language of that court, and in the terms of the Royal Marriage Act (if it had had an ex post facto operation), her marriage was unlawful.

Some interesting debates took place on an unsuccessful motion made by Fox on the 24th of April, for the repeal of a house-tax imposed in the year 1785 upon retail shopkeepers, and upon a bill brought in by ministers on the 26th of the same month to authorise the commissioners of the treasury to let out to farm the duties on posthorses. The opposition censured this post-horse bill as a measure without precedent in this kingdom, and adopted from the practice of countries, like France (where nearly all the taxes had been farmed out), whose forms of government were less favourable to the liberty of the subject than ours. Pitt defended his bill by urging that government had hitherto been defrauded of the greater part of that tax by a collusion between the innkeepers and the collectors, and that the mode now devised would bring the money into the treasury. He referred to the turnpike-duty, the most analogous in its nature to the tax now under discussion, and to the cross-letter postage, as proofs that the proposed letting out to farm was not without precedent in this country. After much discussion the bill was carried through all its stages by large majorities. Early in the session a curious petition had been presented from the prisoners for debt confined in Newgate, who described themselves as condemned to linger away their unhappy lives in a loathsome gaol, while felons were suffering a less punishment

by enjoying their liberties in a foreign country; and they implored to be admitted to the privilege of choosing the lot of felons, and to be transported to New South Wales, if the wisdom of the House should not judge it proper to pass a bill for their relief. Shortly after this petition was presented, a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors was passed by the Commons; but it was thrown out in the Lords by 25 against 12. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who had expressed his dissatisfaction at several insolvent relief bills which it was customary to pass from time to time without any fixed rule (the last had been passed seven years before, in 1780), urged many objections to the present bill, and he seemed to point to the necessity of a sweeping change in the law of debtor and creditor, by alluding to the extravagance, the dissipation, and corruption that prevailed in our prisons. Lord Rawdon, who had fought so many battles of a different kind in America, entered the lists with the redoubtable chancellor on this question, which was a question of law, and he spoke with admirable good sense. He said that, as the learned lord admitted that these laws ought to be revised, till their lordships had the virtue and industry to institute such a revision expedients must be resorted He allowed that frequent insolvent bills were not the best remedy; but he contended that they were bound to apply some remedy from time to time so long as they suffered the laws to remain in their present defective condition. Three thousand debtors, said his lordship, were at that moment locked up in prison, and maintained in a state of uselessness and inactivity—a burden to the country and of no benefit to their creditors.

On the 15th of May Mr. Grey called the attention of the House to certain abuses and corrupt practices in the post-office, which, he said, had come to his knowledge in consequence of the dismission of a noble relation of his (the Earl of Tankerville) from the office of joint-postmastergeneral. After broadly stating some very extraordinary circumstances, Grey brought the matter home to the present minister, by stating that his relative, Lord Tankerville, while in office as joint-postmaster, had endeavoured to correct the abuses in question, and had communicated his plans to the chancellor of the exchequer, who had greatly commended his zeal and attention to the public interest, and had promised him supportthat Lord Carteret, Lord Tankerville's colleague in that office, not viewing the abuses in the same light, and refusing to concur in the plan of reform and prevention, a quarrel had broken out between the two noble lords which rendered it impossible that they should continue in office together—and that the chancellor of the exchequer, instead of dismissing Lord Carteret, the protector of the abuses and the opposer of reform, had suddenly dismissed Lord Tankerville, who had shown himself so anxious for a reform, and had taken so much pains to effect it, in a manner the most unexampled and extraordinary. Mr. Grey therefore concluded that

the chancellor of the exchequer deserved the censure of parliament; and, with a view to establish that fact, as well as the charges against Lord Carteret, he moved "that a committee be appointed to inquire into certain abuses in the post-office." Pitt immediately rose and gave his assent to the motion: he denied that he was inclined to connive or wink at abuses in the post office or in any other public establishment. So lar was he from being backward in these matters, that he had himself suggested a measure for the reform of some abuses in the post-office. Fox and Sheridan called Pitt a magnificent promiser of reform in the state, but a miserable performer. They spoke with cutting sarcasm of the prudent use he had made of the influence of the crown in the distribution of places and emoluments, and the bestowing of titles and honours: they observed that, with respect to the dismission of Lord Tankerville, it was not to be imagined that any merit of his lordship could stand a moment in competition with the merits of the distinguished person who succeeded him in the post-office (Jenkinson), a person now a peer of Great Britain, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and first lord of the new board of trade-a person against whose interest the dismission of a whole administration did not weigh a feather. Sheridan concluded by reminding Pitt of his clamorous opposition to Lord North, and of his celebrated triumph over that noble lord on the subject of some alleged overcharges in the articles of tape and whipcord, and the expenses of the kitchens in Downing-street. This led to a rejoinder from Pitt, who, as he almost invariably did when Lord North was alluded to, broke away into flying denunciations of the coalition. Fox said that, after Lord North had been driven from his post, it was understood and believed that he (Pitt) had himself courted the noble lord with a view to a junction with him. "Who understood so?" said Pitt, across the table. " I did, for one," replied Fox, " and so, I have reason to believe, did many others. Certain it is, the right honourable gentleman, before the coalition, never expressed himself with that acrimony which he has since used when speaking of the noble lord." Pitt denied the fact. In the course of these personal reflections the chancellor of the exchequer spoke with little respect of the motives of Mr. Grey in this business: and, as Lord Tankerville was his relation, the young member for Northumberland would perhaps have done better if he had left the business and the call for the committee in other hands. Grey rose with great warmth to reply to Pitt's reflections, and said that no man should dare to impute unworthy motives to him. Pitt complained of this tone of defiance; and declared he would call his motives in question whenever his conduct appeared to warrant it ;-if the honourable gentleman wished his motives not to be questioned, he must take care that his conduct was such as not to make it necessary. Grey then rose again and said that, as he should never act upon dishonourable

principles, so he would never suffer any person to impute dishonourable motives to him; and, if he could not obtain that indulgence in the House, he had other means in his power to which it would then be proper to resort. Put was rising in wrath; but Sheridan rose and spoke before him, endeavouring to stop an altercation that seemed likely to end in an appeal to pistols: he said that he believed his honourable friend had misunderstood some of the words of the chancellor, of the exchequer. Pitt, who declared that he had not before spoken with heat, repeated the arguments of his former speech which had given so much offence to Grey, and then coldly concluded with saying that, in respect to any other means the honourable gentleman might wish to resort to, he should reserve his answer for the occasion. Grey's motion was carried without a division; a committee was appointed to inquire into the post-office abuses; and on the 23rd of May the report of the committee was brought up. A motion for printing it was rejected, and it was ordered that the report should be taken into consideration on the 28th. The said report contained some startling matter: for example -that in the year 1775 Mr. Lecs, on receiving the appointment of secretary to the post-office in Ireland, entered into security to pay the sum of 350%. a-year out of the profits of his office to a person described by the letters A. B., but whose real name was Treves, an intimate friend of Lord Carteret, who was at the time of the above appointment joint-postmaster-general with Lord le Despenser, and privy to the whole transaction;—that it appeared from the evidence of Mr. Todd, secretary to the post-office, that Lord Carteret was greatly displeased and disquieted by the discovery of this business;—that it appeared that the payment of an annuity of 2001. had been exacted from a Mr. Dashwood for his appointment a postmaster-general of Jamaica, and had been regularly paid by Dashwood to Treves, the said Treves having never performed any public service in the post-office or in any other public office to entitle him to any public reward;-that it appeared that Mr. Molyneux, agent for the Dutch packets, had been permitted, with the knowledge of Lord Carteret, to sell that office to a Mr. Hutchinson, an improper person, who had misconducted himself in that office;—that it appeared that none of these transactions were entered in the books of the post-office. but had been kept carefully concealed;—that it appeared that extraordinary abuses and overcharges had been allowed in the management of the packetboats, &c.; and finally, that the perquisites and incidents, particularly in coals, candles, articles of furniture, &c., to the postmasters-general and others having appointments in the post-office, were shameful and excessive.

On the 28th Mr. Grey introduced the consideration of the report by a most cutting speech, which aimed more at the chancellor of the exchequer than at Lord Carteret. He said that he had no doubt the facts stated by the committee would be fully

proved; and then it would be for the House to consider the nature of the offences, and the degree of punishment they deserved. For his own part, he would not hesitate to say that he considered the chancellor of the exchequer as the person the most culpable in the whole business: first, for having neglected, after his many vaunting promises of reform, to correct the smallest abuse; secondly, for having dismissed Lord Tankerville, after giving him reason to believe that he should be supported in his attempts to check the enormous abuses of the post-office; and lastly, for having sacrificed that noble earl to his own personal interest, by accommodating with his place the person who had seated him in his present lofty situation, and who he knew could dismiss him with a nod. Mr. Grey concluded with moving, "That it appears to this House that great abuses have prevailed in the postoffice, and that, the same being made known to his majesty's ministers, it is their duty, without loss of time, to make use of such measures as are in their power to reform them " Lord Maitland (afterwards Earl of Lauderdale) stood up in defence of the post-office. If, on account of his family connexion with the Earl of Tankerville, it had been awkward in Grey to begin this attack, it was still more awkward in the young Scotch lord to put himself foremost in the defence; for, in 1782, Maitland had married the daughter and heiress of Anthony Toda, Esq, the secretary and chief manager of the real business of the post-office. task was not altogether an easy one; but Maitland began boldly by calling all the facts contained in the report stale, trivial, and unimportant. He said that the grant of the 350l, a-year was really made to Mr. Treves, and that it was true Mr. Treves was an intimate friend of Lord Carteret; but that it was no charge whatever to the public, and no impediment to the public business—that it was with the consent of the gentleman who got the place, and paid out of his emoluments—and that therefore no great harm was done. His lordship was ready to admit that such a measure was perhaps not strictly justifiable, but then it was by no means unprecedented, and indeed similar transactions were then and for long after common in all the public offices. As to the transaction with Mr. Dashwood, postmaster of Jamaica, he said it was exactly similar to the former, and therefore required no new observations. With respect to the permission granted to Molyneux to resign the agency of the Dutch packets to Mr. Hutchinson, that was a charitable transaction, intended to keep Molyneux, who was a poor unfortunate man and in debt, out of prison; and his lordship added that, if there were any blame in this matter, it was as much imputable to the Earl of Tankerville as to Lord Carteret, since the noble earl had taken as great a part in it as the noble lord. As to the other facts in the report, Lord Maitland urged that either they were not personal to Lord Carteret, or too trivial to merit notice. He admitted, indeed, that there was something wrong in a two-and-

a-half per centage allowed to the person who managed the packet-boats, but this, together with other abuses in that department, might be corrected by the government, and did not appear to him to be fit subjects for parliamentary inquiry or censure. In conclusion, he moved the previous question, and intimated that, if that were carried, he should afterwards move that the further consideration of the report should be put off for three months. Pitt observed that Mr. Grey's motion was not necessary for a reform of the abuses complained of, since he had himself, three years ago, brought in a bill for that purpose; and that it must, therefore, be meant solely to throw blame upon one noble lord at the head of the post-office, and to censure himself for the part he had taken in the arrangement by which the other noble lord had been removed from it. As to Lord Carteret's conduct, he conceived it had been sufficiently justified by the noble lord who preceded him. As to the removal of the Earl of Tankerville, he apprehended that the House would feel the impropriety of entertaining such a discussion:—it belonged solely to the executive government to dispose of all public employments; and parliament should be very cautious how it attempted to control or question the discretion with which that power was exercised. It certainly had been found necessary to remove one or other of the noble lords, as their quarrels had risen to such a height that they could not with any comfort to themselves sit in the same room. Government had chosen to remove the Earl of Tankerville, and then the vacancy afforded an opportunity of accommodating a noble lord (Jenkinson, or Lord Hawkesbury) who had been alluded to, and to whom gentlemen might allude as often as they pleased, so long as he (Pitt) was persuaded that every favour which had been conferred upon that noble person had been fully carned by the most able and meritorious services. But the vacancy was not made for the sake of accommodating that noble lord. There was nothing personal or disrespectful intended against the noble earl (Tankerville), for on his removal from the post-office there was an arrangement for accommodating him also, but his lordship would not listen This was speaking out more than old ministers would have deemed prudent or expedient; yet Pitt, who had just attained the venerable age of twenty-eight, ended his speech with some sarcastic remarks on the youth and inexperience of Mr. Grey, which, he said, together with his ignorance of parliamentary usages, might excuse some things which had fallen from him in the course of these debates. Sheridan rose and made a very happy parody of what had dropped from Pitt on his first appearance in that House, when he called Rigby the Nestor of the age. He ridiculed the gravity with which an unmerited reproof had been bestowed upon his friend by the "veteran statesman of four years' experience, the Nestor of twenty-eight." Fox urged that all that had passed on this question was honourable to Mr. Grey and

deeply dishonourable to the ministry. If it was now meant to do nothing in the matter, why had the minister suffered the committee to be appointed at all? In his opinion it was clear that, when the minister consented to the committee, he thought that no proofs could be obtained, and that it would end in the disgrace of those who desired the inquiry. Now that the charges had been made good, and the report of the committee presented, the whole business was to be represented as trifling and frivolous! The chancellor of the exchequer had said that Mr. Grey's conduct showed him to be a party-man. denied the fact, but hoped it would soon be true: the honourable gentleman, he said, was not at present of that description, but he hoped by degrees he might become a party-man. Fox defended the term, maintaining that, as long as there were great constitutional questions, and differences of opinion upon them, to be a party-man was to act the most honourable part. There were, he said, known differences of opinion in this country upon many great questions, and upon none more than on the manner in which the right honourable gentleman himself (Pitt) came last into office. Both Lord Maitland's motions were agreed to without a division. the effect produced out of doors by these debates was very unfavourable to Pitt and his party.

By the ancient parliamentary law of Scotland the eldest sons of peers could not sit in the House of Commons; but, on the other hand, by an article in the Act of Union, it was provided that the two kingdoms should thenceforward participate reciprocally in the benefits, advantages, rights, and immunities of each other. There was sitting in the present House of Commons, as member for the borough of Haddington, a gentleman, Mr. Francis Charteris, whose father had succeeded to the earldom of Wemyss; and, as this gentleman was eldest son (he was now styled Lord Elcho), it was contended that he came under the old Scotch excluding law, and had lost his seat. Sir John Sinclair accordingly moved, on the 23rd of May, "That a new writ should be made out for electing a member for the district of boroughs of Lauder, Fladdington, &c., in the room of Francis Charteris, Esquire, now become the eldest son of a peer of Scotland, &c." The journals of the House were referred to for precedents. There it was found, under date of the 3rd of December, 1708, that Lord Heddo, as eldest son of the Earl of Aberdeen, had, after a discussion in a full House, been deprived of his seat by a considerable majority; and also that in 1755 Lord Charles Douglas, the cldest son of another Scotch peer, had had his election declared null and void. Sir John Sinclair, Dundas, Sir Adam Ferguson, and other Scotch adherents of Pitt, urged that these precedents, which occurred within a year of the settlement of the Union, when the true intentions of those who negotiated it were ascertainable, ought to be decisive of the present case, and ought to be considered as the rule of conduct laid down by the House on the best principles. The same Scotch gentlemen further urged that the reciprocity of benefits, advantages, rights, and immunities provided for in the Act of Union might be maintained in its true sense without any infringement upon the peculiar usages of Scotland: and they cited the instance of a noble member (Lord Maitland) who, being the eldest son of a Scotch earl (Lauderdale), had by his merit obtained a seat in that House for an English borough; for it was admitted on all hands that the eldest son of a Scotch peer might sit for an English county or borough, as well as that the eldest son of an English peer might sit for any place either in England or Scotland. Sir John Sinclair's motion was opposed by Lord Maitland, who was sitting, as just stated, for an English borough, by Lord Elcho himself, and by Lord Beauchamp. As to the precedents cited, it was contended that they did not apply to the present case, inasmuch as Lord Elcho was not the son of a Scotch peer at the time when he was elected; and there was no precedent for dispossessing one who had been legally elected, and upon whose father an earldom had devolved pending the session of parliament. The opponents of the motion also quoted Bishop Burnet to prove that the resolution of the Commons, adopted in 1708, had been carried by the union of the court with the Whige, who, according to the bishop, "unblushingly decided elections without regard to justice, or any other consideration but their own party feelings against the Tories." Maitland, who had so recently assisted Pitt in defending the postoffice, was uncommonly warm on this question; but, except Lord Elcho, who was struggling for his own seat, and Lord Beauchamp, few in the House were disposed to divide with him; and at the end of the debate Sir John Sinclair's motion was allowed to pass without a division. pon this Lord Elcho withdrew from the House, and a new writ was ordered for the Scotch boroughs he represented.

In the mean time Burke had not been idle with his impeachment. On the very first day of the session he gave notice that he should renew proceedings on the 1st of February. The 1st and the 2nd of February were spent in examining Mr. Middleton, late resident at Lucknow, and Sir Elijah Impey, late chief justice at Calcutta, who were ingeniously tormented for the purpose of extracting from them evidence against Hastingsevidence relating to transactions in which they were themselves deeply implicated. On the 7th of February the third charge of the impeachment was opened by Sheridan, as Burke had opened the first, and Fox the second. This third charge related to the treatment of the Begums, or princesses, of Oude, and was obviously more susceptible of rhetorical ornaments and strong appeals to the feelings, and at the same time required less accurate knowledge and less business detail, than the preceding charges. It was, no doubt, for these and other good reasons that the subject was allotted to this fanciful and brilliant orator. Sheridan, according to his own private confession, knew little

or nothing about India and its affairs; but then there was Francis, who knew a great deal, locally and practically; there was Fox, who had acquired a fund of information by the pleasant medium of conversation; and there was Burke, who knew everything by reading and intense study; and by these gentlemen and others Sheridan was crammed for the great occasion. We mean no disrespect to the genius and eloquence of the most fascinating orator of his day, or probably of any day—we merely mean that Sheridan was idle and negligent, and did not enter upon the subject of the crimes of Hastings, or the sufferings of the Indians, with a solemn conviction like Burke's. He could give form, beauty, and life to the materials with which he was furnished by others; but this was artconsummate and high art aided by and springing out of a most felicitous natural genius - but it was nothing more, and could be nothing more in a man like Sheridan, and one who had gone to the task as he had done. Parts of the speech which he now delivered were as witty and sparkling as any passages in his own comedies; parts rose to the tone of the loftiest poetry; parts were filled with a pathos that went to the hearts even of those who knew that the orator was doing little more than playing a part; and some portions were considered as the very perfection of manly and lofty eloquence. We cannot judge of the effect produced upon the audience merely by a dry reading of imperfect fragments for the most part, it may be presumed, not very faithfully reported; but an immensity of concurrent evidence seems to prove that the impression produced was altogether wonderful. As a matter of course, Sheridan treated the whole matter merely as an orator, and never permitted facts, or doubts, or the delicate dread of going too far and saying too much against the party accused, to check one flight of his daring imagination. But, viewing this speech as a work of art-and no rational man will ever again consider it in any other light—and judging by the report, which was more likely to leave out than to put in, we should conceive that the display was injured and weakened by this excess of fanciful decoration; and both in the witty and the pathetic parts there were lamentable proofs of false, bad taste and of a thorough artificiality. Still, however, as a whole, it must have been an extraordinary performance. Burke declared that it was the most astonishing effort of eloquence of which there was any record or tradition. Fox said that all that he had ever heard, all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing;* and

This was said out about, and with due solemnity, in the course of the present debate. It has been mentioned, however, that Fox, in the course of the anne night, expressed his astonishment at the pathetical and horrible pairs of the oration and at the orator's assumed farty, saying, acts voce, "This might be all very well from Burke, but from Sheridan it does look a little like act up!" We do not doubt that Fox admired the speech as a work of art, though his tasse must have objected to many parts of it. "When Fox was asked what he thought the best speech he had ever heard, he replied, "Sheridan's on the importance of Ha trage, in the House of Commons (not that in Wostmanster Hall)." When asked what he thought of his own speech on the breaking out of the war. Fox replied, "That was a de-d good speech too." I heard this from Lord Holland."—Lord Byron's Diary.

Wyndham, another accomplished orator and most competent critic, spoke of it, many years after, in terms equally enthusiastic. The main scope and object was to paint the darkest deeds with which the name of Hastings was connected in the darkest and most appalling colours—to give a grand crescendo of iniquity and horror-not to sift accusations, but to enforce credit for them all, and embody them all at the end in one mighty mass of atrocity. Several curious stories are told as to the way in which he transported and whirled his auditors along with him. One of the hest is that related of Logan, the author of the exquisite little Ode to the Cuckoo, who had abandoned or been expelled his calling as a minister of the church of Scotland, and who had forsaken poetry to become a hack writer, a hired political pamphleteer, in London, taking any side that paid best, and all sides in turns. This Logan, who is said to have written just before a masterly defence of Hastings, was in the gallery this evening, prepossessed for the accused and against the accuser. At the end of the first hour of Sheridan's speech he said to a friend near him, "All this is declamation without proof:" when the second hour was finished he said, "This is a most wonderful oration:" later he said, "Mr. Hastings has acted very unjustifiably:" later still, "Hastings is a most atrocious criminal:" and at the end of all, "Of all monsters, of iniquity, the most enormous is Warren Hastings." We have our doubts as to the perfect authenticity of this anecdote, because, from what we know of Logan's character and manner of living at the time, we think it extremely probable that, if he had written for Warren Hastings on one day, he had written against him on the next, and that therefore he had no strong prepossession either way when he went into the House; but we can very well believe that effects similar to those neatly described in the story were really produced upon many minds by Sheridan's grand oratorical feat. And yet again, after all, there must have been something theatrical in the speech and in the orator's manner-something that acted upon the minds of the audience in a very different manner from the solemn earnestness of Burke, and the unstudied, gushing vehemence of Fox. when he sat down, all, or nearly all, in the crowded House - members, right and left, peers and strangers—joined in a tumult of applause, and kept up a long and loud clapping of hands as if they had been in a theatre. Such a mode of expressing their approbation was indeed new, irregular, and indecorous, in that place. A cry of "encore" would have completed the illusion, converting for a moment St. Stephen's Chapel into Drury Lane. Who ever thought of clapping Burke, or Fox, or Wyndham, or Pitt, in those days? or who has ever since been excited into that kind of applause by any of the great orators that have succeeded to that golden age of our parliamentary eloquence? The speech occupied considerably more than five hours in the delivery. According to a

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member present, who meant a compliment and no sarcasm-" in many parts and passages it was absolutely dramatic; not less so than the Duenna, or the School for Scandal. . . . He led captive his audience, of whom a large proportion was very incapable of discriminating truth from misrepre-sentation or exaggeration. The very scene of these transactions, which lay in Asia, on the banks of the Ganges or the Jumna; the personages who performed the principal parts-viziers, princesses, eunuchs, and rajahs; zenanas and harems entered by violence; jaghires arbitrarily resumed and treasures seized on by military force; all these accessories, when decorated with the charm of oratory, subdued his hearers and left them in breathless admiration, accompanied or followed by conviction." Of the imperfect fragments—the bits picked here and there—which seem to be all that remain in type or in pen-and-ink, of this marvellous performance, there is one particular passage which has been cited as being so strongly marked with the characteristics of Sheridan's talent as to be entitled to be looked upon as a pretty faithful representation of what he spoke.† In our opinion it is also to be considered as a specimen of his artificiality and of the unbounded licence of his tongue. In the last particular he did not exceed Burke; but there was this difference between them-Burke really felt what he said, and Sheridan only acted. The feelings of Burke were so intense, and his conviction of the late governor-general's deep guilt so entire, that he would not have stayed in the same room with Hastings; but Sheridan, if the opportunity had offered, would have sat down amicably with Hastings over a bottle of wine, charming him by his wit, as he did every one else, and being charmed by the nabob's mild and most gentlemanly manners, as was almost every one that closely approached Warren Hastings. Many persons, in the House and out of it, had confessed that the late governor-general must in several instances have exceeded his authority, and that some of his actions, as at Benares, Chunar, and Lucknow, could only be excused by the facts that all that he had done had been for a great object-for the salvation of British India-and that, like a highminded man, he had sought no money, no jaghires, no advantages of any kind for himself. Confining his view to a narrow part of these arguments, Sheridan said-" To estimate the solidity of such a defence, it would be sufficient merely to consider in what consisted this prepossessing distinction, this captivating characteristic of greatness of mind. Is it not solely to be traced in great actions directed to great ends? In them, and them

Sir N. W. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs. Nicholls, who was also present at the debate, and voted on the same side as Wraxall (i. e. against this impeachment in all its stages), says, soberly—" I did not admire this speech. . . Mr. Sheridun's a speech was not calculated to inform, but to mislead his hearers "—Recollections. † T. Moore, Life of Sheridan.

It was not in Hestings's manner to indulge in that kind of revenge, but his injudicuous champion, Major Scott, certainly gave back Burke the hard words he applied to the late governor-general, with interest For example, the Major calls Burke " that infamous secundrel;" "that reptile, Mr. Burke," &c.

alone, we are to search for true estimable magnanimity. To them only can we justly affix the splendid title and honours of real greatness. There was indeed another species of greatness, which displayed itself in boldly conceiving a bad measure, and undauntedly pursuing it to its accomplishment. But had Mr. Hastings the merit of exhibiting either of these descriptions of greatness, -even the latter? He saw nothing great-nothing magnanimous-nothing open-nothing direct in his measures or in his mind. On the contrary, he had too often pursued the worst objects by the worst means. His course was an eternal deviation from rectitude. He either tyrannised or deceived; and was by turns a Dionysius and a Scapin. As well might the writhing obliquity of the serpent be compared to the swift directness of the arrow, as the duplicity of Mr. Hastings's ambition to the simple steadiness of genuine magnanimity. In his mind all was shuffling, ambiguous, dark, insidious, and little; nothing simple, nothing unmixed; all, affected plainness and actual dissimulation; a heterogeneous mass of contradictory qualities; with nothing great but his crimes, and even those contrasted by the littleness of his motives, which at once denoted both his baseness and meanness, and marked him for a traitor and a trickster. Nay, in his style and writing there was the same mixture of vicious contrarieties;—the most grovelling ideas were conveyed in the most inflated language, giving mock consequence to low cavils, and uttering quibbles in heroics; so that his compositions disgusted the mind's taste, as much as his actions excited the soul's abhorrence. Indeed, this mixture of character seemed, by some unaccountable but inherent quality, to be appropriated, though in inferior degrees, to everything that concerned his employers. He remembered that every heard an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Dundas) remark that there was something in the first frame and constitution of the company which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations; connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a pedler and the profligacy of pirates; alike in the political and the military line could be observed auctioneering ambassadors and trading generals; and thus we saw a revolution brought about by affidavits; an army employed in executing an arrest; a town besieged on a note of hand; a prince dethroned for the balance of an account. Thus it was they exhibited a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre and the little traffic of a merchant's counting-house, wielding a truncheon with one hand, and picking a pocket with the other."

Against Sir Elijah Impey Sheridan ran on still more riotously. He called him "the Oriental Grotius," and described him as "degrading the dignity of his high office, laying aside the character of a judge, and soiling the ermine by condescending to execute the functions of a pettifogging attorney; running up and down the coun-

try, ferreting out affidavits, and carrying them upon his shoulders in a bundle, like a pedler with his pack." Nor was Middleton, the resident at Lucknow, more gently treated by the orator. He was made to figure in fifty antitheses, some horrible and some ludicrous. "In the prosecution of the Begums," said Sheridan, " an army was sent to execute an arrest, a siege was undertaken for a note of hand, and a rebellion was proved by affidavit. There was a trading general, an auctioneer ambassador, and a chief-judge notary!" the House had done clapping and applauding, one of the friends of Mr. Hastings-Sir William Dolben—attempted to speak, but, finding he could hardly obtain the least attention, he sat down again. Sir William or some other friend observed that the House was exhausted by the long excitement of the wonderful speech; and that it would be proper to adjourn before coming to any opinion, or hearing any other oration, which must appear flat and dull in the comparison. This was also the opinion of Pitt; but Fox, who wanted a division while the feelings of the House were still responding to the magic of the enchanter, reminded gentlemen that it was only midnight. "It is obvious," said he, " that the speech just delivered has made no ordinary impression; and I see no reason why we may not come to the question. If any friend of Mr. Hastings should wish to attempt effacing the impression, this appears to be the proper time for doing it." Major Scott, with consummate imprudence, after declaring that he could convict Sheridan of many gross misrepresentations of facts, professed his willingness to proceed if such should be the pleasure of the House. But Pitt inter-posed:—"A more able speech," said he, "has, perhaps, never been pronounced. But I can by no means agree that, because one dazzling display of oratory has been exhibited, other gentlemen ought to be precluded from giving their opinions. For these reasons, I, for one, wish for an immediate adjournment." And accordingly, at about And accordingly, at about one o'clock in the morning, the House adjourned.+ On the morrow the debate was resumed by Francis, who, though not a fluent speaker, was very capable of giving strong Junius touches in a case into which he had thrown all the earnestness and

"In his speech in Westminster Hall, Sheridan's abuse of the chief justice was still more elaborated. With respect to the journey in search of evidence against the Begums, he said—"Whon, on the 28th of November, he was busied at Lucknow on that honountable business, and when, three days after, he was found at Chuar, at the distance of 200 miles, still searching for affidavits, and like Hamlet's ghost, exclaiming 'Swear!' his progress on that occasion was so whimsically rapid, compared with the gravity of his employ, that an observer would be tempted to quote gain from the same scene—'Ha! Old Truepenny, canst thou mole so fast!' the ground?' Ha! Old Truepenny, canst thou mole so fast!' the ground!' Here, however, the comparison ceased; for, when Sir Elijah made his visit to Lucknow, 'to whet the almost blunted purpose of the nabob, his language was wholly different from that of the poot,—for it would have been stally against his purpose to have said,

"Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive Against thiy mether aught."

Late in the debate, Fox addressed some personalities to Pitt. Willerforce, the minister's friend, severely reprehended Fox. "I protest," said the good-natured Why Jeader, whose volence seldom reached his heart, "I protest it was not my intention to give offence. We are both of us" (meaning Pitt and himself) "too apt to say harsher things to each other than are, penhaps, warmutable. On my part, these aspertites of expression are, I am pretty certain, generally unprovoked: but they take place much too frequently."

bitterness of his nature. Major Scott responded with his usual length, and with more than his usual ability. He contraged the calamities and disgraces sustained nearly . crywhere else during the war with Hastings's acquisitions of territury in the East. He asked the members of the present opposition why, if they considered the treatment of the Begums so criminal, they had not recalled the governor-general in 1783, when they were themselves in office. He affirmed that the affidavits taken by Sir Elijah Impey, and other good testimony, fully proved that the Princesses of Oude had taken part in the insurrection of Benares, and had actually raised troops with intent to support Cheyte Sing. He depictured the critical situation of our affairs in the East between the month of October, 1780, and the beginning of the year 1783—Hyder Ali and the French at the gates of Madras, the French fleet cruising on the Coromandel coast, Sir Eyre Coote looking solely to the governor-general for the means of paying his army, on which depended the fate of India, the Bengal treasury empty, the very money for the company's annual investments in native produce and manufactures all appropriated to the war, and all spent, loans raised among the seits or native bankers, until they could lend no more, money borrowed in every direction, and yet the troops both European and natives left with their pay many months in arrear. "One fact," concluded Scott, "no man can doubt; namely, that the sum procured from the Princesses of Oude could not have been raised from any other source. And without that supply, we might now have been debating here, how Mr. Hastings should be impeached-not for saving, but for losing India." This speech, and particularly the last argument in it, were calculated to make a deep impression; but on one side of the House the opposition were pledged to support Burke's view of the case, and on the other the ministerialists awaited the nod of the minister. Fine arguments and splendid oratory produced their effects, and were no doubt of use, out of doors, but within the walls of that House they rarely carried a dozen votes one way or the other, unless they were accompanied by other influences. The great fugleman did not leave his majority long in doubt: Pitt rose to speak-all eyes were fixed upon him—but seldom did he make a more equivocating and meaner appearance. After a few commonplaces and the assertion that he had compared the charge minutely with the evidence, he said he was now ready to concur with the motion, that he thought himself bound to vote with the honourable gentleman who had brought in the charge! But he begged to draw a distinction: the resumption of the Begums' jaghires was in his opinion a measure which might in certain situations have been justifiable, though certainly it was a measure that came awkwardly from the company who had guaranteed the treaty securing the Bhow Begum in her estates: but the seizure of the treasure, being unsupported by law, and not called for by any state necessity (there was as much law in

the one case as in the other, and state necessity was with Hastings equally the motive in both), he thought it impossible not to condemn it; and in his opinion the crime was greatly aggravated by making the nabob the instrument of it, by setting the son to rob the mother. Pitt further said that the offence was aggravated by Hastings's conduct , in stifling the orders of the court of directors, which expressly commanded a revision of the proceedings against those princesses. But the minister did not take into account that revision without restitution would be a mockery—did not intimate that the directors had been altogether mute on the trying matter of restitution, and had quietly winked at the disobeying of their order in the matter of investigation-did not hint that, long before the paper from Leadenhall-street reached India, the money was gone, and could not be restored (the jaghires, as we have seen, were restored)-did not speak out manfully and inform the House that the treasures of Fyzabad had been employed and spent in supporting the war against the French and the Mysoreans, and that, though guilt had been contracted in getting at the money, India had been saved. Sheridan and Fox joined in applauding the minister's delicate sense of justice; and when Hastings's friends attempted to renew the argument they were coughed down, or interrupted by the cries of "Question!" "Question!" It was observed, however, that several members of admimstration looked blank and disappointed; neither Pitt's relative, W. Grenville, nor Lord Mulgrave, neither the attorney-general nor the master of the rolls, uttered a syllable: the solicitor-general spoke, but it was only to declare that he never could agree to an impeachment, and that therefore he should not vote on the pending question. Upon a division, Sheridan's proposition was carried by 175 against 68.

On the 19th of February Burke called the attention of the House to the present state of the prosecution, which, he said, was attended with many awkward circumstances, arising out of their having originally departed from the usual course of proceeding in matters of that nature. Perhaps the deliberate caution with which they had proceeded might be attended with some advantages; but he thought now, that, having solemnly determined upon two charges of atrocious delinquency, there was quite ground enough for drawing up the impeachment, and that the sooner they resorted to a vote of impeachment the better. Upon such vote proper steps might be taken for preventing the party impeached from quitting the kingdom, removing his property, alienating any sums of money, or taking any other steps to evade the earl of justice. There was, he said, a little circumstance that rendered such a step very necessary: another gentleman from India, deeply implicated in Mr. Hastings's transactions, and against whom proceedings of a serious nature would soon be instituted, had, within a short time, sold out of the public funds property to the amount of 50,000l.

The person here referred to was Sir Elijah Impey. But Major Scott, thinking that Burke had been speaking of property belonging to Mr. Hastings, got up to assure the House that he had no concern in it, and to declare that he believed that Mr. Hastings's whole fortune did not at that moment much exceed 50,000/. Pitt would not enter into Burke's hurry, and so it was resolved that the proceedings should continue to move on according to the rule of " deliberate caution." On the following day, the House being in committee on the charges. Dundas said that, as intimation had been given that a charge of a serious nature would be brought forward against Sir Elijah Impey, he would suggest to those concerned in the prosecution that it would be inconsistent with the justice, the candour, and the benevolence of that House, to call and examine a gentleman as a witness at their bar, and then to make his evidence the ground of future crimination against him. Sir Gilbert Elliott, who had taken the case of Sir Elijah into his own hands, replied that, though he had determined to move for an impeachment against Sir Elijah Impey, yet the House could not think of waiving the advantage of any information it could possibly obtain. He said the subject of Impey's present examination would not exactly come within the limits of his intended charge, although that charge would go to affect nearly the whole of the conduct of Sir Elijah, who, by his extra-official interference, had had a share in some of the most guilty of Hastings's transactions. Burke, in still stronger language, insisted that the evidence of the chief justice ought to be taken, even though he was himself to be charged afterwards. He said that the prosecution could not think of losing the advantage of the testimony of that person who had been "the principal confidant of the principal there." Sir Elijah, he added, knew too much of law to answer any questions which might tend to criminate himself; and those who were to examine him would not insist on his answering questions of such a tendency. Pitt agreed that the testimony of Sir Elijah was very important; but he thought that delicacy and propriety demanded that the witness should have such notice of the charge intended against him as might tend to put him on his guard. Burke hercupon moved-" That Sir Elijah Impey be called in, and that the chairman be instructed to inform him that it was possible that a criminal inquiry may be instituted against himself, on the ground of extraofficial interference and his general conduct in India; and that the subject on which he was then to be examined may lead to proceedings connected with such an inquiry." This motion being carried, Sir Elijah was called in. The chairman gave him the notice according to the vote; and then Sir Elijah said-" that, as he was conscious of no guilt, and as there was no part of his conduct which he could wish to secrete, this notice could make no difference in his wishes to give the committee the fullest information." The Chief Justice of Bengal then underwent a long examination touching some affairs with the Nabob of Furruckabad. Burke had complained that he had been able to procure from the East India House only a small portion of the papers relating to these particular transactions; and he afterwards called the attention of the House to these facts-that the attorney of the East India Company was also attorney to Hastings; and that, while the House were groping in the dark, and liable to miss what was of most importance, Mr. Hastings and his attorney, to whom all the recesses of the India House were known and open, might defeat the search after evidence and laugh at the prosecution.*

On the 2nd day-of March the fourth charge against Hastings was opened by Mr. T. Pelham. It comprised what was termed the corrupt and oppressive conduct of the governor-general towards the Nabob of Furruckabad. Major Scott replied to Pelham, and the debate was very dry. Dundas rose and diverted the attention of the House to the breach of the treaty of Chunar. He spoke with a great show of candour and moderation; he said that the treaty, after all, might have been only a bad way of doing a good thing; he advised the gentleman who had brought forward the present charge to reflect whether it would be worth while to prosecute it to the other House, as it appeared not likely, even if substantiated, to add much either to the guilt or the punishment of the late governor-general, while it would certainly require a vast volume of evidence to prove it. Dundas, however, concluded with saying that, unless he should receive satisfaction on some points of the business, he must certainly give his vote for the question. On this day the cause of Hastings met with support from a new quarter, and so high an opinion was entertained of the merits of this new advocate, and of the weight of his arguments, that it was funcied at the time that, if he had appeared at an earlier stage of the proceedings, he might have stopped them altogether; at it was, it served only to draw from Pit declarations which left Hastings no other hope than that of an acquittal in Westminster Hall.+ This new advocate was that veteran sailor Admiral Lord Hood, who had maintained the honour of the British flag in the last Though unaccustomed to speak in parliament, and though strongly attached to Pitt, he rose to remonstrate with ministers. He considered the whole matter like a man accustomed to war, and to the difficulties that often arise even in regular service—like one who knew that a state of war is a suspension of law. He implored the House to reflect on the consequences that must result to the state, if, with too scrupulous accuracy, they called to a severe account the individuals who had filled important stations abroad in periods of hostility and perplexity. Certain actions, which

appeared to those at a distance, and uninformed of many of the circumstances, in a very criminal light, might, on a nearer investigation, prove perfeetly justifiable on the grounds of absolute neces-With honest simplicity the admiral stated the difficulties in which he had often been placed himself, and the summary, irregular acts—or they might be called acts of oppression and unauthorised violence—which he had himself been obliged to adopt, to subsist the British fleet in the West Indies during the last war, when all our islands there were threatened by French, Spaniards, and Americans. "Those acts," said he, "were indispensable to the preservation of my ships and men: yet, if the government had not stood between me and legal prosecutions, I should in all probability have been condemned to linger out the remainder of my days in prison. The example now set by the House of Commons in prosecuting Mr. Hastings will for ever stand before our future commanders, and create a great and dangerous clog to the public service. I am an old man: at my time of life 1 can entertain no expectation of being again employed on active foreign service; but I speak for those who are to come after me. My regard for my country makes me anxious to prevent a precedent by which all her services for the future would be greatly impeded; this I am confident will be the effect of punishing any harsh and severe, but perhaps necessary, stretches of power which the saviour of India may have been found to have committed." Pitt, working himself up to a high pitch of morality, rose to reply to the old admiral, and to declare that he must ever prefer what was right to what might be expedient. He said that he should have been satisfied by giving a silent vote for the question before the House, but that, after what had fallen from the noble lord, he felt himself called upon to answer the argument used, lest the weight of his lordship's authority on such subjects might mislead the judgment of the committee. As he proceeded he somewhat qualified his rigid morality. If a servant of the public, civil or military, should carry his exertions beyoud the line of strict right, and even of necessity, God forbid that he or any man should deny him his due merit, or say that the abundance of his zeal ought not to be allowed as an atonement for the irregularity of his actions and the error of his judgment! But he asked whether that part of the conduct of Mr. Hastings now before the House corresponded to any such principle?-Whether the crime that day alleged against him was justified by his motive or by necessity?—Whether any existing necessity could justify a crime of such a size. and complexion? He represented that, wherever a departure was made from justice and right, it was not sufficient to say that such a step was necessary, for the party must prove the necessity, which in this instance, in his opinion, had not been done. The noble lord, besides the topic of necessity, had dwelt upon the general merits of Mr. Hastings, with their importance to the country.

^a Burke also said that there was another very suspicious circumstance—many of the papers were in the possession of the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, instead of being in the hands of Mr. Middleton, the resident at Lucknow, to whose department they properly belanced. longed. † Ann. Regis.

This was a ground which he (Pitt) expected and hoped would have been abandoned. Upon a division Mr. Pelham's motion was carried by 112 against 50.

On the 15th of March the charge relating to abuses, for selfish purposes, in contracts and salaries, was opened by Sir James Erskine, nephew to Lord Loughborough. Sir James endeavoured to show that Hastings had made both corrupt and improvident bargains for providing bullocks, elephants, &c.; that he had grossly favoured individuals that were devoted to his will and useful in his designs, at the expense of his employers, and that he had been guilty of abuses in the opium contracts. Major Scott said he could prove that Hastings had never profited by these contracts, though perhaps Francis, and certainly his friends, had; and he instanced the case of one Mr. Tighman, who was a relation of Francis, and who had returned to Europe in the same ship with him a wealthy man, made rich by opium profits. Pitt, who made a very long and careful speech, said that the present charge might be divided into three distinct parts. As to the first, regarding contracts, &c., he thought some of the matters alleged too insignificant to be discussed in parliament or inserted in articles of impeachment; but he would except two contracts, one for bullocks in the year 1779, and the opium contract in 1781; in both of which there appeared to him circumstances of criminality and ground for suspecting corruption. As to the second article, which related to the extraordinary emoluments bestowed by the governor-general on Sir Eyre Coote, in disobedience of the company's orders, and imposing the payment of those additional emoluments on Cheyte Sing, he thought it highly criminal, and proper to be inserted in the articles of impeachment. As to the third part of the charge, or that relating to profuse expenditure in the civil department, he considered it too trivial, or not sufficiently supported by proof, to be admitted into a solemn criminal charge. Pitt next passed, in the way of caution and advice, some stinging reproofs on the managers of the prosecution, who seemed likely to absorb an immense deal of the time of the House. He thought that all who had any regard to the dignity of parliament, or to the ends of substantial justice, must wish to forward the business as much as possible, and bring it before the Peers in the best shape. He conceived that it was by no means the best way to clog it with useless, unnecessary, and unprovable matter. The best thing the House could do was to strip it of all such matter; and he wished the right honourable gentleman (Burke) who had taken so active a part in the business would, on something day, ascertain and determine on such charges as he still intended to bring forward; as there were many charges already before the House which, he was certain, could never be proved, or, if they could, were not of sufficient criminality to warrant the present mode of proceeding. In the end he moved to leave out everything in this article of charge except what related to the bullocks and Sir Eyre Coote. But Burke, unwilling to drop a single item, compared himself to a shipmaster in a storm, who, in order to lighten his vessel, must throw some of his cargo overboard. But he added that what articles he was to commit to the waves he was perfectly at a loss to determine. He was afraid to enter upon the operation, lest gentlemen might afterwards tell him—"You, indeed, at first furnished yourself with an excellent cargo; many of your articles were of the very best quality; but, whilst you have retained trifles, you have consigned those which were of the greatest value to the waves." He, therefore, moved an amendment on the minister's amendment, giving up one or two trivial points, but insisting on the insertion of others which Pitt would have rejected, and which certainly deserved rejection. Yet, upon these trifles, Burke found himself in the rare condition of being in a majority against Pitt.* The tiresome minutiæ had thinned the House, and, when the original question, or the motion made by Erskine, that this charge contained matter for impeaching, &c., was put to the vote, there were not above eighty-six members to divide, of whom sixty voted for, and twenty-six against the motion. It is admitted, even by those who have most severely sifted the conduct of Hastings, that all the particulars which Pitt tried to eject were either frivolous in their nature or incapable of proof. The contract for bullocks for the service of several armies in the field was scarcely entitled to more regard, and quite as unsusceptible of any proof that the business had not been managed in the best way that circumstances permitted. As to the additional emoluments granted to Sir Eyre Coote, they had been granted in order to induce him, in old age and in-very bad health, to undertake the chief command of the army in India in a time of war. Hastings naturally looked to Coote as the officer who enjoyed the highest reputation in India, as a veteran commander who knew well the country in which he had gathered his laurels and served so many years, as a commander singularly endeared to the native troops,+ as one whose name and prestige, experience, abilities, and bravery seemed to promise the best result. Coote unfortunately was fond of money; and it was only by a splendid offering of rupees and pagodas that the governor-general could hope to tempt him to forego his ease, neglect the cares necessary to his health, and quit his honourable retirement in England to enter into a war which had been infamously mismanaged everywhere, and the toils and anxieties of which killed him before

*A majority of e.

A majority of e.

The Among the native soldiers Coote's name was great, and his influence unrivalled; nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollitore. It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer who holds one of the highest employments in India; a prist of Coote hung in the room; the veteran recognised at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than helf a century, and forgetting his salam to the living, halted, drew himself up, litted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his mistary obelsance to the dead."—Art. in Ediah, Rev. on Gleig's Life of Warren Hastings.

. The late Earl of Rosslyn.

he could see an end to it. Several passages in Hastings's private letters prove how anxious he was for the services of the general, and how anxious the general was for the rupees; while they also prove-what no general officer in the House of Commons, or anywhere else, could have doubtedthat there ought to be a difference between the pay of a general-in-chief residing at Calcutta, and doing nothing but routine business, and a general-inchief in the field, with expenses, that are in India enormous, for staffs, attendants of all kinds, camp equipages, elephants, horses, camels, bullocks, scouts, messengers, secret services of all kinds, &c. &c. In a letter to Sulivan, Hastings says, " I have formed an establishment for his expenses in the field on a very liberal scale: viz. table allowance 7500 rupees per month, being 50 per cent. above that allowed by the court of directors to Colonel (since General) Stibbert, and a discretional liberty to draw for boats, elephants, and other contingent charges, to the amount of more for himself and all his staff. This is not much, and incomparably less than the allowed and assumed charges of his predecessors in the military command of this presidency, General Clavering excepted, because he never was in the situation to which these allowances are applied. I hope my conduct will receive your support. General Clavering, who never intended to take the field, might content himself with a gratuitous salary of 60,000 rupees per annum, but you must be convinced that the commander-in-chief could not possibly support the indispensable charges of his rank and command with so scanty a sum; and it is a dangerous maxim to connive at unauthorised perquisites, the inevitable consequence of too close an economy. These acts have all passed with opposition from Messrs. Francis and Wheler, and will no doubt be represented in the worst colours in their private letters to England-by Francis at least." The governor-general had not the power of appointing the commander-in-chiefthat rested with the court of directors at home; but it seems very doubtful whether Sir Eyre Coote would have gone out again to India, if Hastings had not allured him with brilliant promises of emolument, of the unreserved surrender of the whole military department, and of other concessions. In an earlier letter written to Sulivan, before the general's arrival, Hastings says, " He shall have all he wants, and more than he probably expects. I only fear the aptitude of his easy temper to yield to the incendiary impressions of Francis."† Being then, as always, in furious opposition to the governor-general, Francis assumed that the additional emoluments conferred on Coote were given only to secure his vote and support in council,-for Sir Eyre returned to India a member of the supreme council, as well as commander-inchief. Though fund of money, Sir Eyre Coote was too honourable a man to make any such bar-

> * No sum is inserted. † Letter in Gleig's Life of Hestings.

gain; and it appears from his conduct in council that, so far from voting constantly with Hastings, he frequently opposed him, though he would never join Francis, whom he hated and despised, in his systematic and constant opposition. Not long after his arrival at Calcutta, Coote took the field, and murched into Oude, the frontiers of which were threatened by a Mahratta army. The Nabob of Oude-or Nabob Vizier, as he is commonly called -was charged with all the extra allowances, expenses, &c., fixed by Hastings for the general. The court of directors, in a letter dated the 18th of October, ordered that the nabob should be relieved of these charges—as Coote had recrossed the Caramnassa, and returned into the company's own territory-and that the extra allowances should be discontinued altogether; but long before this letter could reach India-indred just five days after it was written in London-Coote had been induced to take his departure for Madras, in order to assume, in person, the management of the war in the Carnatic. This he was not bound to do either by the company or by the king's government; and the state of his health would have been a sufficient excuse if he even had been bound by orders. As the general's expenses would be still further increased, Hastings, to keep him in good humour, had given or promised him still more money. When the letter of the court of directors arrived, the veteran was contending on the Coromandel coast with Hyder and the French-and also with his maladies. Was it possible for the governorgeneral, under such circumstances, to reduce the extra allowances which the money-loving general had enjoyed? Would it have been wise to make any such experiment on Coote's temper? It was unjust, perhaps, or contrary to treaties with him, to make the Nabob of Oude pay these extra charges, when the general was not serving in Oude, but in the Carnatic; but Hastings had no other source from which he could so easily draw the money, and on the fate of the war in the Carnatic depended not merely the fate of the English in Bengal, but also the fate of their neighbour the Nabob of Oude himself.

On the 22nd of March a warm altercation took place in committee between Pitt and Francis. Mr. Mercer having been called before the committee for examination on the subject of the opium contract, Francis, to whom the said Mercer had addressed a letter some time before full of the grossest abuse of Hastings, so managed the examination as to get the letter introduced and entered at full length on the minutes of the committee. Pitt, holding the letter in his hand as it appeared in the printed minutes, denounced what he described as the unworthy artifice by which Francis had contrived to render the House of Commons his accomplices in recording a libel. in reply, distinctly denied that the letter had been written at his instigation, and stated that, with respect to Mercer, he was not acquainted with him personally, nor had he ever been in his

company till he saw him at the bar of the House. He wanted to ascertain whether Mercer knew anything about the opium, and had desired a friend to call upon him, upon which Mercer had written him the letter, which when he had read he was sorry to find so much of the contents irrelevant, but he was obliged to produce the whole letter or mone at all, else he would have been charged with the suppression of evidence. Sheridan rebuked Pitt for giving way to indecorous anger. Pitt defended himself, and said that "no degree of indignation could be too strong, where the House itself had been made instrumental to an act of such palpable malice and injustice;" but it would rather appear from the report of the debate that in these expressions he referred to the appearance which the matter wore before it was explained: he concluded by saying that he took the honourable gentleman's reproof in good part, and hoped they might each of them henefit by those mutual admonitions which they found it so necessary to bestow on each other. When this altercation was over, Mr. Wyndham opened the sixth charge against Hastings for his conduct towards Fyzoola Khan, the Rohilla chief, who retained possession of Rampore, in Rohilcund. The eloquence and the nice metaphysics of Wyndham's speech were much admired; but he most decidedly misstated many of the facts and bearings of the case, persisting in the error which represented the Rohillas as a most amable people. Major Scott exposed some of these rhetorical and metaphysical errors. He denied the existence of the pretended grievances and hardships of the last of the Rohillas; he quoted facts and circumstances to prove that the treaty which allotted them a settlement in Rampore had been well observed; and he maintained that Fyzoula Khan was at that moment one of the happiest and most independent native princes of Hindustan. Scott asked whether the Khan had ever complained? whether the Begums themselves had ever complained? whether any complaint of any sort had been received from any of the native princes? The Rajah of Benares, who had been expelled for his rebellion, might complain, though it did not appear he had intrusted his cause to the prosecutors of Hastings in the House of Commons. But what had the people of Benares done? They had erected temples to Mr. Hastings! To this last flourish of the major, Burke wittily replied, that in India people dedicated temples to two very different divinities, to the good principle and to the evil principle, or to the infernal power whose enmity and malignity they deprecated. Here Burke ought to have stopped; but he went on to spoil a good in, by mixing in it a savage denunciation. "Pernaps," he added, "the temples in question may be temples of gratitude to the presiding divinities of Hindustan, for having removed a monster under whose tyranny the unfortunate natives suffered so many evils." Pitt took no part in this debate, leaving the ministerial signal to be given by Dundas, who, although he differed from Wyndham

and Burke in some particulars, agreed with them that there was criminal matter, and that the charge ought to be included in the articles of impeachment. This was enough to secure the majority; and on a division Wyndham's motion was carried by 96 against 37. The House having resumed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose to propose that a day should be named for bringing up the report of the committee on the several charges which had been admitted. He was ready to give such a vote on the general question of impeachment as would correspond with the part he had already taken; but he must observe that, having only partially acquiesced in some of the charges, he should endeavour to bring the matter before the House in such a way as would relieve him from the unpleasant alternative of being obliged either to dissent in toto from propositions to parts of which he wished to give his concurrence, or to vote for propositions which contained some circumstances to which he was adverse. But whether he should make a separate motion, or only move an amendment, he had not yet determined. Burke declared that he approved of the minister's proposition, and hoped that his arguments would convince the House and the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the necessity of admitting the whole of propositions as they had been originally drawn. He also hoped that the minister and he would be found voting together on this important subject. In conclusion it was agreed that the report should be brought up on Monday the 2nd of April. It appeared to some of the friends of Hastings that the House was now going to proceed at too rapid a On the 27th Mr. Hamilton (commonly named Single-speech Hamilton) called for some delay, and expressed his abhorrence of a proposition, thrown out some weeks before by Burke, to secure Hastings's person and property as soon as the impeachment should be voted. "At present," said he, "I speak in terms of restrained indignation. If I had given way to my feelings on the first mention of that project, I could not have answered for my expressions." He protested against the proposed scheme of bringing up the report, and following up the reading of the report by impeachment, on one and the same evening. Hamilton was supported by Mr. Yorke (afterwards Lord Hardwicke). Pitt strongly condemned any proposal for delay. Burke said that the House ought to remember what kind of criminal they had to deal with. "Let those who accuse us of precipitation," exclaimed Burke, "remember how many years we have been occupied with inquiries into Mr. Hastings's conduct. And has he not himself, in that extraordinary performance read by him at our bar, and which he denominated his defence, demanded dispatch? The charges in which this House has already concurred are not simply high crimes and misdemeanors in the ordinary sense of the words;—they are acts, at the bare mention of which our nature recoils with horror!" On the 2nd of April Sheridan opened the seventh charge, relating to the corrupt receiving of bribes and pre-The orator, who embellished his subject with all kinds of tropes and figures, imputed the grossest corruption and most ravenous greed for money to a man who had been singularly indifferent as to riches for his own use. "He is changeable," said Sheridan, "in everything except in corruption;—there and only there he is systematic, methodical, immutable. His revenge is furious as a tempest or a tornado; but his corruption is a monsoon, a trade-wind blowing regularly from one quarter." In indulging his wit and his irony Sheridan gave vent to some sallies which admitted the real facts of the case—that Hastings had not received the presents for himself, but for the account and benefit of his employers—that the forced offerings went directly into the company's treasury. In describing the accommodating morality of the court of directors, and their correspondence with the governor-general, he said it might be condensed in words like these-" For as much as you have accepted presents, we highly disapprove of your conduct; but, inasmuch as you have applied them to the credit side of our account, we exceedingly approve your conduct " It was not meant; it was inadvertency; it proceeded from the natural impulse of the man to say all the witty things he could; but both in this speech and in his grander effort on the Begum charge, Sheridan uttered several things tending to exonerate Hastings and to inculpate the court of directors, who were indeed answerable for much that had been done amiss, and who could plead no set-off in the way of great and wise measures. Major Scott again replied to Sheridan; but he was more prosy than usual, and made use of an illtimed argument and illustration. He told the House that the full satisfaction expressed at his conduct by the court of directors ought to have set these questions at rest; that ministers themselves had apparently given their approbation, for since his return home, at a dinner given to the late governor-general by the directors, some members of the board of control were present. This brought up Lord Mulgrave, who probably had been one of the guests. "I am anxious," said his lordship, " to rescue Mr. Hastings from this shabby defence. No man approves and applauds more than myself numerous parts of Mr. Hastings's administration. But is it sufficient to say in reply to serious charges, that when he was entertained by his employers, as a mark of their grateful satisfaction, some members of the efficient India government dined in the same room?" Upon a division this seventh charge was carried by 165 against 54.

The House then resumed, and the report of the committee was brought up by the chairman, Mr. St. John. The question being put, "that it be now read the first time," Pitt declared that his anxiety increased at every step they advanced in this serious business, and that he earnestly desired all future proceedings should be entered upon cautiously and with due

formality—that members would now deliver their votes singly and exclusively on the merits of the grand decisive question of impeachment, and free from any objections that might he taken to the manner in which that question should be brought forward. He therefore wished to know how Burke intended to proceed. For his own part he wished it to be understood that he only went to a certain length-that he could not join in a general vote of impeachment, which might seem to countenance the whole of each several charge. He thought that the most advisable method would be to refer all the charges to a committee, who might select out of them the really criminal matter, and frame it into articles of impeachment; and then, when these articles should be reported to the House, the question of impeachment might be moved. Fox, on the contrary, declared his opinion to be that the report now presented should be taken into immediate consideration; and that, if the House agreed to it, it should be immediately followed by the motion for impeaching the great. crimmal. This, he said, was agreeable to the ancient constitutional mode of impeachment. In his speech Fox thundered against any attempts at using the argument of a set-off, and against any attempts at delay. Burke said, that, though he thought the proposition of Fox the more constitutional of the two, he conceived the difference to be trifling-too trifling to be allowed to break in upon that unanimity which now seemed to distinguish the proceedings of the House. The report was therefore turned over to a committee without any further struggle. On the following day Major Scott rose and said that there had been much talk about setting off the merits of Mr. Hastings against his supposed delinquencies: he begged leave to inform the House that neither Mr. Hastings nor his friends had the most distant idea of taking refuge in anything of the sort. He held a paper in his hand written by Mr. Hastings himself, and he hegged permission to read it to the House as a part of his own speech. Having obtained the necessary permission he read the paper, in which Hastings briefly and powerfully stated his own notions as to the procedure.* When this was over Burke

* Hastings's paper was to this effect;—"Though it might be deemed presumpth in in me to declare any wish or expectation can coming the maie in which the thouse of Communs may, in its wisdom or justice, determine to proceed in the presecution of the jaquiry into my conduct now depending before them; yet, as it has been reported that many gentlemen, members of that hopourphie assembly, who have not chosen to give their constant attendance on the committee holden on this business, have expressed their determination of opposing the general question of imposshment when it shall be brought before the collective lody of this flours. I hope I may, without firegularity, or the impunitation of disrespect, intimate my sense of such a determination, both as it may respect that question, and the claim which I conceive I posses to attendance on the question upon the report which, in the due order of business. Will proceed it I presume that in the present examination of my public conduct there are two leading, and, as it appears to me, exclusive objects, of equal and reciprocal obligation – namely, that justice may be done to the nation in the redress or punishment of wrongs which it may be eventually proved that it has sentation by my acts; and that justice may be done to an individual who may be eventually proved that have been drawn into cramination against him. If it shall be resolved by the honourable House of Commons 4s agree to the report of the committee, that to say, if it shall be re-

moved the appointment of the committee to select the criminal matter out of the charges and embody it in an impeachment; and he proposed, as proper members for this committee, the following persons :- Himself, Edmund Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Sir James Erskine, T. Pelham, Wyndham, St. John, J. Anstruther, W. Adam, Michael Angelo Taylor, Welbore Ellis, F. Montague, Sir Grey Cooper, Philip Francis, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Dudley Long, Lord Maitland, Colonel North, Ge-When the name neral Burgoyne, and Mr. Grey. of Francis was read in this list there was a loud murmur of disapprobation, not unmixed with strong symptoms of disgust and indignation. There was no one in the House that could possibly be ignorant of the implacable hostility which Francis nourished against his late official superior; and there were few but knew that the great aim and object of Francis had been for years, whether contending in India or debating in the House of Commons, to secure to himself the envied post of governor-general! It was not now mentioned in the House that his ambition and avarice were seeking their gratification as well as his revenge; but it was objected strongly, and with proper English feeling, that, as in India he had been personally at variance with Hastings, he ought not to form part of the present committee. Yet, on a division being called for, the nomination of Francis was carried by 96 against 44. On the 19th of April, Francis, in opening the eighth charge, relating to the management of the revenues of Bengal, took occasion to vindicate his character from what he termed certain malicious insinuations, and to which he attributed the attempt to reject his name from the committee. He maintained that his animosities were all of a public and not of a private nature; that even his duel had been fought upon a public cause of quarrel; and that when, shot through the body and fancying he must die, he gave his hand to Mr. Hastings, and declared he forgave him, he did not mean that he forgave him his public faults. This speech was answered by Major Scott. Pitt rose, and, without noticing what Francis had said, spoke to the question before the House, stating that some of the matter contained in the present charge had found a place in articles already

solved that there is ground for impeaching me for high crimes and misdemeanors, on the charges on which the committee have already passed that decision. I presume that the resolution for the impeachment ought to follow of course, as the only means which can satisfy the justice of the nation in the supposition of my guilt, or clear my character in the supposition of my innovance. With regard to the first of these conclusions I have no claim; but for the last I may, in common with the meanest of the satisfects of this realm, assert my right to the benefit and protection of its laws; and I trust that the honourable House of Commons, which has ever been considerables the grandlan and protector of the laws, will not suffer my nation be branded with the foulest and blackest imputations upon their records, without allowing me at the same time the only legal means of effacing them, by transferring them for trial to the House of Peers in the form of an impeachment. To this opinion I humbly beg leave to said my request, and it is the only request or application which I have hithout permitted myself to make to any of the individual members of the House on the process of this business, that, it it shall be resolved on the report that there is ground to charge me with high crimes and misdemeanors, they will afford me the benefit of their votes, though united with those of my prosecutors, that I may be brought to legal trial for the same.

"WARREN HASTINGS."

agreed to, and that other parts of the matter were either not criminal or not capable of proof. In the course of this debate Mr. Barwell, now



SIR PHILIP IRANG . From a Portrait by J Lonsdale.

member for St. Ives, who had been associated with Hastings in the government of Bengal, and who had invariably seconded the governor, rose to observe, that, as an honourable gentleman had frequently introduced his name in that House, he could not avoid expressing an earnest desire that, f there was any charge against him, it might be brought forward, he being quite ready to meet it in that House or elsewhere. Burke, who was the person alluded to, replied, with a levity and sarcasm that ill suited so serious a subject, that he did not intend to bring forward a charge against the honourable member, as his hands were sufficiently full already; but, if he was really so anxious to be accused, he would, when at leisure, apply himself to the subject, being fur from thinking the whole of the gentleman's conduct in India unex-ceptionable. Upon a division the charge, as pre-

sented by Francis, was admitted by 71 against 55.
On the 25th of April Burke brought up from the committee the articles of impeachment, which were forthwith read for the first time, and ordered to be printed and to be taken into consideration on the 9th of May. In the interval the public mind was occupied by the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, and with the public debates and private surmises which have been already described. On the appointed 9th of May, upon the motion being made that the articles of impeachment should be read a second time, Admiral Lord Hood again rose to declare his strong feelings on the subject. He went over the same arguments he had used before; and he concluded by imploring the House to recollect that, whatever errors or faults the late governor-general had committed, he had indisputably saved the most valuable possessions of the empire. His lordship was followed by a

very different man. This was none other than the ex-patriot and present chamberlain of the city of London, John Wilkes, who had almost entirely changed his politics, and who, together with his daughter, had contracted a very warm friendship and close intimacy with Mr. and Mrs. Hastings.* During the two or three preceding sessions Wilkes had sat almost ellent in the House; and it was thought that he was no longer capable of any ardent exertions. He now, however, made one of the most effective specches that had been delivered on this subject. He insisted that many of the acts charged against Hastings were unsupported by any admissible evidence, that many were justifiable by state necessity, that others had been actually justified by the approbation of his masters and of the public, that others were defensible from the wide difference of manners and government in India from our own, and that others were not only justifiable but highly meritorious. He found a proof of the innocence of Hastings, and of the wild exaggerations of his accusers in the total silence of the natives of India upon the subject of the dreadful oppressions said to have been practised amongst He attributed the greatest part of what appeared criminal in the conduct of Mr. Hastings to the craving and avaricious policy of his employers, whose demands had in some instances driven Mr. Hastings to the use of means not strictly justifiable. The charges, supposing the facts to be true, amounted, he said, to this-that Mr. Hastings, by oppression, injustice, and corruption, had obtained for the company nine millions and a half sterling! For himself, he thought that the principal acts now converted into crimes, though the Lenefit of them was felt and actually enjoyed, were wise, politic, and just. But, were he of a contrary opinion, he could not, as an honest man, lay his hand upon his heart, and vote for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings while he basely and infamously benefited by his misdeeds. And how gentlemen, who condemned these acts, could suffer a day to pass without moving retribution to the sufferers, was to him incomprehensible. "I am covered with astonishment," said he, " that a faction in this assembly should have been able to carry on the proceeding to the present point. I trust, for the honour of the nation, it will be terminated and finally extinguished by a very considerable majority before we adjourn this night." And he concluded by moving an amendment that the report should be read a second time that day three months. Wilkes was fol-

"Johnny W—lkes, Johnny W—lkes,
Thou greatest of bilks,
How chang'd are the notes you now sing!
Your fair'd Forty-five
Is Prerogative,
And your blasphemy, God save the King,
Johnny W—lkes,
And your blasphemy, God save the King."

lowed and supported by Nathaniel Smith, chief secretary to the court of directors, and by Alderman Townshend, who was no mean orator or debater. Islay Campbell, lord-advocate, took the same side, and reviewed the whole subject both as a lawyer and a statesman. He declared that, considering the House as sitting in the capacity of a grand jury, and consequently that they ought to be thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the indictment, so far as the evidence went, and ought not to rest satisfied merely with remote probabilities, he could not conscientiously vote for the impeach-He pointed out numerous parts in the articles of charge in which he conceived the evidence to be essentially defective. He considered the necessities of the company, and the dangerous crisis of their affairs as grounds of justification for the strong measures pursued by Hastings, in order to extricate them. He further observed that the late governor had been unjustly blamed for various acts of administration in which he had only concurred with others, or in which the members of the supreme council, untouched by this prosecution, had concurred and co-operated with him. He insisted that the order of dates, and the state of the council, ought to have been more distinctly attended to in the charges. Mr. Hastings, he said. had enjoyed the casting voice only for a very short time, and even then Mr. Barwell was equally responsible with him. Afterwards Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, Sir Eyre Coote, and Mr. Stables came one after another into the council. At one period there was a coalition between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis. How did the prosecutors account for this? Was Mr. Hastings alone to be made accountable during that curious period? He doubted, as a lawyer, whether, upon the supposition of guilt in any specific article, a set-off, or a balancing of accounts, could properly be admitted. But, at the same time, he contended that it was not altogether a new mode of defence. The proceedings in Lord Clive's case left no doubt that his lordship owed his safety to it. And there was a more ancient and illustrious example in the case of Epaminondas, the Theban general, who, being tried for his life for having kept the command of the army four months after he should, by law, have laid it down, confessed his crime, but enumerated the glorious actions he had performed with that army, and welcomed death if the sole merit of those deeds were ascribed to him. "This speech," said Campbell, "procured the acquittal of Epaminondas and whoever reads the history of India during the late war, will be disposed to think that Mr. Hastings may die when he pleases with similar words in his mouth." The lord-advocate repeated the strong opinion of Wilkes as to the complicity of the East India Company. He said that, the company having actually reaped the benefit of Hastings's acts, and so far approved of them as never to have signified any intention of restitution, he could not conceive with what propriety Hastings could be impeached singly for those acts. And, in

^{*} The apostasy of Wilkes had not passed off without savere comment: it had been made the subject of bitterer and better lampoons than he had ever written himself in his patriot days. Sheridan, and his friends Tickell and Richardson, had had a hand in several of these squibs of the day. The following seems to have been Sheridan's own:—

solemn truth, if there was to be an impeachment at all, it ought to have included all those who had been members of the court of directors between the years 1771 and 1785. The whole list of delinquents would thus have included the names of many who were living and flourishing, in health and reputation, and the names of some who were dead—men that had passed through life with the character of being eminent and virtuous citizens, excellent friends and neighbours, "highly respectable,"—who had had funeral sermons preached in their parish churches at their decease, and all the social and Christian virtues engraved upon their tombstones. Lord Mulgrave said that, as he had not been able to see any proof except on the charge relating to the accepting of the presents, he must vote against the impeachment. Mr. Burgess produced an address just received from the British officers commanding the army in India-an army that now amounted to 70,000 men-in which they all bore testimony to the excellent character, high abilities, and important services of the late governorgeneral. The heaviness of the debate was relieved by some buffoonery performed by Mr. John Courtenay, member for Tamworth, who first of all fell upon Lord Hood, and next upon Alderman Wilkes. No man," he said, "could contemplate without reverence the person of the noble admiral, if he reflected how much his country owed him for having been a spectator of Lord Rodney's glorious victory of the 12th of April." He was assailed by loud cries of order from the ministerial benches, but Courtenay was a man not easily disconcerted or put down. He maintained that his remark was complimentary to the noble lord, on the circumstance of his having chanced to be present when Admiral Rodney defeated Count de Grasse; and that therefore no man had any right to accuse him of being disorderly. Then turning towards Wilkes, who was sitting next to him, he continued -" The worthy alderman possesses too much sense to feel anger, when I mean him a compliment; as I do, when I assert that his country owes him great obligations, for having, at one period of his life, diffused a spirit of liberty throughout the general mass of the people, unexampled—except indeed in the times of Jack Cade and Wat Tyler." House resounded with roars of laughter, which encouraged Courtenay to go on. "The honourable magistrate," said he, " has defended Mr. Hastings's treatment of the Begums, by asserting that those princesses were engaged in rebellion. Surely he must have looked upon the transaction obliquely (Wilkes squinted dreadfully) or he never could have formed so erroncous an idea. wo old women in rebellion against the governor-general! Impossible! Nor would the worthy alderman have made an 'Essay on Woman' in the manner that Mr. Hastings did. The House well knows he would not." After comparing Hastings to the execrable Colonel Kirk, Courtenay paralleled his cruelties with those of Fernando Cortez, the con-

* Wrazall, Posthumous Memoirs.

queror of Mexico; and then he brought inthe bulse, or purse, with the extraordinary diamond in it, which had been presented to George III. "Cortez, said he, " marked his footsteps with blood and cruelty: his conduct excited abhorrence: an inquiry was at length instituted with a view of bring-But Cortez, aware of his ing him to justice. danger, took care to transmit some jewels to his sovereign-not a bulse,* for that was an oriental term; but a present of precious stones, which produced an equal effect on the Spanish monarch's mind, all mouths thenceforth rehearing the praises of Fernando Cortez!" Alderman Townshend rose to express his astonishment that the Speaker should have allowed a member of that House to retail such jokes and to continue unchecked in his use of such indecent and unbecoming language. After urging that India could not have been saved without some sacrifice of rigid legal forms, Townshend reminded the minister of an historical anecdote. "I recollect," said the alderman, "the time when the father of the present chancellor of the exchequer, with a vigour of mind that did him honour, foreseeing that the French were making preparations for war, sent directions to seize their merchant ships, which he publicly sold, together with their cargoes. previous to any declaration of hostilities. The act was in itself illegal; for peace still existed between England and France. But, nevertheless, as the nation then respected justice, the value of the vessels and cargoes was restored to their owners afterwards." At a late hour Pitt rose to deliver his authoritative opinion. He began by remarking that Lord Hood, Wilkes, Hay Campbell, and Townshend, had been again pleading a set-off. This was a ground which he expected and hoped would have been abandoned, after what had already passed upon that subject, both from Mr. Hastings himself, who had disclaimed any such plea, and from many of the gentlemen who had delivered their opinions in the debates on the several charges. For his own part, such was his opinion of many parts of the charges, and of their importance and criminality, that he could not conceive, if they were well founded, how the highest and the greatest merits which had ever been alleged in favour of Mr. Hastings could be set in opposition to them as a plea even against conviction and punishment-much less against inquiry and trial, which were now the only objects in question thought that the House had gone too far to recede : -he felt himself at a loss to conceive how it could be reconciled to the honour, the consistency, or the justice of the House, to stop short of sending up the impeachment to the Lords. He attempted to defend the court of directors, and to separate their acts and instructions from the acts of the governor-He thought that, in one part of the Benares charge, there was criminality; and that in the case of the Begums there was a great deal more—and indeed he looked upon that charge as

Bulss was nothing more nor less than an Indian corruption of the Portuguese and Spanish word bolsa—a purse.

the most serious in the whole accusation. He could conceive a state, compelled by a sudden invasion and an unprovided army, laying violent hands on the property of its subjects: but then, in so doing, it ought to do it openly; it ought to avow the necessity, it ought to avow the seizure, and it ought unquestionably to make provision for a proper compensation as soon as that should become practicable. But were these the principles on which Mr. Hastings proceeded? No; he neither avowed the necessity nor the exaction: he made criminal charges, and under the colour of them he levied heavy and inordinate penalties; seizing that which, if he had a right to take it at all, he would be highly criminal in taking in such a shape, but which having no right to take, the mode of taking it rendered it much more hemous and culpable. He certainly had no right to impose a fine of any sort on the Princesses of Oude; for there was not sufficient proof of their disaffection or rebellion. And the fine imposed on Cheyte Sing, in a certain degree, though not to the same extent, was very After reviewing some of the other charges which had been admitted, he went on to say that, because others were guilty, Hastings ought not to escape punishment; for the having accomplices in his crimes was no exculpation, and it would be highly derogatory to the dignity of that House to say, ' No, we will not bring the delinquent to justice, because there are many delinquents besides himself.' Nor would this be a reason for impeaching the rest. It was by no means advisable to multiply examples: the proper way was to select such persons as, from their exalted and ostensible situations, were the more likely to serve as an effectual example. Upon the whole he concluded with declaring that the House could no otherwise cousult their own honour, the duty they owed their country, and the ends of public justice, than by sending up the impeachment to the House of Lords."* He said not a word about restitution of the money to the Begums, or to any other party from whom money had been wrung; well knowing that such a proposition would meet with no favour. Mr. Martin, member for Tewkesbury, after avowing himself favourable to the impeachment of Hastings, said, that if any member would move for a restitution of the money he would second him. But not a man rose. Major Scott said that, if he thought as the member for Tewkesbury did, he would not wait for any man to make such a motion, but would make it "For," said the major, "the British himself. House of Commons will become infamous to all posterity, the scoff and scorn of Europe, if, after impeaching Mr. Hastings for his pretended misdeeds, they basely profit by his crimes. He is accused of accumulating for the East India Company, by acts of oppression and injustice, nine millions and a half sterling. For every shilling of this ill-acquired sum credit has been taken by

* Speeches of the Right Hon. W. Pitt in the House of Commons, edited (rather badly) by W. S. Hathaway.

the minister (Dundas) who opened the Indian budget only two days ago. And, if the present charges are well founded, why do we not replace Cheyte Sing, who is now a fugitive, and repay him the lacs of pagodas which have been taken from him? Why do we not restore to the Nabob of Oude 150 lacs, due indeed by him to us, but of which we never could have obtained payment except by seizing on the treasures of the Begums? I think these acts wise, politic, and justifiable; but if I thought otherwise I should consider myself as infamous as the corregidor in Gil Blas, who punished the robber for stealing a bag of doublooms, and, instead of restoring the money to its owner, applied it to his own use." Wilkes's amendment was negatived, and the second reading of the report was carried by 175 against 89. The first article of impeachment was then read and agreed to without a division. The rest were deferred till the next day. When the House reassembled (on the 10th) all the rest of the articles were agreed to with some trifling amendments; and then Burke rose and moved "That Warren Hastings, Esq., be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours upon the said articles." No one seemed disposed to make any further attempt to stem the torrent. At length, however, Mr. Sumner-usually a silent memberwho had been in India in the company's service, expressed his astonishment that a person of such high character, acknowledged ability, and rare indifference to money should be made the object of a prosecution carried on in that House with uncommon virulence—he was near saying with unexampled malice. He was regarded by the world at large as a great and wise politician, and as a statesman eminent for his activity and exer-Such, he said, was the opinion entertained of the late governor-general in France ;-indeed there was no place in any quarter of the globe that did not speak of him with raptures of admiration. except only the House of Commons, where he had been debased by joking phrases, run down by ribaldry, and loaded with invective, fit only to be applied to the most atrocious criminal after conviction. Burke's motion was carried without any further debate, and without a division. Mr. F. Montague, one of the committee of managers, next moved—"That Mr. Burke, in the name of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of Great Britain, do go to the bar of the House of Lords, and impeach Warren Hastings, Esq., late Governor-General of Bengal, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and do acquaint the Lords that the Commons will, with all convenient speed, exhibit articles against him, and make good the same." This too was agreed to without a division. And forthwith Burke, attended by the majority of the House, went up to the bar of the Lords and impeached Mr. Hastings with all proper form and solemnity.

. On the next day, the 11th of May, Burke reported to the House what he had done at the bar of the Lords; and proposed that two solicitors (Messrs. Wallis and Troward) should be retained to act as solicitors for the impeachment on the part of the Commons. It was expected that here he would rest for the present session; but on the 21st, Burke remarked that it would be necessary, before the session ended, to take some steps for binding Mr. Hastings to be forthcoming whenever called upon; and he moved therefore, "That Warren Hastings, Esquire, be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms of this House." Mr. John Nicholls, then a barrister on the western circuit (afterwards Dr. Nicholls, and a civilian of some note),* observed, that, upon referring to the journals in search of precedents, he found there were three different modes of proceeding. The first was to take the party impeached into the custody of their own sergeant-at-arms; the second was to desire the Lords to take him into custody; the third was to desire the Lords to put him to answer, i. e. to hold him to bail. He thought that the last mode ought to be adopted, as it would be extremely cruel to brand Mr. Hastings in the face of his country by suggesting that the House had reason to suspect him of a design of attempting to elude justice by flight. Pitt urged that the most regular and orderly mode would be for that House to take Mr. Hastings into custody by their sergeant, and to deliver him over to the Lords. Burke concurring, a motion to this effect was immediately agreed to. Very shortly after, the House was informed that Hastings was in the housekeeper's room, in custody of the sergeant-at-arms; and hereupon Burke was directed to acquaint the Lords with the same, and to intimate that the prisoner was ready to be delivered up to the gentleman-usher of the black rod whenever their lordships should think proper. The message being delivered by Burke to the Lords, Lord Walsingham, after dwelling upon the necessity of being vigilant in such cases in their attention to the other House, moved that Hastings should be forthwith taken into custody of the black rod. This being agreed to, Sir Francis Molyneux, gentleman-usher of the black rod, received the orders of the House, and reappeared at their Lordship's bar very soon after to announce that the prisoner was in his custody. Black-rod was then ordered to bring the prisoner to the bar, which being done, and the late governorgeneral being upon his knees (for such was the rule), the lord chancellor directed him to rise, and ordered the articles of impeachment to be read over. After the clerk had read the long preamble to the charges, Hastings, knowing what a length they ran to, expressed a wish that the articles might be read short. The Duke of Richman said he could not, upon such a solemn occasion, consent to this proposal; and the lord chancellor agreeing with his grace, the articles were ordered to be read at full length. They ought to have ordered in an additional supply of breath and strength for their clerk, who was not accustomed to such long readings. The reading began at halfpast seven o'clock, and continued until ten, at which time the breathless clerk had got to the end of the sixth charge. Lord Townshend started up, and moved that the two remaining charges might be read short, in order to ease the House and the prisoner at the bar from the excessive weariness of such a long lecture. The Duke of Richmond opposed the motion. For some part of this time the late governor-general of India had been left standing at the bar; but, after some conversation, it was agreed to allow him the indulgence of a chair. As it was also agreed that the two remaining charges must be perused, the clerk resumed the reading, which was not finished till eleven o'clock. The lord chancellor then demanded of the prisoner what he had to say in his defence. " My lords, said Hastings, "I rely upon the justice of this House, and pray that I may be granted a copy of the charges, with a reasonable time to make my defence. Likewise that I may be allowed counsel, and that I may be admitted to bail." He was then led out of the House by black-rod. Lord Walsingham then moved that he should be admitted to bail, in the sum of 10,000l. himself, and two surcties in 50001, each. The Duke of Norfolk (formerly Lord Surrey, the great motion-maker in the Commons for the coalition ministry) declared that, considering the enormity of the charges, he could not agree to take such slender bail. His grace thought that the least sum which could be demanded was 50,000/., and he moved to that effect. Lord Townshend, who had been so impatient of the long reading, seconded the noble duke's motion. Lord Chancellor Thurlow quoted the precedent of Sir John Bennet, who had been made to give bail in the sum of 40,000l. upon an impeachment. His lordship thought excessive bail both oppressive and illegal, and precedent the best thing to go by: he therefore moved that Hastings, like Sir John Bennet, should be admitted to bail, himself in 20,000l., and two sureties in 10,000l. each; and this was agreed to. It being also agreed to grant the other request of the prisoner, black-rod was summoned, and ordered to bring him again to the bar. Hastings was led in, and knelt while the lord chancellor addressed him, and told him that the House allowed him one month, and until the second day of the next session of parliament, to make his defence; that they had admitted him to bail in 40,000l. as a security for his abiding the issue of process; that they had likewise allowed him counsel, and called upon him to name them. Hastings named as his counsel Messrs. Plomer, Law, and Dallas. He then offered as his sureties Messrs. Sulivan and Sumner; and, their recognizance being accepted, Hastings was ordered to withdraw. As the session was drawing rapidly to a close, the Commons agreed to all the remaining articles of charge without any debate. They were presented by Burke to the Lords on the 28th of May, and,

Author of "Becollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs during the reign of George III.,"—a work we have repeatedly cited.

Histings being ordered to attend, they were read the same day, and copies of them ordered for his use. Sir Gilbert Eliott's motion for the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey was put off till the next session. On Wednesday, the 30th of May, the king prorogued parliament in person, with a gracious speech, that dwelt principally upon the unhappy dissensions which prevailed in the United Provinces, which, as a friend to the republic, he could not see without deep concern.

These Dutch troubles had, indeed, reached a terrible height, and insults had been offered, offensive to all the royalty of Europe. After the complete failure of the negotiations between Baron Goertz, the Prussian, and Rayneval, the French minister, and after the State of Holland had collected an army on its frontier, the senate of Amsterdam gave strong indications of favouring the cause of the Prince of Orange; and shortly after the States-General and the Council of State for the Seven Provinces, a body of the highest dignity, being alarmed at a coalition on the part of the

aristocrats with the burghers, declared openly in favour of the stadtholder. The Orangists then threatened to reduce the city of Utrecht by force of arms; and the Council of State for the Seven Provinces passed a resolution forbidding the marching of any troops from any of the other provinces without consent of the States-General or the Council of State. At this critical moment, and while blood was shedding in skirmishes or paltry contests between the Orangists and the democrats of Utrecht, the Princess of Orange, who put far more heart and courage in the matter than her husband, the stadtholder, set off for the Hague, accompanied only by Count Bentinck and a few attendants, with a view of negotiating with the leaders of parties there. The princess had advanced on her journey as far as Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, when her carriage was surrounded by a party of armed burghers, who were soon joined by a detachment of light horse, whose commander, the Prince of Hesse Phillipstal, had gone over to the stadtholder, like nearly all



CAPTURE OF THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE. Drawn from a Dutch Print.

the officers of rank in the Seven Provinces. light home were now under the command of a rough burgher, the captain of the free corps. This man treated the princess with great rudeness, refused to let her continue her journey, and kept her stopped for some time upon a narrow road with a

burghers made such an unsoldierlike clatter with their arms and their tongues that they startled the horses in the carriage, so that the princess had a narrow escape from being thrown into one of the canals. At last that proud and irritated woman submitted to be conducted back to a small town, canal running on either side of it. His armed there to await the further will of those who go-

verned the democratic party. She was shut up in a room of an inn, while one of the burgher guards, stationed at the outside of the door, swilled his beer and smoked his pipes remorselessly. After some hours, commissioners arrived from the headquarters of the democrats. They behaved more like gentlemen, but they positively refused to permit the princess to continue her journey to the Hague, and recommended her, as the day was spent, and as accommodations were bad at the place she was in, to choose some neighbouring town where she might pass the night. She named Gouds as the nearest. They objected to that place, as they were not quite sure of its politics, and were rather apprehensive that the arrival of the princess as a prisoner might provoke an insurrection unfavourable to their cause. At last it was agreed that she should pass the night in the town of Schoonhoven; and thither she was conveyed, to all intents a prisoner. Upon her first detention the princess had dispatched letters or messengers to her husband, the stadtholder, and also to the grand pensionary, who still was in possession of some power, though over-ridden by the contending factions, who were all furious to a degree little short of madness, who had all their clubs, combinations, and volunteers, and none of whom seemed to have any other intention than that of asserting and establishing their own political opinions and system of government by force. The princess, receiving no answers, after staying at Schoonhoven two nights and a day, set out, on the morning of the 30th, on her forced return to Nimeguen, being escorted part of the way by one of the commissioners and a troop of horse. On the road she met messengers from the stadtholder, who had remained quietly at Nimeguen all the time, merely dispatching a letter to the States-General to claim their interference for the liberation of the princess, as well as for satisfaction for the insult which had been offered. The States-General, who might be considered at the moment in a state of war with the democratic party, had not had the power to prevent the insult, nor had they now the power to give satisfaction for it, or avenge it. It was true that a large part of the army, and even of the forces drawn up in cordon on the frontiers of the State of Holland, had declared for the stadtholder, and would have obeyed any orders of the States General in favour of that prince; but the rest of the army, after changing their officers, remained attached to the democratic interest, and there were numerous free corps and volunteers devoted to the same cause. Thus the States-General, unassisted, were hardly in a condition to redress the grievances of the Princess of Orange, who, boiling with indignation applied to her brother, Frederick William. It is extremely doubtful whether, even without this last provocation, the new King of Prussia would not have interfered in the affairs of the United Provinces. But, on receiving the letters of the Princess of Orange, he set no bounds to his rage and indignation; and in private conversation and

public manifestos he set forth this cause as being in itself sufficient to justify an armed intervention. His majesty, on the 10th of July, transmitted a strong memorial to the States of Holland, expressing the deepest sense of the affront, violence, and injury inflicted on his sister, which he considered as offered personally to himself; and insisting upon immediate and ample satisfaction, with a proportionate punishment upon those who had committed the outrage. The memorial concluded by intimating that he would consider their conduct on this occasion as a test whether the States of Holland wished him to be their friend or their enemy. In sending off this memorial, Frederick William sent for the Duke of Brunswick, now the commander-in-chief of the army which had been organized and left by Frederick the Great-an army regarded, traditionally, with respect and awe by all the continent of Europe. The States of Holland, obeying the democratic impulse, and cherishing a confident hope that the French, who had led them on, would not abandon their cause, or ever permit the Prussians to overrun the Netherlands, passed a resolution justifying and approving the conduct of their commissioners in the arrest of the Princess of Orange, or, as they called it, " this extraordinary, unexpected, and disagreeable event." In their debates they treated the name and the character of the princess with very little respect: they affirmed that she could claim no right of entering the province of Holland without permission of the legislative bodies: some of them hinted that her purpose in going to the Hague was to throw with a still broader cast the seeds of discord and civil war, while others affirmed that she had undertaken the journey merely to provoke the insult, and to obtain materials for fresh complaints wherewith to work upon the passions of the despots and princes connected with her by blood and other ties. To the memorial of his Prussian majesty the States of Holland replied, in another memorial, which was very long, and, in the opinion of the court of Berlin, very unsatisfactory ;-for, instead of promising redress, it insisted that there had never been any real insult or injury. The Dutch paper also declared that respect and friendly attentions between sovereign powers ought to be mutual, and that his majesty ought not to expect that her royal highness, his sister, should be put above the sovereignty, which in Holland resided in the States and representatives of the commonwealth; and it concluded with asserting that the measures which had been pursued in regard to the Princess of Orange had been necessary for preserving the peace of the province, and preventing those popular tumults and violences of which they had recently had such frequent and lamentable instances. At the same time, the States-General, who claimed and who had formerly been allowed a superior authority over Holland and all the rest of the Seven United Provinces, sent a very different paper to the King of Prussia, deploring what had happened, and stating that they had

made repeated applications to the States of Holland upon this unfortunate affair; and that, since the States of Holland had disregarded these applications, they must be left to abide the consequences, without expecting favour or protection from the States-General. In the month of August Frederick William sent another memorial to "their noble and grand powers" the States of Holland and West Friesland, complaining of the disappointment of his just expectations of an offer of satisfaction for the attack made upon the person of his august sister, and that the answer he had received from their noble, great, and powerful lordships was grounded on arguments evasive and insufficient. He said that the suspicion they had ostentatiously published as to the princess's motives was a new insult; that she was going to the Hague to quiet all minds, and to point out the means of a general reconciliation in the provinces; that, if the people, overflowing with love and gratitude to the illustrious house of the founders of the liberty and independence of their country, should have forgotten themselves, and become tumultuous,—if the presence of the august consort of the stadtholder should have produced such demonstrations of joy as would have affected the public tranquillity, the means of making the residence of the sovereign secure from any attack, and unproductive of any danger, were left in the hands of the States. After recapitulating the indignities which his sister had suffered, his majesty repeated, that he considered the injuries as offered to himself, and that therefore he must demand immedute and suitable satisfaction. Care was taken to point out the very different conduct pursued by "that illustrious assembly the States-General, which represents the sovereignty of the States with regard to foreign powers." This was followed by a note from the Prussian ambassador at the Hague, specifying the degree of satisfaction the king required. The terms were very humiliating: the States of Holland were to write a letter of apology to the princess; to punish, at her requisition, those persons who had been guilty of the offences offered to her august person; to declare that their suspicions about her object in going to the Hague were unfounded; to revoke the erroneous and injurious resolutions which they had voted; and to accompany this revocation of the resolutions with a respectful invitation to her royal highness to come to the Hague, " to enter into negotiations in the name of the prince stadtholder, for conciliating, by a suitable arrangement, the differences which subsist at present." The haughty ultimatum added, that, if these conditions were complied with, her royal highness would interfere with the king, her brother, to induce him to forbear any further demands of satisfaction; but that in the interim his majesty expected that the States of Holland would not procoed to any auspension, deprivation, or any other measures offensive or prejudicial to the person of their prince stadtholder, captain, and admiral gene-

ral, as, by so doing, they would render all conciliation impossible, and add to their present offences. These were not terms to be submitted to by any independent government; but, unfortunately, the States of Holland were only part of a government. The republican pride was deeply wounded; but pride was unsupported by strength; and, so far were the democratic party from being in a cendition to resist a great Prussian army, that they could scarcely keep down the Orangists within their own towns and territories. And now events had happened which ought to have made them despair of French assistance. Still, however, they relied, if not on the court of Versailles, on a stirring part of the French nation, and they resolved to make a stand for their dignity: as the first step towards which, they issued their orders for laying the whole country under water the moment any Prussian troops should make their appearance of the frontiers of the republic. In the mean time the Duke of Brunswick held councils of war and collected troops on the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, which belongs to Prussia and borders the territories of the United Provinces; and the Prince of Orange succeeded in capturing the attengly fortified town of Wick, in the province of Utrecht, a place in every way important, and situated within twenty-four miles of Amsterdam, as also in taking Harderwick, a town of Guelderland, advantageously situated on the Zuyder Sea; and the whole province of Zealand declared almost unanimously in favour of the stadtholder, who advanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht, which still remained steady to the democratic interest. While the democrats had been looking to France, the Orangists had been again applying for the mediation or assistance of the King of England, who was himself not distantly related both to the Prince and the Princess of Orange, and who had, during the American war, several strong reasons for regarding with hostility the party which had brought Holland into the confederacy against him. was it in the disposition of George III. or of any other king to sympathise with a fierce democracy. In the middle of August Sir James Harris, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses the States-General, deploring the continuation of discord and troubles which threatened the most grievous consequences to all the provinces; mentioning how often his Britannic majesty had shown himself " a good friend and neighbour of the republic," and how often he had endeavoured to co-operate in reestablishing peace among them; and further mentioning that the States of Zealand and Friesland had declared their disposition to ask the mediation of some neighbouring powers. The memorial went on to say that his majesty felt the greatest satisfaction in thinking that the internal means furnished by the constitution of the republic might have power sufficient to accomplish the salutary ends of reconciliation, peace, and tranquillity; but, at the same time, if their high mightinesses **2** 1 2

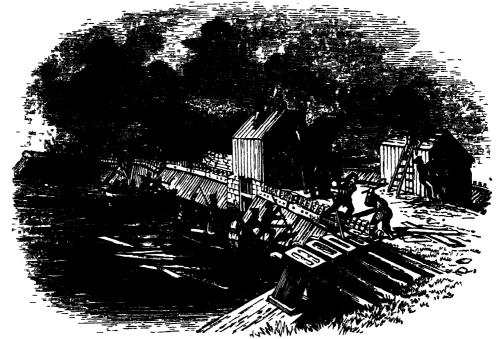
the States-General should think it necessary to recur to a foreign mediation, and invite his majesty thereto, he would " be eager to prove to their high mightinesses his sincere desire to employ all the care that may depend on his majesty to bring the negotiation to a happy, solid, and permanent issue." This note signified very little, for their high mightinesses had an exceedingly small power, and, having identified themselves with the Orangists, they could scarcely look to any other issue than that of arms; nor would the mediation of all the sovereigns in Europe have sufficed to allay the animosities of the contending factions. The democrats applied to France more earnestly than ever, not for mediation, but for armies, or, at the very least, for an army to be stationed along the northern frontier of France to overawe the Prussians. But the French government, without money, without credit, agitated and absorbed by its own affairsfor the great revolution had, in fact, begun—could do nothing. The Marshal de Segur, then minister of war, did indeed represent the danger and disgrace there would be in permitting the invasion of Holland, and the necessity there was for forming a camp at Givet; but the minister of finance shuffled off the decision in council from day to day, and could not find, in time, the necessary funds. is possible that the democrats of Holland, who had begun their contest three or four years too soon, were deceived by French promises; for, though they could hear of no armament or assembling of troops in French Flanders, and though they must have known that from 60,000 to 70,000 Prussians were in the duchy of Cleves, with 140,000 veteran troops behind them, they kept up a very high and confident tone, resorting besides to certain unmannerly declarations against the stadtholder and the Princess of Orange, which would have been better spared had their power been ever so great. They issued a tremendous invective called "The Declaration of the People of Holland against William V.," which was signed by about 6000 names, and published. In this piece they called the stadtholder as great a tyrant as the Duke of Alva; they taxed him with perjury and violation of the oaths he had taken on succeeding to the government; they accused him of disobedience to his sovereign lords and masters; they proclaimed that during the late war he had betrayed the interests of his country to England; and they required that, as a traitor to his country, he should be stripped of all his dignities, deprived of all his authority, his goods confiscated, his person proscribed, and de-livered up to the sovereign, to receive the recompense of his crimes. The military hero of this party, whose views were as extreme as any the were shown four years later by the French republicans, was no less a personage than the Rhingrave of Salm, a younger brother of the reigning prince of that House, who had about him a considerable number of Frenchmen, some officers seeking employment not to be found under their

Count Segur, Memoir of Frederick William,

own government, some enthusiastic republicans of honest zeal and gentlemanly character, and a great many more propagandists of a lower description—adventurers and desperadoes who might have boasted, in their own persons, a real sansculottism. The result was not the same, but some of these French had assisted in arresting and insulting the Princess of Orange, as if they were rehearsing for the sad drama that was afterwards played at Varennes. It is even said that a French officer " of rank and quality" was present at the After denouncing the seizure of the princess. stadtholder, the democrats declared it to be a high crime and misdemeanour to wear the Orange colours, and they openly hanged two men in the streets for this kind of treason against the sovereign people. To exhibit orange-coloured flowers had been decreed a crime of great magnitude long before; and the woman was deemed and treated no better than an arch-traitress that shaped the ribands in her cap into any form resembling that of the initial letter of the stadtholder's christian These proceedings of Dutch democrats have been overlooked and swallowed up in the grander revolution and triumph of Jacobinism which followed so immediately after; but a close inspection would show how near a resemblance, en petit, there was between the democracy of Holland and the democracy of France. At last, having obtained encouraging assurances from the English court, Frederick William gave his orders to march; and on the 13th of September the Duke of Brunswick quitted the duchy of Cleves and entered Guelderland with 30,000 men, divided into three columns. The French frontier had been previously reconnoitered. It is said that the Duke of Brunswick would not have ventured to invade the United Provinces if there had been a camp at Givet; but there was no camp there or anywhere else. On the 17th the duke bombarded the town of Gorcum, which held out the white flag almost immediately, and surrendered without the loss of a life on either side. The greater part of the inhabitants put on the orange ribands, and welcomed the duke as their deliverer from anarchy. Shortly after the surrender the duke's adjutant-general, at the head of seven Prussian hussars, brought in as prisoners a whole troop of Dutchmen who had been interrupted in their attempt to open the sluices in order to lay the country under water, and who had surrendered in a panic without firing a musketso great was their dread of the renowned army of Frederick the Great. As the Prussian columns intersected the country, and their detachments of light troops and cavalry showed themselves in all directions, their numbers were magnified by fear, and the Dutchmen were made to believe that the entire forces of the Prussian monarch were upon them: they fled from post to post, abandoning town after town, and not a few of them throwing away their arms and mounting the Orange cockade. Some of the fugitives committed sad excesses in

plundering and burning the houses of the Orangusts. Several villages were reduced to ashes, and the blame was laid on the Prussians. It was represented by those who would only see faults on one side, that the most exemplary and wonderful discipline was observed by the Duke of Brunswick's army; but people who know of what materials a considerable part of all armies must be composed, and how the light troops were scattered over the country, may very reasonably doubt whether some of these excesses were not really committed by the Prussians, who, besides the soldier instinct for schnaps and strong drinks, were exasperated at the insults which had been offered to the sister of their king Each of the three columns advanced unopposed: Nieuport, Schoonhoven, Dort, Ley-

den, Haarlem, Rotterdam itself surrendered without firing a gun; the Rhingrave of Salm, with his
French staff and rabble army, fled from Utrecht
to Amsterdam. The débâcle was universal. The
waters upon which they haff counted were low in
most parts, so that the country could not be flooded;
and in most places where the waters were higher,
or the country lower, the sluce-breakers were
prevented by the inhabitants or by the Prussians,
who moved rapidly along the chief canals and
ditches. The little army of the stadtholder, first
collected at Ameraford, had grown great by
the junction of volunteers; the three Prussian
columns were concentrating round Amsterdam,
where not only the Dutch gentry, but a great
part of the populace, were enthusiastic Orangists;



DUTCH SLUICE-BREAKERS ATTACKING A DYKL. From a Print by Mannes.

there was no sign of succour from France; the people at the Hague, assisted by some Swiss soldiers who had formerly composed the prince's state-guard, rose upon the republican volunteers, drove them out of the city or made them prisoners, and decorated the town, like a bride, with orange flowers and orange-coloured silks. It was clear that the game was up. On the 25th of September, less than a fortnight after the frontiers had been crossed, a deputation from Amsterdam repaired to the Duke of Brunswick's head-quarters to solicit an accommodation. The duke granted a short truce, and the business of negotiation was transferred to the Hague, where the Prince of Orange had been received in triumph and with every demonstration of joy several days before. On the 30th of September the truce expired, and, as the

negotiators had come to no conclusion or agreement, the Duke of Brunswick recommenced hostilities by making an attack on Amstelveen. which commanded some of the approaches to Amsterdam, which was abundantly provided with artillery and artillerymen, mostly French, which was strong by art, and still stronger from its situation in the midst of swamps and waters. But an English officer, serving as a volunteer under the Duke of Brunswick, crossing the Haarlem Meer in an open boat, examined the nature of the ground at the back of the fort and lying between it and Amsterdam: the duke collected a great number of boats, and a detachment, led by the English officer, crossed that broad water, and rained possession of the great road leading to Amsterdam. Nearly at the same moment in which





AMERSTORD.

this detachment established themselves in the rear of the fort, the Duke of Brunswick made an attack in front, advancing along a narrow dyke with deep water on either side. Here there was some fighting, for the Frenchmen stood to their guns; but in the course of the night and the following morning the batteries were all taken, and Amstelveen was occupied by the Prussians, who had lost four officers and two or three hundred men. The prevailing authorities in Amsterdam now sent another deputation to the Duke of Brunswick, who was erecting batteries to bombard their city. terms these deputies proposed were—that the people should be admitted to a share in the government of Amsterdam, by being allowed to vote in the election of magistrates; that they should not be disarmed; that the magistrates actually in office should not be displaced; that no garrison should enter the city; that a general indemnity should be granted to all persons who had taken refuge in Amsterdam; and that no Orange ribands should be worn in the city. The duke sent back the deputies, seized the suburb of Overtoom, fixed his head-quarters there, and continued his preparations both for a storm and bombardment. Amsterdamers dispatched with all speed deputies to join a general deputation from the provinces, which had met in the mean time at the Hague, and there concluded a treaty with the Prince of Orange. The Amsterdam deputies acceded to the conditions proposed to them; and on the 10th of October the keys of the Leyden gate were surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick. By the terms of capitulation, 250 Prussians with two pieces cannon were to keep possession of the Level gate, and two squadrons of horse were to remain quartered in the suburb of Overtoom; none of the king's troops were to enter the city without permission of the magistrates; the magistrates were to guard and be answerable for the sluices, and for the disarming all classes and conditions except the legal militia of Amsterdam; and a Prussian commissioner was to attend to receive the arms

The clause about Orange ribands had delivered. been declared altogether inadmissible. mentioned at the time, as a certain fact, that when the Amsterdam magistrates had signed the capitulation, they made it a request to the duke that none of the English officers that were serving as volunteers in his sirmy should be present, to witness the humiliation of the Dutch, when the troops took possession of the Leyden gate. In the course of the day some riots occurred, not without bloodshed, in various parts of the city, the greatest sufferers being the Jews, who had been all along accused of a very decided Orangism. The Prussians scrupulously observed the condition as to not entering the city: but the magistrates were obliged to apply to the stadtholder for a garrison to prevent an absolute anarchy, and in a few days a Swiss regiment and the Prince of Orange's horse-guards entered into and garrisoned Amster-The terms of the general accommodation settled at the Hague stipulated that the magistrates and members of the regency of Amsterdam, who had been forcibly turned out of their places by the democrats, should all be restored, and that the same rule should be followed in other places; and that, as satisfaction to the Princess of Orange, sixteen persons, named by herself, should be deprived of their offices and declared incapable of holding any public office in future. At the head of her highness's black-list stood the name of the celebrated Van Berkel, pensionary of Amsterdam, an ardent republican, who had taken a principal part in all the measures hostile to the stadtholder, but who, before the approach of danger and of the Prussian invaders, had taken his departure for America, as minister and consul-general to the United States. Among other names, we find that of de Witt, the owner of which, described as a magistrate of Amsterdam, was a member of the old republican family which, in the preceding century, had been at the head of affairs in Holland, and whose chiefs had been torn to pieces by · Ann. Regist.

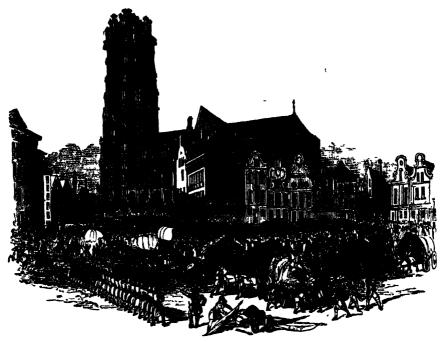
the people. The result of the whole sad turmoil was, that the stadtholder was reinstated in all his rights and prerogatives, and allowed to assume powers which had not before belonged to his office; and that the defeated party remained sullen, discontented, vindictive, and ripe for another insurrection whenever an opportunity should offer. This opportunity occurred sooner than might have been expected; and when the French republicans as much favoured by the democrats as the advance of the Prussians had been helped by the Orangists.

Although the French government, for the strong reasons already stated, had formed no camp at Givet, they took an early opportunity of remonstrating with the cabinets of Berlin and St. James's; they threatened and they blustered, and there was a great parade about fitting out the Brest fleet. Pitt and Dundas got a good English fleet ready in earnest, and replied to the diplomatic notes in a very decided tone, intimating that England was not going to take any active part in the contest, and that France should not, unless she were prepared for a declaration of way. On the 27th of October, when the contest in Holland was finished, the Duke of Dorset, our ambassador at Paris, gave in a declaration, stating that, as events in the United Provinces appeared to have left no subject of discussion, and still less of hostilities between the two courts, the British government asked whether it was the intention of his most Christian majesty to abide by his former announcement, that he would give succour to Holland, an intention which had caused the naval armaments on the part of his Britannic majesty; and adding, that, if the court of Versailles would explain itself satisfactorily upon this point, all warlike prepara-tions should be discontinued in Great Britain, &c. On the same day the court of Versailles presented a counter declaration, setting forth that his most Christian majesty had never had any intention of interfering by force in the affairs of the republic of the United Provinces; that since the King of Prussia had given satisfactory explanations, France certainly would give no succour to Holland, &c.

While the Dutch were engaged in these struggles to decide upon principles of government, their neighbours in the Austrian Netherlands (the fine country now called Belgium) were engaged in insurrections against their, emperor about forms of law and forms of faith. Joseph II., who had commenced his reign as a reformer, and who had committed the great mistake of reforming too rapidly and absolutely, without sufficient attention to the prejudices of his subjects, had created great dissatisfaction among the devout or superstitious Netherlanders by suppressing monasteries, expelling monks, and interfering in other matters. people also retained an unpleasant recollection of their baffled hopes on the subject of the free navigation of the Scheldt-hopes which Joseph had raised and then blighted with the volatility of a

schoolboy. The spirit of discontent was encouraged, not merely by the monastic order, which probably was most influential on the poorer classes and the peasantry, but by the whole body of the clergy, who do not always make common cause with the monks, but who, not knowing how far the emperor might extend his reforming processes, trembled for their own wealth and possessions, which, collectively, included a very large portion of the riches of that fat and plentiful land. The disaffection was increased by arbitrary attempts to abrogate old privileges, and customs, and municipal rights, which had been respected in the most tyrannical times, and by the most powerful sovereigns of the House of Austria. So thorough a reformer was Joseph, that he would interfere even in popular sports and pastimes; and, after striking a great number of feasts and holidays out of the rubric—not a had thing if the people had been prepared for it-he resolved, in his imperial wisdom and might, to suppress and abolish for ever the Keremesse, a festival of great antiquity in the Low Countries, and as dear to the people as the Saturnalis to the ancient Romans, or as Carnival to the old Venetians. It was a season in which the peasantry contracted their marriages and made up their animosities; - it was a season of piping and dancing, of drinking and feasting, to a degree which shocked the emperor's utilitarian spirit; and his edict struck it. But to enforce the edict was beyond his power, and the attempt provoked as passionate a feeling of resentment as would have been produced by his striking out an article of the Roman Catholic creed, or by his declaring the patron saint of the Netherlanders to be no saint at all. The public mind was in this state when the emperor promulgated, on the 1st of January, 1787, certain edicts of a most sweeping kind, annihilating what was left of the old municipal liberty, changing and new modelling the courts of judicature, and in fact establishing an entirely new form of law and government, in direct contravention of the compact made by the Emperor Charles V., and called the "Joyous Entry." The states of Brabant took the lead in a determined opposition to these measures; they were soon joined by the states of Flanders and Hainault, and in a very brief space of time the spirit of resistance manifested itself in all the fine, antiquated, and picturesque towns that so thickly dot the surface of that exuberant country, and spread itself through every village and every hamlet. It appeared as if Philip van Arteveldt, the brewer of Ghent, had risen from his grave to teach the burghers and peasants how to beard kings and defy the chivalry of Europe. The syndics drew up and presented to the emperor's minister or viceroy at Brussels a most spirited memorial, in which, after exhibiting their ancient rights and liberties, and recounting their present grievances, they quoted a clause in the old constitution of Brabant—"That, if the sovereign shall infringe the articles of the 'Joyous Entry,' his subjects shall be discharged from all duty and service to him until





MALINIS-MEETING OF ARMED BURGHERS From a Drawing by Anclay.

such time as due reparation shall be made for such infringement." And yet, as if there were not already sufficient causes for discontent and universal excitement, the emperor chose this very moment for trying a fresh innovation. The university of Louvain, in Brabant, which had once been among the foremost schools of learning in Europe, was rather ancient, and so proud of its antiquity, that it seemed to consider it an article of faith to revere and pertinaciously defend everything in it and about it that was old.* In this spirit it had retained all the nonsense of the old schools, still teaching philosophy and divinity as they were taught in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and still clinging to the most extravagant notions and pretensions of the papal see. Perhaps, without even excepting Salamanca, there was not a university in Europe that more required new light through "chinks which time had made," or that more called for improvement and renovation. It had sat for ages like a huge nightmare on the breast of Flanders and Brabant; and, perhaps, its effects are not yet obliterated from the popular intellect. But a reform, to be efficacious, ought to have been mild and gradual; professors and pupils, doctors and masters of arts, oughto have been weaned from their old opinions before new ones were imposed upon them by edicts from the Aulic council at Vienna; and it was irrational and unseemly in the Emperor Joseph to pretend to force a better philosophy and a more tolerant theo-

⁹ The university of Louvain was founded A.D. 1426, by John fourth Duke of Brahan

logy down men's throats by swords and bayonets, by Pandours, Croats, Hungarian hussars, and native-bred Austrian grenadiers, who had not been hitherto considered anywhere as proper teachers of the Baconian and Newtonian philosophies. Regardless of the odium theologicum, which an old proverb would have told him was the sharpest of all hatreds, Joseph began with the theology first, resenting probably the promulgation of university opinions which confirmed the people in their belief that in suppressing rich monasteries, and thereby putting some millions of florins in his treasury, he had been guilty of robbery and sacrilege. By a stroke of his imperial pen he suppressed all the colleges in which theology was exclusively taught, turned off the old professors, who were chiefly monks, and established a new seminary, in which divinity was to be taught thenceforth, not according to St. Thomas Aquinas and the old fathers of the Romish church, but according to Joseph II., by the Divine Grace Emperor of Germany, Duke of Austria, &c. &c. 1he chairs in this new seminary were filled, or were to be filled, with divinity professors from Austria and other parts of Germany; the new rector was a German; and proclamation went forth that all the youths of the country who were destined for the church should pursue and finish their theological studies in that general seminary, and in no other school whatsoever. Really, the Emperor Joseph showed less respect to the theology of Louvain than the Czar Peter I. showed to the mere beards of his poor subjects; and the Flemings were by no means

VOL. II.

so submissive or alavish a people as the Muscovites. Bishops, priests, professors, students, with all the classes they could influence or command, rose up as it were in arms, so that the venerable nightmare university of Louvain seemed bristled all over, and with quills erect like the fretful porcupine. In the first place there was a cry about laws, vested rights, time-hallowed institutions; privileges made sacred by antiquity: then there was a louder cry that the new divinity professors, who spoke the language which the arch-heresiarch Martin Luther had spoken and written, were Arians, Socinians, Moravians, worse than downright Lutherans; and soon these cries were taken up and repeated from one end of the Netherlands to the other by boors and burghers, who knew not the meaning of some of the hard words used, but who believed what they were told, or that their religion was in danger. Divinity students refused to go to this new seminary at Louvain, or their parents and early instructors refused to let them go. It was therefore determined by this reforming emperor that force should be used, and the minister or viceroy began with father Godfrey Alost, visitor of the Capuchins at Brussels, commanding him to send the young students of his order, the most illiterate of all the orders, and who had never sent their students to any university, to finish their theology in the emperor's seminary. Doubly obstinate and sturdy, as a Fleming and as a Capuchin monk, Alost positively refused to obey the mandate, and boldly pleaded as his excuse the suspected heterodoxy of the German professors. The governor commanded the friar to depart from Brussels in twenty-four hours, and to quit the territories of the emperor within three days. The Capuchin girded up his loins and departed with all the dignity of a martyr, and wherever he passed the people regarded him in no other light, invoking blessings on his head, and curses on the heads of his perse-The better informed Flemings, moreover, objected that by their laws and constitution no man could be exiled, or punished in any other way, without legal process before proper magistrates. And yet nearly at the same time that the proscribed friar was touching the sympathies and rousing the wrath of the people, the governor seized M. Hondt, an eminent citizen of Brussels, and sent him off under a military escort to Vienna, there to be tried about some alleged irregularities in a contract with the government, though a suit was pending in the courts of Brussels. The states of Brabant, being convened at Brussels in the month of April, took cognizance of all these acts of oppression; refused the customary subsidies to the emperor, declaring that they would not vote them until their grievances should be redressed; issued orders to the collectors and receivers of the public revenues to pay no more money into the exchequer; presented a startling remonstrance to the governor; and declared that they would resolutely defend their laws and their religion. In Holland it had been a mad contention between party and party:

but here there was but one part and one spirit; and we cannot consider the Flemings, fanatic as might be their theology or murky as might be their philosophy, as entitled to less respect than the republican faction in Holland. The states of Flanders and of Hainault would not be left behind by the states of Brabant. The Flanders body declared that there were mutual relations and obligations between subjects and sovereigns, and that they would vote no subsidies till the emperor revoked his edicts and mended all that had been done amiss or contrary to their privileges. "We demand," said their remonstrance, "only such things as are just and due, and assured to us by the oath taken at your inauguration." Belgioiso, the governor-general or viceroy, a nobleman from Milan, was perplexed and petrified at Brussels; the members of the Austrian cabinet were petrified at Vienna, by this unheard-of audacity; the emporor was petrified at Cherson, on the Black Sea, whither he had gone to meet the Czarina Catherine, in order to arrange with her the conquest and partition of the Turkish empire;—they were all pe-And when they quitted this state of being, it was to order the collecting and marching of troops towards the Netherlands. But the whole disposable force of Austria was wanted, through Joseph's new schemes, on the Danube, and he was thinking more of Constantinople than of Brussels. The march, too, was long, and not unattended with difficulties, for the Netherlands were wholly detached from the other dominions of the emperor, so that the territories of other princes had to be traversed. But, before a courier could go and return from Cherson, the governor, who had very few troops of any kind, saw the necessity of yielding to the determined will of the people; and he suspended, until the further will of the sovereign should be known, a variety of obnoxious orders and regulations, shut up the new tribunals and opened the old ones, recalled the Capuchin exile, and promised to make application at Vienna for the liberty and return of the Brussels citizen. On the 30th of May a decree was assued in which all the governors of the provinces declared that every arrangement contrary to the Joyous Entry should be set aside, and that reparation should be made for all infringements on that cherished charter. The governors of the several provinces expressed their hopes that the emperor would ratify this decree; they promised to employ their own good offices to that end; and they consented to remove from their councils all persons obnoxious to the states. These declarations produced a jubilee throughout the Low Countries, and for some short time no doubt seemed to be entertained as to the sovereign's ratification. Some news from Vienna, and a letter from Prince Kaunitz, the emperor's prime minister, awoke suspicion and alarm, and the people began to enrol themselves and to practise military exercises, in order to maintain the decree, if necessary, by arms. At Brussels and in all the principal towns the respectable inhabitants formed

themselves into volunteer companies, and equipped themselves with uniforms and cockades. Kaunitz now liberated M. Hondt, and sent him back to Brussels to be tried by the proper tribunal there. The minister also sent gentle letters, not pledging himself to anything, but expressing the hope and the wish that his imperial majesty would fully ratity all that the governors had done or promised. But the minister, who was treading upon doubtful ground, made use in one of his letters of some ambiguous expressions which revived suspicion, and the volunteer corps continued their exercises and added daily to their numbers. The government of the province, without waiting the consent of the emperor, ventured to suppress the theological seminary of Louvain, and to send the divinity professors back to Germany. But, not satisfied with this great triumph, the devout Flemings and Brabanters called upon the governors to proceed without delay to the appointing of abbots to all the vacant abbeys, and to the re-establishing of all the suppressed convents and monasteries without exception. The states of Namur went still further, for they demanded the revocation of the edict of universal toleration, which, of all the emperor's reforms, was the purest and the best. Early in July, Joseph returned to Vienna, and instead of a ratification he dispatched to the Netherlands an angry mandate, expressing his astonishment and indignation at the intemperate and violent measures which the states had adopted, and demanding and requiring them to send deputies to Vienna. A deputation was appointed, respectful but strong representations were drawn up by the several states, and towards the end of July the deputies took the road to Vienna. They were not far advanced in their journey ere they were alarmed by rumours that a mighty army was about to march into the Low Countries; that the princes of the empire whose territories intervened had already granted the promise of a free passage to the imperial troops; and that the regiment of Bender, making forced marches, was already close upon the frontiers of Luxembourg. The last part of the rumour was perfectly correct, and it seemed to authenticate the rest. The deputies continued their journey with doubt and dread; the volunteer corps at home drilled and exercised more than ever; and at this moment certain applications were made or repeated to the French court for aid and assistance. Count Murray, a gentleman of Scotch descent, now held the chief authority at Brussels, for the Count Belgioiso had been summoned to Vienna to give his explanations, or, as the emperor had expressed it in his mandate to the states, to act as mediater.

Murray sent a message to the states of Brabant acquainting them that, if they would permit the regiment of Bender to enter the provinces, the march of an imperial army might be suspended. The states, who had little to fear from a single regiment, submitted to this test of obedience. On the 15th of August, when the deputies had been three days at Vienna, they were admitted to

The emperor's countenance was an audience. severe and his manner ungracious. He told them that his states in the Netherlands had been guilty of high offences, that they had insulted their sovereign and defied his authority, and that nothing but his own moderation and affection for them had prevented the immediate employment of military force. The deputies were further told that their complaints could not be listened to until certain preliminary articles should be executed. These articles in substance were—that all things in the provinces should be put on the same footing on which they stood previously to Count Belgioiso's decree; that the subsidies should be paid forthwith; that the theological seminary of Louvain should be re-established and the divinity professors recalled; that the volunteer companies should cease their martial exercises, and lay aside the uniforms and other marks of military distinction which they had assumed without the necessary assent of their sovereign. As to the tribunals, nothing was decided; but his imperial majesty would take council with the states upon that important matter. The deputies were given to understand that if these articles were rejected, far less favourable conditions would be imposed by means of an army. When the articles were communicated to the states by Count Murray they were rejected almost unanimously; and the volunteers continued exercising. But when the march of the grand army was expected fresh advices were received from the deputies at Vienna, who informed the states that his imperial majesty had since admitted them to several private conferences, had listened to their complaints and representations with marked kindness and attention, and assured them that he had meant no harm, and was well disposed to restore the charter of the Joyous Entry to its primitive vigour. The deputies further reported that the emperor intended, at his earliest convenience, to revisit the Low Countries, in order to confer with the states as to the best means of promoting the welfare of all parties. And at this moment the emperor, sacrificing his own personal feelings, named a new governor-general in the place of the Milanese noble, who was much suspected and disliked. It was a good wind for the Flemings and Brabanters that blew the emperor to the shores of the Black Sea, as, but for the arrangements he had entered into with the Empress Catherine, the whole or part of the army of 100,000 men, which were marched soon after this to the Danube, would have been sent into the Netherlands. As matters went, the states and the people enjoyed a complete triumph over their sovereign. They refused to execute the emperor's articles even after they had been materially qualified; but, as the danger seemed over, the volunteers consented to lay down their arms by a given day. When that day arrived—the 20th of September a quarrel arose between the volunteers in Brussels and the regular troops that garrisoned the city for the emperor, and several shots were fired and returned. The people ran to take part with the volunteers, and some companies of regulars that were quartered in the suburbs ran to support their comrades. The cry was spread that the emperor's troops were acting on a concerted scheme, and were aiming at nothing less than the slaughter of the good citizens and the enforcement of all the suspended edicts. The excitement was terrible: the pavements of the streets were torn up, and the stones were carried to upper windows and to the tops of the houses to overwhelm the soldiery. The peasants from all the country round about Brussels

trooped into the town armed with clubs, scythes, and other rustic implements. A considerable quantity of blood was spilt, and a great deal more must have flowed, if Count Murray had been a less wise or less brave man. But Murray went from house to house showing to the respectable inhabitants how perfectly unfounded were their apprehensions, and how small the numbers of the regular troops; he walked through the streets, though bullets and paving-stones were flying about; he reasoned with the volunteers, got the regulars into their barracks, and finally succeeded in restoring



FLEMISH PEASANTRY .- SCENE ON THE BRUSSPLE ROAD. From a Dutch Print.

tranquillity. Captivated by this temperate and wise conduct, and by the firmness and moderation of his views, the states voted the subsidies, and the volunteers laid by their arms and uniforms a few days after; and thereupon Count Murray published the emperor's declaration, that the fundamental laws of the provinces should all be preserved entire according to the tenor of the Joyous Entry. If Joseph II. had been studying to show how governments may be sunk into contempt and sovereignties overthrown, he could not have given a better demonstration than that which was afforded by the course and the termination of these affairs. We shall find presently, indeed, that the apparent termination was only a suspension of the contest.

We shall not for the present enter upon the arena of French politics, but wait till it will be

more full of combatants, and the revolution considerably more advanced. We need merely state here, that such was the impoverishment and weakness of the government, and such the confusion in the council of ministers and throughout the kingdom, that France was compelled to stand by, a quiet spectatress of the league formed between Russia and Austria against her ancient ally Turkey, and of the mighty preparations making for the grand project which, it was supposed, would revolutionize and change all the relations of European policy.

In England the recess had passed off very tranquilly, and not, it is said, without some increasing popularity to ministers for the spirit and activity they had displayed in the affair of the armament, and the high and decided tone they had taken in their diplomatic correspondence with the court of

Versailles. It was, however, considered expedient to re-meemble parliament much earlier than had been usual for some years past; and it met on the 27th of November. The speech from the throne opened with the same subject with which the speech at the last prorogation had closed—"the unhappy differences subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces." It said that no endeavours had been wanting on the part of his majesty to contribute by his good offices to the restoration of tranquillity, and the maintenance of the lawful government; that his majesty had thought it necessary to explain his intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France; that the most Christian king had notified to his majesty an intention of interfering; that his majesty could not remain a quiet spectator of the armed interference of France, and that he had given immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; that in the course of these transactions he had thought proper to conclude a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in order to secure a considerable hody of troops in case their services should be required—that, in the mean time, the rapid success of the Prussian troops had "enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured, and to re-establish their lawful government;" that, all subjects of contention being thus removed, amicable explanations had taken place between his majesty and the most Christian king. The speech further announced that commerce and revenue were in a flourishing state, and that the country was likely to continue in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, &c.; his majesty at the same time regretting that the tranquillity of one part of Europe was unhappily interrupted, as war had broken out between Russia and the Porte. In the debate on the address in the Commons, Lord Fielding, after expressing his approbation of what had been done by ministers, intimated a doubt whether they had not missed a favourable opportunity for insisting on the demolition of the stupendous works that were carrying on at Cherbourg. Fox followed Lord Fielding: he gave his fullest approbation to the energetic conduct of ministers in preventing France from interfering in the affairs of Holland; and he declared that he was invariably of opinion—that it was a fixed and unalterable maxim with him-that this country ought, whenever occasion required, to take an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe. This, he said, was his system, and for this he had been ridiculed by his adversaries upon former occasions, as wild and romantic. With respect to the subsidiary treaty with Hesse Cassel, he thou the House ought to be put in possession of fuller information. He called the revolution which had been effected in Holland by Prussian arms "the restoration of the independence of the United Provinces." Pitt expressed his satisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed in the House upon these subjects. In the House of Lords the Bishop

of Llandaff spoke at great length on the address. He partook in the general feeling of satisfaction at seeing the French party, which had done so much mischief, put down in Holland, and the United Provinces once more linked in friendship with Great Britain. But there was one difficulty which occurred to his mind:—on what principles of the law of nature and nations had Great Britain and Prussia a right to interfere by force in settling the affairs of an independent state? But for this scruple of conscience he saw nothing to disapprove in our late interference; for, if France had been allowed to gain Holland, England had been undone. The addresses were agreed to nem. con. in both Houses.

It was not, however, compatible with the existence of party and opposition that this unanimity should be of long duration. Two nights after Fox moved for an address to his majesty, that he would direct copies or extracts from any notification made by the court of France of the intention of the most Christian king to interfere in the affairs of Holland to be laid before the House, and he now contended that ministers had incurred expenses very unnecessarily, as the King of France, in reality, had never had any intention of an armed interference. He was answered by Pitt, and his motion was negatived without a division. On the 5th of December the Hessian subsidy was brought under discussion by the minister moving that a sum not exceeding 36,093/. should be granted to the Prince of Hesse Cassel for the year 1788. Fox again insisted that further information in this matter was necessary, and that it was essential to show how these Hessian troops were to be employed. Pitt said in reply that the Hessian treaty formed a part of a general system, which it would be improper to explain at the moment, but which, he was sure, would be entitled to the approbation of the House. Burke warmly commended the measures which had been pursued with respect to Holland, and congratulated ministers on their having renewed our connexions with that country. He then gave his views as to subsidiary treaties and continental politics. He seemed to think that in many cases it was better to subsidize foreign troops than to raise troops at home; but he considered the present treaty as giving the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel a retaining fee of 36,000/. per annum, and guaranteeing the dominions of the Landgrave whenever he might happen to be involved in a war. He hoped that no notion was entertained of introducing the foreign troops into this island: he reminded the House of the proper jealousy which had always been entertained on that subject. He admitted that England must interfere occasionally in the affairs of the continent, and that the balance of power in Europe was as interesting a subject to us as to any of the nations on the continent. The minister's motion was agreed to unanimously. On the 10th of December the secretary-at-war, in recommending an augmentation of the land forces, intimated that his

majesty was disposed to reduce some corps of the household troops, which cost considerably more money, and were less available for general service, than troops of the line. This led to a long debate about the state of the army in general; but the views of ministers were adopted by a very large majority, and money was voted by equally large majorities for erecting fortifications in some of the West India islands which had seriously felt the want of them during the last war. Sheridan spoke some brilliant nonsense about these fortifications, insisting that the naval force ought always and in all cases to be sufficient for the protection of those islands, forgetting that a fleet cannot be everywhere at once. In the recent armament numerous promotions had been made in the navy, and it was held by many that they had not been made in conformity with the best rules of the service. an order of the year 1747 the lords of the admiralty were authorised to pass over such superannuated captains as by age or infirmity might be considered incapable of acting efficiently in the command of a fleet. Sixteen new admirals had been made in the summer, and some forty post-captains who had been passed over complained of the treatment they had received, representing that, though seniors in the service, they were not incapacitated either by age or by sickness for doing admiral's duty. It appears that every one of these forty had convinced himself and his friends that he was as good a man as any of the sixteen promoted; and the opposition naturally embraced their view, and were anxious to prove that very great partiality had been displayed.

A.D. 1788. Soon after the Christmas recess the matter was taken up by Lord Rawdon, who moved in the Lords that an address should be presented to his majesty, praying him to take into consideration the services of such post-captains in his navy as had been passed over in the late promotion of admirals. In his speech Lord Rawdon complained of a system which allowed veterans who had bled in defence of the country to be passed over at the caprice of a minister. He said that the board of admiralty seemed to be conscious that they had done an injury to those who had been passed over, as they had offered every one of them, as compensation for not being employed, the half-pay of a rear-admiral. Admiral Lord Howe, who remained at the head of the board of admiralty, defended his own conduct. He said that, in accepting the responsibility, he obtained the right of exercising his own judgment and discretion in every branch of the executive duty of the admiralty; that it was painful to him, in the exercise of that discretion, to set officers aside; and that it would be invidious in him, and cruel of the House to desire him to do so, to go into the particular reasons which had influenced his judgment in making the late appointments. Their lordships, he said, must be aware that a captain who had displayed great bravery in the command of a single ship might yet be unqualified to command a squadron or a fleet. He

added that, if the House thought proper to take upon themselves the promotion of officers, he should feel himself eased of the greatest anxiety attached to his present situation, and, of course, escape from the painful responsibility of office. He assured their lordships that the distribution of patronage was not quite so desirable as they might imagine. Out of twenty candidates he must disappoint nineteen, and was by no means certain of pleasing the twentieth. As to the half-pay of a rear-admiral given to the captains that had been passed over, he considered it to be given as a reward for long services; and men might be entitled to such compensation and to many honours without being exactly qualified for the command of fleets. Lord Sandwich, who had so long filled the same office, and who had been so often threatened with impeachment in it, was very facetious on the notion of the patronage being vested in the House of Lords. If the House of Lords took upon themselves a promotion of admirals, one noble lord would rise in his place and say, "Pray don't pass over my brother, make him an admiral;" another lord would stand up and intercede for his relation. Nor would applications be confined within those walls; each noble lord would be pestered at home to intercede for different captains; nay, even the ladies and the House well knew the irresistible fascination of female influence-would catch hold of a peer's hand, clasp it with ardour, and say, " My dear lord, you must get my cousin made an admiral." For his part he would rather recommend the House of Commons to be the possessors of the privilege: they, no doubt, would receive numberless petitions from the different boroughs. and their constituents would send them up instructions who were the fittest persons to be made But, to speak seriously, he would say admirals! that it had been found at different periods extremely inconvenient and detrimental to the service that promotions to flags should be governed solely and absolutely by seniority. In 1747, he said, the board well knew that there were on the list captains with superior qualifications for the command of fleets; but, standing low down, the difficulty was how to get at them without loading the public with an intolerable expense. In concert, therefore, with two noble lords—the late Duke of Bedford and the late Lord Anson—he (Sandwich) had taken his share in planning the superannuated list, and he had been the person in whose hands it had been principally brought to bear. At that period eight admiruls were made, and nineteen captains passed over; and yet there was no complaint then-no motion before that House to address his majesty on the subject, nor was there any idea of injustice or partiality. The motion was negatived in the Lords without a division. But the subject was brought forward again on the very next day in the House of Commons by Mr. Bastard, one of the members for Devonahire, who moved that his majesty should be requested to confer some marks of his royal favour on Captains Balfour and Thom-

sen, two of the officers passed over in the late promotions, although they had formerly received the thanks of the House. He spoke with small knowledge of the subject, but with great violence. He maintained that the superannuated list, or, as it was commonly called, "the Yellow List," was an institution provided only for such officers as were wholly unfit to serve, either from want of capacity or from infirmity. He argued that, if it was left to the admiralty to make a selection for promotions, the tendency in the service would be to regard nothing but servility and meanness; to manifest a studious attention to the caprice of a first lord of the admiralty; to show a readiness to run on his errands, to be his flatterer, his follower, and perhaps his pimp. Bastard was answered by Mr. Beaufoy, who knew more about the subject. Pitt joined in the debate, and rebuked Bastard for using indelicate language. The premier pointed out the danger of the House of Commons interfering with the duties of the first lord of the admiralty. He maintained that the superannuated officers were not rejected, degraded, and stigmatised, as had been assumed; that they had an honourable retreat from service, a comfortable provision for advanced years, and a fit Since the inreward for meritorious services. stitution of the yellow list, 139 captains had been promoted to the flag, and 244 superannuated; and he would ask the honourable gentleman whether he considered that those 244 brave officers had been degraded or set aside for incapacity? Bastard, seeing the sense of the House clearly against him, withdrew his motion, giving notice, however, that on a future day he would move for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the conduct of the admiralty in the late promotion of admirals. And, on the 18th of April, he made a motion to that effect, which occasioned a longer and more stormy debate than the former one. Bastard mentioned particularly the cases of six captains who, after distinguishing themselves in actual combat in various parts of the world, had been passed over, and had not even been allowed the emoluments of the yellow list. Pitt argued that Lord Howe had made the best selection possible, and had not been actuated by any malice or other sinister motive towards those who had been passed over-that his lordship had only consulted the good of the service and the good of the country. The point to be decided by the House was, whether they could infer from the statement of cases they had heard, that the judgment of the noble viscount at the head of the admiralty, upon professional merits, was not to be trusted, but ought to be corrected by theirs? Such a case might undoubti occur; but he warned the House of the mischiefs that would inevitably arise from opening their doors, without the most palpable and urgent necessity, to the discussion of professional qualifications, and the arrangement of promotions. The only naval officer in the House who supported ministers on this occasion was the Honourable

Captain Berkeley, who lamented that such a question should have been brought before the House, and who declared it to be his conviction that the House ought not to interfere in promotions, but leave the discretion unclogged to those who had the responsibility. Fox replied to Pitt, condemning the late promotions as unjust to certain individuals, but distinctly declaring that, if he was asked whether every captain, with merely negative merits as an officer, ought, upon seniority alone, to be made an admiral, he should answer—no. The office of an admiral, said Fox, ought to be considered in two views: the principal view undoubtedly was prospective, or to future services, and in this view selection was proper and justifiable; but it ought also to be considered retrospectively, as an honour and reward for past services. In the latter view at least the late promotions could not be defended, being most scandalously partial and unjust. But even prospectively Fox could not discover that the appointments were fairer: the admiralty, he said, had promoted Sir John Lindsay, a brave man indeed, and an officer of the highest reputation, but in so deplorable a state of health as to leave no room for the expectation of future services. Fox also said, that as there were already twenty-four admirals on the old list fit for service, and, as no service was likely to be wanted (but there was a likelihood a few months before), the late promotions must be considered as disgraceful. Several officers of the navy, including Admiral Sir Peter Parker and Sir George Osborne, spoke and voted with Fox. Sir John Miller observed that no man could doubt Lord Howe's integrity, though they might doubt his judgment. He considered his lordship as a man distinguished for his abilities in his profession, for his integrity and his justice; but he lamented that during the residence of the noble lord at the admiralty—though he believed him to be as honest and as brave a man as any that existed, and to whose conduct and command he would most freely confide that fleet that should fight for the last stake of the country—a precedent should be attempted to be established which had irritated and disgusted every seaman of Great Britain, except only a few gentlemen of the profession who had seats in that House. Admiral Lord Hood said that the first ford of the admiralty stood high in the opinion of his profession as a brave and skilful officer-he was unimpeached in honour and unimpeached in integrity—it was not likely, therefore, that his conduct could have been actuated by any indirect motive-nay, it was impossible for him to imagine that an officer who had trodden the deck of honour could, upon his holding the naval administration, plunge into the sink of corruption. Mr. Grenville said no man had attempted to suggest that the first lord had been influenced by any improper motive in the late promotions. This, indeed, was the firm belief of every man that knew the truly noble character of Lord Howe. The Devonshire squire's motion was negatived.

but by an unusually small majority—the numbers being only 150 against 134. Apparently encouraged by this narrow division, Bastard, on the 29th of the same month, reproduced his motion in another shape, and was seconded by Sir William Molesworth; but this time the majority against him was considerably greater, though far from being so great as might have been expected—the numbers being 220 against 169. We suspect that the firm, conscientious, and unaccommodating character of Lord Howe had a great deal to do with swelling the minority to so unaccountable a size. His lordship resigned in some disgust, not less with ministers than with parliament, very soon after these debates. To his friend, Commissioner Fanshaw, Howe made no secret of the feelings which had induced him to quit office. He said he had consented to take office along with a party who had pledged themselves to each other and to the public to economy; but that, whenever he wished to carry economy into practice, he found himself constantly thwarted and opposed. Pitt, he said, made no requisitions for naval patronage; but Mr. Dundas complained he could never obtain any appointments from the admiralty for his Scotch connexions and dependents, and was continually carrying his complaints of this intractable rigidity to the premier. "Mr. Pitt," said Howe, "talked of economy, but I practised it." There is something significant, too, and something that interferes with the idea of the premier's disinterestedness and indifference about naval patronage, in the choice made of a successor to Howe. This successor was that most unfortunate land-officer and respectable piece of mediocrity the Earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother. A month after Howe's retirement the king showed his sense of his services by raising him in the peerage from a viscount to an earl; and two years later, when England was called upon to put forth her strength in expectation of a war with Spain, the first man thought of for command was Earl

In various ways India and its concerns occupied the House for a considerable part of this session. In the preceding year, when a war with France was apprehended, and considered by many as inevitable, the board of control had resolved to send four additional regiments to India in the company's ships, and this had been unanimously approved by the court of directors. But when the alarm blew over, and pacific declarations had been exchanged with France, the gentlemen in Leadenhall-street thought that the additional regiments were not required, and that if the government wished to send them, it ought to defray the charges, and pay and provide for them when in India. Ministers certainly did wish to send them—they were desirous, in fact, of forming a permanent establishment of king's troops in those distant possessions—but they did not wish to pay for them. The board of control and the directors were again at issue. The directors quoted the act

of 1781, by which it appeared that the company was bound to pay for such troops only as should be sent out at their own requisition. The board of control quoted the act of 1784, by which they were invested with the power to send troops, and, in case of the company refusing to pay them when sent, to defray the expenses out of their territorial possessions. The company consulted eminent lawyers; and ministers, being evidently doubtful of the law as it stood, brought in a bill to settle the question and establish the right they claimed. Pitt himself moved in the House on the 25th of February for leave to bring in a bill declaratory of the intention of the act of 1784. He said it was incomprehensible to him how respectable men of the law could have questioned the interpretation of the statute of 1784; that "in his mind nothing could be more clear than that there was no one step that could have been taken previous to passing the act of 1784 by the court of directors touching the military and political concerns of India, and also the collection, management, and application of the revenues of the territorial possessions, that the commissioners of the board of control had not now a right to take by virtue of the powers and authority vested in them by the act of 1784." This was the same as declaring that no power was left to the directors, and that all power was absorbed by the board of control or by ministers themselves. And yet Pitt himself had declared in 1784 that it was not his intention, or the meaning of the bill, to impair the power of the court of directors, but only to define and regulate it. The magnates in Leadenhall-street must by this time have sighed for Fox's bill. Dundas. as became his functions as leading member of the board of control, employed more comprehensive language even than that of the premier, affirming that by the act of 1784 the board of control might, if it chose, devote the whole revenue of India to the purpose of its defence, without leaving the company a single rupee! As doubts, however, had been entertained, he thought the best way of meeting them would be by the special act now proposed. The opposition maintained that this proceeding was highly unparliamentary; that the opinion of counsel, taken perhaps upon an imperfect state of the case, was not sufficient ground for a declaratory bill; that, if such a practice were to obtain, declaratory acts would be multiplied ad infinitum; that the legislature ought never to have recourse to such an expedient, except when the wording of an act was so ambiguous as to stand in need of explanation, or where, in consequence of the clashing judgments of courts, or doubts expressed by judges from the bench, it became necessary for the legislature to propound anew its own meaning; that in all other cases parliament, by making declaratory bills upon previous acts, would quit its legislative and assume a judicial capacity, and, as in the present case, would decide in a cause in which it was, in some respects, interested as a party, and would be a gainer by its

decision. If the minister, instead of submitting the claim of government to a legal decision, was resolved to supersede the question by an extraordinary declaration of parliament, what was it but to declare that he chose to remove the cause from the courts of law, where he knew he could have no undue influence, into the two Houses of Parliament, where he knew, and every one else knew, that he had an influence, and a great one? Surely such proceedings would amount to manifest and violent oppression. It was further argued that the measure proposed was liable to many political objections, and might be used as a precedent for the very worst purposes. A minister, strong in his majority, would have nothing to do but to bring in a bill for granting new powers, in doubtful and ambiguous words, and with clauses that had a double meaning—he would have nothing to do but to introduce this bill with a general declaration of its moderate principles and a sacred regard to the rights which it was intended to control. By these means the consent of the parties concerned might be obtained, and the alarm and unpopularity avoided; and then, when greater powers were assumed than were ever supposed to be granted, the minister might sweep away all objections and doubts by a high, over-ruling stretch of parliamentary authority, and declare that what he contended for was the law of the land. quite evident, they urged, that something of this sort had happened in the present case; that the company had been deluded into a consent to the bill of 1784; and that the minister, having obtained that consent, was now endeavouring to put his own construction upon the act. Mr. Baring, as a party interested, said that, when the bill of 1784 was in agitation, it had not been intimated to the directors that it gave any such power to the board of control as ministers were now contending for; and that, if the directors had so understood the bill, they would not have given their support to it, as they would have seen it tended to annihilate the company, and deprive them of all their rights and powers. After a long debate leave for bringing in the Declaratory Bill was granted without a division. On its second reading, on the 3rd of March, the East India Company were heard against it by their counsel, Mr. Erskine and Mr. Rouse. The counsel endeavoured to prove that the construction now attempted to be put upon the act of 1784 was contrary to its true and original meaning; that such construction would vest in the board of control powers injurious to the rights and interests of the company, and of a dangerous political nature. Mr. Pulteney, and some other members who had voted with the mini declared that they supported him at the time from a conviction that the bill contained no such powers as were now claimed, for otherwise they would never have voted for it; that the construction attempted to be put upon it by this new declaratory bill made it as obnoxious as Mr. Fox's bill-with only this difference, that in Fox's bill all was open

and without disguise, whereas Pitt's bill would work out its object by fraud and dissimulation. Mr. Powys said that in 1784 the House had no idea that any such meaning would be attempted to be given to Pitt's bill; and that, if the House had conceived anything of the kind, the bill would have been rejected. Colonel Barre, whose ardour was cooled by years and the pension of 30001., affirmed that, having asked at the time one of the directors why they had suffered the bill to pass unresisted, and with the sanction of their concurrence, the director had admitted that the bill darkly and tacitly conveyed powers to the board of control as hostile to the rights of the company as Mr. Fox's bill, but that they had a confidence in the administration which introduced it, and had no doubt of their exercising those powers with gentleness and moderation. If the directors had acted upon any such persuasion they must have been insane; but Mr. Baring, who was one of the directors, and a better authority in these matters than Barré, declared that the directors had never so understood Pitt's bill, or foreseen the powers which would be claimed by the board of control. Fox followed Barré in endeavouring to show that the company had submitted to worse terms from Pitt than any that were included in his own much-abused bill. "It will now," said Fox, "no longer be clamoured through the country that I am the violator of chartered rights, or the usurper of the powers of the East India Company. Had the right honourable gentleman (Pitt) acted in the same open way in 1783 as he does now, all that abuse which I have sustained, all that clamour that has been excited, all that popular frenzy which disgraced the kingdom from one end of it to the other, never would have been provoked." The opposition also contended that this new or declaratory bill would leave at the mercy of ministers all the money the company possessed either in India or in England, so that the very trade of the company might be interrupted or annihilated whenever the government should be very poor or very rapacious. It was idle to talk of the commercial powers of the company being left undisturbed, if the chancellor of the exchequer could withdraw that capital without which commerce has no powers. Strong objections were likewise urged against the particular measure which had brought on the struggle between the directors and the board of control. Colonel Barre, Colonel Fullarton, Mr. Baring, and several other members said that it would have been much more just, and a great deal more economical, to have suffered the company to raise four regiments, or to have sent over 2400 men, which were wanting to complete the king's regiments already in India, than to send out four new regiments of king's troops; that it was besides impolitic, and tended to produce confusion in the company's government in India, to put the power of the sword into two hands, and create jealousy and disgust in the minds of the officers in the company's service. They contended that administration had adopted the

measure proposed only with the view of extending their own influence and patronage in the distribution of commands and commissions. Barré remarked that, before this plan for sending out king's troops, ministers had contended that there were already troops enough, and more than enough, in India, and had forced the directors to adopt that opinion: "but," added he, "I have long seen, and I now see more distinctly, a system of patronage, a settled and digested plan at the bottom of the whole business. It is a regular progressive plan to grasp all the patronage of the company, in order to use it in parliament." Barré conjured the House to look about them; declaring that if the present bill passed a fatal stab would be given to the constitution. In the last place, doubts were started whether it were consistent with the principles of the constitution to allow the board of control to keep up an army of king's troops in India to any amount they chose, and take payment for them from the company's territorial revenues, and without vote of parliament, it being declared that the king could have no troops but those for which parliament annually voted the money. It was represented that, if the board of control should be allowed to touch any part of the territorial revenues, there was no knowing how far they might go, or how great might be the influence they would obtain; and Sheridan reminded the House that those revenues amounted to nine millions sterling! On the other side, Pitt urged that he had done nothing by stealth; that it was the declared intention of the act of 1784 to transfer the government of India from the board of directors to the board of control; and that he had never held a language which admitted of any other interpretation: that all the fears and doubts expressed were visionary; and that, in order to do much good and prevent much harm, it was necessary that the influence of the crown should be felt in India. Dundas reminded the House that the board of control had already exercised the right of paying the troops out of the territorial revenues: thus, in 1785, when the pay of the army was greatly in arrear, and when the troops in consequence were almost in a state of revolt and mutiny, the board of control had sent out orders to postpone payments of every other description, and apply the company's money to the satisfaction of the army. He maisted that without the powers in question the board of control would be but a useless institution, and that, as the members of the board of control were responsible to parliament for all their doings, there could be no great danger of their doing wrong, let their powers be as extensive as they might. Pitt ventured to say that he thought all the troops in India of whatsoever description ought to belong to the king; that there ought not to be two establishments, one the king's and the other the company's; and that it was really in preparation for this reform that he was now sending out the four regiments. As to the constitutional question about keeping troops on foot

whose pay was not annually voted by parliament, he said that the Bill of Rights and the Mutiny Act—the only positive laws we had on the subject -referred to troops within the realm, and were, besides, somewhat vague in their wording. Indeed, he thought that one of the advantages attending the present question would be to draw attention to that important but defective part of constitutional law; and that he was ready to receive from any quarter suggestions upon that head. as also respecting the best means of preventing any abuse to which the army and the patronage of India might be liable. Still, however, this declaratory act seemed so different from the opinions Pitt had expressed in 1783 and in 1784, and the suspicions excited by it were so violent, that he saw his great majorities sliding away from him. The motion for committing the bill was carried, on the 5th of March, only by 182 against 125. Two days after, when the bill was to be brought up, he rose and said himself that he felt it his duty to move for its being recommitted, in order to obtain the insertion of some salutary checks on the sending of troops to India without consent of parliament, and on any improper application of the territorial revenues. On the 10th the bill was recommitted, and Pitt moved four additional clauses:—1. To limit the number of forces, for the payment of which the board of control were empowered to issue their orders to 8045 men of the king's troops, and 12,200 men of European forces in the company's service; 2. To prevent the board from increasing the salary of any officer in the service of the company, unless such increase should be proposed by the directors, and laid before parliament; 3. To prevent the board from ordering the payment of any extraordinary allowance to any person on account of services performed in India, except with the concurrence of the directors and parliament; 4. To oblige the directors to lay annually before parliament an account of the produce of all their revenues, and of all their disbursements. These clauses were agreed to without debate. But resistance to the bill was not yet over. On the third reading on the 14th of March Sir Grey Cooper, Wyndham, John Anstruther, Francis, Bastard, Martin, and others spoke strongly against the whole bill, endeavouring to show, by various arguments, that it was unparliamentary, illogical, and illegal. Sir Grev Cooper said that the bill had come out from the committee even more unparliamentary in its form than it was before: that it was inconsistent with the nature and principle of declaratory bills to superadd to the declaration of what was and is law explanatory clauses, qualifications, and restraints; and that, if the present bill passed the House, it would have the effect of declaring that certain powers had been vested in the board of control, and yet not vested without certain conditions which previously had not had existence. Sir Grey added, that the new clauses proposed by the minister to cover his year were preposterous in the correct sense of the word;

they were in their nature astrocedent as declaratory bill, and ought to have made a part of the act to be explained, if that act really intinded to give the extraordinary powers which this diclaratory bill assumed, but which the omission of these clauses clearly proved that it did not give. Scott, afterwards Lord Elden, Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth. Lord Mulgrave, Hardinge, Thornton, one of the directors, Rolle, and others, defended the bill, and the motives and plans of Pitt in his great bill of 1784; and the third reading was carried, though by a majority of only 54, which at this time was considered a small majority. In the Lords the ministerial preponderance was more visible, yet there too the declaratory bill was warmly opposed. Lord Porchester moved that the opinion of the judges should be taken upon the construction and meaning of the India Bill of 1784. Lord Hawkesbury (lately Mr. Jenkinson) said that this would produce unnecessary delay and enormous expense to the company, whose ships were detained in port, and might lose their voyage for the present year. The motion was rejected by a majority of considerably more than two to one, as was also a motion made by the Duke of Norfolk, for deferring the second reading a week, agreeably to the prayer of a petition which he presented from some of the proprietors of India stock. The Marquess of Lansdowne expressed his utmost astonishment that any man who recollected what had passed in that House in the years 1783 and 1784, in debating the India Bill of Mr. Fox and the bill of the present chancellor of the exchequer, could contend for a moment that the powers or principles of the present bill were contained in that of 1784. He showed that their lordships had rejected Mr. Fox's bill upon the ground that it contained such powers and prin illes; and yet the very act which they afterwards passed in 1784, as now attempted to be explained, contained the very same principles which had been so much reprobated in Mr. Fox's If there was to be a preference, he, for his part, would have preferred that bill which gave the government of India to parliament for four years. By this time it would have expired. But, if the powers proposed should once be given to the crown, what time and exertion would not be required to restore it, or to keep within due bounds the influence of the crown, when all the patronage of India would be added to that influence! As a proof that ministers had inviduously concealed their design-if they had ever really conceived the idea of stretching the act of 1784 to its present extent—the marquess quoted a pamphlet published by Mr. Pulteney at the time, which ministers there selves avowedly dispersed all over the kingdon containing sentiments which they wished to be considered as the principles of their conduct. Mr. Pulteney, he said, had on a very late occasion clearly proved the sense in which he had understood the bill of 1784. His lordship concluded with objecting that this declaratory bill, in some measure, decided a point hitherto left suspended,

namely, the public right to the territorial possessions in India. He allowed that some decision upon that point must soon be made, and a general system for the government of India adopted. He was ready to enter into a cool discussion of that most important system; but he could not think that they ought to place so implicit a confidence in the profound wisdom and great experience of his majesty's present ministers as blindly and precipi-The chird tately to adopt all their projects. reading was, however, carried by 71 against 28. The Dukes of Portland, Devonshire, and Bedford, Lords Carlisle, Porchester, Derby, Sandwich, Loughborough, Fitzwilliam, and six other lords, signed a long and powerfully expressed protest.

Some debates took place on a proposal made by ministers to incorporate in the army a newly-raised corps of military artificers, and to render the same liable to military law and the provisions of the Mutiny Act. In both Houses a laudable jealousy was shown of any extension of the military code: but from the nature of their services it was proper that these artificers should be considered as a part of the army; and a clause to that effect was inserted in the Mutiny Bill of the year. In opening the budget for the year Pitt spoke in a very cheerful and hopeful tone about improvements in various branches of the revenue, and of the susceptibility of improvement in some other branches. Grey Cooper, Fox, and Sheridan endeavoured to show that the improvement was inconsiderable and the hope illusory. Fox made another attempt for the repeal of the shop-tax, but was out-voted by 141 against 98.

Since the beginning of the present reign several petitions had been presented to parliament against the slave-trade altogether, or for a more humane treatment of the unfortunate Africans that were made slaves and carried to the West India islands. In England, as in America, the Society of Friends had taken the first step in this direction: but they had been followed by Englishmen of all sects and classes; the subject had been taken up by orators. popular poets and other writers; and, by degrees, a strong feeling, wide and general enough to be called a national feeling, had been created on the subject. Mr. Ramsay* had published his " Essay on the Treatment of and Traffic in Slaves," which had made a great sensation; Mr. Thomas Clarkson had published his " Essay on the Slavery of the Human Species," which had made a still deeper impression; and Mr. Wilberforce, encou-

^{**} Ramsay, who took the field early, and who contributed materially to the netional excitement, without which acking usual have been done, had been a surgess in the navy, and had served on board Sir Charles Middleton's ship. When Sir Charles went to the Wet Indies, a good many years before the present period, Ramsay smarried a lady of St. Kitt's, settled for some time on that island, quitted the navy and his old profession, and starred the church. After some time he received a presentation to the living of Testos, near Maddletone, apparently through Lady Middleton, to whose fished Mrs. Bouverie the advowant belonged. He came home and settled du that pleasant spot, which was in the padphourhood of the two laddes. During his residence in St. Kitt's he had been greatly shocked by the condition of the slaves and the horrors of the slave-trade; and now his descriptions worked upon the feelings of the two ladles, thon ow his descriptions worked upon the feelings of the two ladles, thon ow his descriptions worked upon the feelings of the two ladles, then reacting on him, urged him to write his Essay—Letter from the little C. J. Laurobe, as given in Life of Withenforce by his Essas.

raged and aided by many warm religious friends, had determined to devote his parliamentary life to this one great subject. "God Almighty," eavs the devout erator in his private journal, "had set before me two great objects—the suppression of the slave-trade and the reformation of manners." With this conviction on his mind, Wilberforce and laboured hard to inspire the colder nature of his friend the chancellor of the exchequer with some of his own warmth, and he had had many communications on the subject with Mr. Grenville and other members of the government, as also with the leading men in parliament, in both Houses and of both parties. A society of twelve opulent London merchants and bankers, including the excellent Thornton, and having for their chairman the philanthropic Granville Sharpe, had formed themselves into a committee, and had adopted measures in order to raise funds and collect the information necessary. The society had increased rapidly, and committees had been established or subscriptions raised in Manchester and other great towns. Lady Middleton, wife of Sir Charles Middleton (afterwards Lord Barham), Mrs. Bouverie, and other ladies, had been exerting themselves for many months in procuring converts and subscribers, and with a zeal and success scarcely known except to ladies. With thirty petitions lying on the table, Pitt was induced to consent to issue, in the month of February of the present year, a summons to certain members of the privy council, to examine, as a board of trade, the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. The first witnesses heard by the privy council were some whom the African merchants had deputed, and who endeavoured to prove not only the absolute necessity, but the absolute humanity, of the slavetrade. Counter evidence was procured by Granville Sharpe and the London committee, it having been previously determined that the London committee should alone appear, whilst the leaders of the cause should direct their movements for a while in secrecy.+ Wilberforce, however, undertook to bring forward a motion in the House of Commons in this session. As he was member for one of the greatest counties in the kingdom, the known close friend of the prime minister, an admirable speaker, and a man universally esteemed, the matter could scarcely be in better hands, nor could a better beginning have been easily made. But Wilberforce fell ill, retired to Bath, and left the motion to be made by the premier, who was solicited thereto not merely by his friend, but by Granville Sharpe and the London committee. It was on the 9th of May that Pitt rose in his place, and, after mentioning the bad state of health of his friend, moved the following resolution-" That this House will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade complained of in the petitions presented to the House, and what may be fit to be done thereupon "

 Journal, as quoted in Life by his Sons. The date of the cutry is October the 28th, 1787.
 Letter from Mr Charles Middleton, as cited in Life of Willierforce.

He added that before the next session the inquiry institutes by the privy council would be brought to such a state of materity as to facilitate the investigation, and enable the House to proceed to a decision, founded equally upon principles of humanity, fustice, and policy. Burke, who, it is said, had thought of taking up the subject of the slavetrade eight years before, expressed his regret at the delay now proposed; and Fox exclaimed that he had almost made up his mind to immediate abolition. Both Burke and Fox declared that they were willing and prepared to have taken up the business themselves, and that they had given way to another honourable member, not only from a deference to his abilities and his known humanity, but on account of the influence he was supposed to have with his majesty's ministers in that House. They lamented the cause of that gentleman's absence, but thought that earlier notice might have been given, in order to enable the House to come to some decision, as well for the sale of the planters as for the sake of the slaves. But what called for their more severe reprobation was, the proposition to wait the report of the privy council: against the practice of the House in this way devolving its proper duties upon committees of the members of the government they both strongly protested. It was the duty of that House to advise the king, and not to ask or wait for his advice. This was an essential principle of the constitution. They therefore cautioned the House to beware of committees of the privy council, as they valued their functions, their honour, and their dignity. If they suffered the business of the House to be done by the privy council they would abdicate their trust, and make way for an entire abolition of their functions. If they neglected the petitions of their constituents, and left inquiries upon them and other steps to be made by ministers in privy council, there would be an end of the proper uses of parliaments; and the next thing would be that ministers would bring down the edicts of the privy council merely to be registered after the fashion of French parliaments. Sir William Dolben called the attention of the House, not to the sufferings of the negroes on the African coast, nor to their suffezings from the planters in the West India islands, but to that intermediate state of tenfold misery which they suffered on their voyage from the coast to the West Indies. This, he said, called for an immediate remedy, for if they waited till the beginning of the next session an average of ten thousand lives would be sacrificed, as hundreds of thousands had been sacrificed before, in close and horrid slave-ships! Sir William had evidently been devoting much time to the subject, for he stated many facts, and declared that he had witnesses ready to be called to the bar who would prove that the horrible voyages of the slave-ships were scarcely less destructive, in proportion to their numbers, to the British seamen than to the poor He wished, therefore, that this part of negroes.* " Some of our principal supporters," says Wilberforce, " une of

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the subject should be taken into consideration instantly; and that some regulations should be adopted for restraining the captains from taking shove a certain number of slaves on board, according to the size of their vessels, and for obliging them to let in fresh air and provide better accommodations for the slaves during their passage. Pitt's resolution was agreed to; and on the 21st of May Sir William Dolben moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the transportation of slaves. One of the most important regulations he proposed was, that no ship should be allowed to carry more than one slave to each ton of her burden or register, or that a ship of 250 tons should carry 250 slaves, a ship of 300 tons 300 slaves, and no more. On the 26th of May a petition was presented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Liverpool, stating that the suppression of the slave-trade would be attended with consequences little short of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under the faith of parliament, had embarked in the trade and invested their whole property therein; that it would be highly injurious to the interests and public revenues of this country, and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprise; and praying to be heard by counsel against the abolition or restriction of the trade, before any resolutions or bill should be Accordingly, on the 2nd of June, counsel were heard at the bar of the House. learned gentlemen, as instructed by their clients, endeavoured to prove that even Sir William Dolben's bill would be ruinous to Liverpool; and that the regulation of the number of slaves allowed to be put on board each vessel in proportion to its tonnage would of itself prove the ruin of the slave-trade and of all engaged in it. They produced their witnesses to speak to this effect, and to prove that the captains of the ships ought to be the proper judges as to what amount of living human cargo they could cram into their vessels. But the only effect of the arguments and evidence was, that the House was induced to allow, instead of one ton to each slave, three tons to every five slaves. (Within a few years these unwisely cruel slave merchants, of Liverpool were compelled to confess that this forced sacrifice to humanity had actually increased their profits by decreasing the rate of mortality on the voyage from what it had been in their crammed and foul old ships.) Sir William Dolben's bill, being carried by considerable majorities through the House of Commons, was taken up to the Lords on the 10th of June. There it was vehemently opposed by Admiral Lord Rodney, who was a good and humane man, by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who was neither mane nor good, and by several other peers. Their lordships passed the bill, but introduced several

whom was the reasonable Sw William Dolben, were led by curiosity to inspect, with their own eyes, the actual state of a slave-ship then fitting out in the river. . . . Sir W. Dolben and his friends came back to the House of Commons with a description which produced one universal feeling of pity, shame, and indignation. . . . At once it was resolved that such enormities should not exist unchecked even for another session."—Life by his Sens.

amendments, which were considered both as spoiling its spirit, and as trenching on the privileges of the Lower House. The Commons therefore passed a new bill with the utmost possible rapidity, and sent it up to the Lords, who finally concurred, though by a reduced majority. The bill received the royal assent on the 11th of July. It was an immediate and important benefit to the English sailors engaged in the slave-ships, and to the poor Africans that remained to be transported year after year to the Western World; and the victory obtained served as an encouragement to Ramsay, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Thornton, and the other active friends of the blacks, whose numbers and whose means continued to increase rapidly.

During the session some time was occupied in discussing the claims of or compensations due to the unfortunate American royalists—a long and difficult business, which was not quite settled even now. Another measure of mercy was a bill which was brought into the House of Commons for granting to Anthony James, Earl of Newburgh, grandson of Charles Radcliffe, beheaded in 1746 for his share in the rebellion of 1715, a clear rent-charge of 2500l. out of the estates forfeited by the said Charles Radcliffe, and his brother James, third Earl of Derwentwater, who suffered on the same account in 1716, which estates were now settled upon Greenwich Hospital. Newburgh, whose father was an infant at the time the estates were forfeited by his father's and uncle's rebellion, had succeeded in making parliament feel the hardship of his case, and during the reign of George II., as well as during the present reign, various sums of money had been voted from time to time for his lordship's relief. In the act passed in 1784 for restoring the estates forfeited by the unhappy attempts in favour of the expelled House of Stuart the estate of the Derwentwater family was not included; but an intention was then declared of making some special provision for the The only difficulty that now occurred arose out of the diminution which the grant would make in the funds of Greenwich Hospital, which had enjoyed the estate so many years. Some members proposed that the public should make good the deficiency, and that a grant should be voted to the hospital to that amount. But this was overruled, as was also another proposition to add 100% to Lord Newburgh's annuity; and the bill passed as originally framed, greatly to the relief of an amiable and deserving nobleman.

A few days before the Christmas holidays—on the 12th of December, 1787—Sir Gilbert Elliott had made good his promise by presenting to the House six articles of charges of various high crimes and misdemeanors against Sir Elijah Impey, late chief justice of Bengal, &c. (It was only within the few previous weeks that the term late could be applied to the functions of this judge: Sir Elijah had not been deprived of his office in India—it is said that he

was even making preparations for his return to that country-but on the 10th of November preceding Elliott's motion he had acquainted the court of directors that his majesty had been pleased to accept his resignation.) Sir Gilbert Elliott. one of the most approved orators in the House of Commons, made a long and impressive speech, in which he professed to describe Impey's legal career from his first arrival at Calcutta down to his recall on a resolution of the House of Commons, provoked by his having accepted the second or company's judgeship from Hastings-an original complaint which occupied but a small part of the present oration, the chief objects now proposed being to couple Impey with Hastings in the guilt of the execution of Nuncomar, and of the Benares and Oude transactions. As these subjects had been gone over so recently by Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, the audience was neither so full nor so attentive at Sir Gilbert's necessary repetitions. He began with an endeavour to show that he had no personal animosity against the person accused, and that there could be no imputation of party prejudices and passions, or party views, as Sir Elijah Impey had been declared a public culprit by the voice of parliament itself, before the parties into which the House was now divided had an existence, and as the proceedings in which this accusation originated had been carried on by persons of all parties, all descriptions, and had been countenanced by every one of the administrations which had succeeded each other in the course of the last six years. Sir Gilbert then paid a studied tribute to the great merits of Burke, in stepping in between the oppressors and the oppressed in India. "I need not name him," said he, "whom we have seen for years devote the noblest talents, genius more than human, the profoundest wisdom, the most exhaustless labour; him whom we have seen for years sacrifice the charms of private life, the lures of fortune, the aims of ambition; whom we have seen provoking, nay, courting, the dangerous and implacable enmities of wealth and greatness; enduring patiently the scoff of a corrupt and vulgar public; nay, struggling with that which must have broken all other spirits, sustained by a weaker principle or a meaner view, struggling with the duliness and the apathy even of the virtue of this age. Need I name him who has acted this great part under our eyes, in one uniform, one only, one simple, but grand pursuit—the happiness of man-Thanks, then, to him, thanks to this House, which has not disdained to listen to his voice; which has received from him, and has at length put into the hands of Britain, the clue both of its duty and of its interest!" Sir Gilbert then laid down the axiom that the proper way of reforming Indian abuse was to punish some great Indian delinquent. He proceeded to demonstrate that there was no greater delinquent-Hastings always excepted—than the late chief justice. He stated the nature, the occasion, and the purposes of the commission under which Sir Elijah Impey

had been sent out to India: he contended that in the two great objects committed to his charge—the protection of the company from the frauds of their servants, and the protection of the natives from the oppression of Europeans Sir Elijah had, by corruptly changing sides, added his new powers to the very force they were intended to control, and taken an active part in the oppressions which it was his duty to have prevented. Sir Gilbert energetically called upon the gentlemen of the law, to which body he himself had once belonged, to throw off from the nation and from their profession the guilt of an individual lawyer, by bringing him to punishment for crimes which had been committed in the name of law. The articles of charge which he moved to be read related-1. To the trial and execution of Nuncomar; 2. To the conduct of Sir Elijah in a cause called the Patna cause; 3. To extension of jurisdiction, illegally and oppressively, beyond the intention of the act and charter: 4. To the Cossijurah cause, in which the extension of jurisdiction had been carried out with peculiar violence; 5. To the acceptance of the office of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut. which was affirmed to be contrary to law, and not only repugnant to the spirit of the act and charter. but fundamentally subversive of all its material purposes; 6. To the conduct of Sir Elijah in Oude and Benares, where it was declared the chief justice became the agent and tool of Hastings. Sir Gilbert Elliott affirmed that the conduct of the supreme court, and especially of Sir Elijah Impey, had been the subject of complaint in India from the first months of its institution; that Sir Elijah was accused, by a majority of the supreme council, of one of the most atrocious of offences that was ever laid to the account of man; and this made the subject of the first charge. He reminded his hearers that parliament had judged it proper, on the report made by the select committee on the Patna cause, to express its sense of the injustice and oppression of that judgment by reversing it; that parliament had not only granted the indemnity desired by the members of council for resisting the acts of the supreme court, but had expressly abridged the extravagant and oppressive jurisdiction claimed by the court in the instances comprised in the third charge, which were similar, though inferior in magnitude, to the occurrences detailed in the fourth charge; that the House had recalled Sir Elijah expressly for having accepted the office of judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, which was the subject of the fifth charge; and finally, that Mr. Hastings was actually under prosecution by impeachment for the very crime in which the sixth charge accused Sir Elijah as accessory. The charges being received and laid upon the table, they were, upon a motion, read by the clerk in short, pro forma, after which Sir Gilbert moved that they should be at once referred to a committee. This was objected to by Pitt, who suggested that the charges ought in the first place to be printed and then referred to a committee of the whole House. This

mode of proceeding was adopted; and the 4th of February (1788) was fixed for the committee. On that day a petition was presented from Sir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard in answer to the charges, before the House proceeded any further. The prayer being granted, he was called to the bar. Sir Elijah complained that he had been recalled upon one charge, and was now accased on five other charges. He said that the whole matter of the four first articles was collected from evidence which had been drawn up by committees of the House, the last of which sat in 1781; that this evidence had been fully discussed, had been the subject of an act of parliament, and yet had farmished no charges against him at the time. He continued: "On the 27th of January, 1783, I received a letter from the Earl of Shelburne, dated the 8th of July, 1782, which conveyed his majesty's commands to me to return to this kingdom for the purpose of answering a charge specified in an address which had been laid before his majesty in consequence of a vote of the 3rd of May, 1782. That vote related only to the acceptance of an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III. As the cause assigned for my recall was subsequent to all the transactions which have furnished matter for these charges, I entertained no idea that anything within the knowledge of the House, prior to the cause which had been selected as a charge against me, would be objected to me. In this opinion I was confirmed by the letters of my private friends; and I was thereby induced to esteem his lordship's letter, so particularising the charge, to be a specific notice of the whole evidence which I was to bring with me for my defence. I could not suspect, when the acceptance of an office had appeared the most proper subject for prosecution, that an accusation for so foul an offence as that ascertained in the first article could have been omitted. Under these impressions, though I collected all possible materials to defend myself against the charge of which I had notice, I did not bring any with me for the defence of those acts which, knowing [them] to be legal, and done in the necessary and conscientious discharge of my duty, I had no reason to think could ever have been imputed to me as criminal, and for which I had reason to think all intention of arraigning either me or the other judges, after the fullest consideration, had been totally abandoned. Had notice been given me, even after my arrival, or within two years of it, that these charges would have been preferred against me, I should have had full time to procure authentic vouchers and records for my judicial conduct, and witness to such other matters as could not be proved written evidence. Thus misled by appearances, I am called to answer those charges without any evidence but that which I may be able to extract from the very materials which have been compiled against me, and from some few papers which I have casually, not purposely, brought with me." It had been urged that the first article, relating to

Nuncomar's execution, was supported by the general sense of mankind; but he observed that, before the sense of mankind in general could be admitted, it would be just to examine by what means it had been acquired. If it was found to be the opinion of the public, founded on an impartial statement of the facts, on ample discussion of the arguments on both sides, on a full investigation of the proceedings, its authority was irresistible, and in that case it might be truly said that vox populi est vox Dei. But, if partial representations had been laid before the public; if one side of the question only had been stated; if no inquiry had been made into the facts; if it turned out that the public had been abused and misled; then the public opinion would be of no value, and to give weight to it would be to deliver up the lives, properties, and fame of the best men to the rage of partisans and the virulence of libellers, the base and mercenary instruments of every malignant and unprincipled faction. "It is now twelve years," said he, "since this nation has been deluded by faise and perpetual informations, that the supreme court of judicature had most absurdly, cruelly, and without authority, obtruded the complex and intricate criminal laws of England on the populous nations of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, whose law, religion, and habits were peculiarly abhorrent to them; that a native of Bengal, of high rank, had been tried and convicted on a capital law of England for an offence punishable in the place where it was committed by fine only; that the court which had tried him had no jurisdiction over his person; that he was brought within the limits of the jurisdiction by force, and in that state that the court adjudged that its jurisdiction had attached upon him; and, to sum up all, in the words most deservedly odious to an English ear, he was finally executed under that which, if a law at all, was an ex post facto law." He complained that all kinds of calumnies had been propagated through the press, not merely in daily papers, but in laboured treatises, in histories, in books of travels, fabricated for the sole purpose of disseminating and perpetuating libels of this and a similar tendency, with a more certain effect because less suspected. These authors had dared to make use of the high and respectable names of Sir William Blackstone and Lord Mansfield, as condemning the illegality of the proceedings in the case of Nuncomar, the latter being made to call the execution "a legal murder." He read a letter written by Blackstone, who was recently dead, to express his admiration of the high reputation which he (Sir Elijah) and his colleagues had acquired by their prudent and impartial administration of justice in India; he prided himself on enjoying the favourable opinion of Lord Mansfield, who was living, and in full possession of his faculties, though at a very advanced age, and he assured the House that, so far from using any such expressions, that noble lord had declared that he had never formed any opinion upon Nuncomar's case,—that the assertion was an absolute falsehood,

and that he authorised him so to contradict it. The name of another great lawyer, Lord Ashburton (Dunning), had also been introduced to add to the weight of the popular condemnation. He read a letter from that nobleman expressly to the point, and containing his full approbation of Nuncomar's trial.* Dunning, like Blackstone, was in his grave, and Lord Mansfield, as full of honour as of years, had recently retired from the beach. "These," said Sir Elijah, "were not men who would hold correspondence with judges guilty of a legal murder; these were not men who would be volunteers in applauding such conduct; they were great lawyers in their day; they are gone, and almost a new generation has succeeded them. Though it has been given out authoritatively, and propagated in print to prejudice my cause, I shall not, till I am convinced by fatal experience, be induced to believe that the gentlemen of the same profession now in this House can so totally differ in opinion from them as to have reprobated my conduct and prejudged me unheard. My defence depending chiefly on matters of law, my reliance is on no personal favour, but on their professional ability to determine on matters of law, and their characteristic habit not to condemn, not to reprobate, without a hearing. And alteram partem is a maxim acknowledged to be equitable by all who know what justice is; but it is engraven on the heart of every honest lawyer." After recapitulating the several articles contained in the charge about Nuncomar, as that he had illegally brought the rajah under the jurisdiction of his court, that Nuncomar had been committed on false and insufficient evidence, that all the proceedings were the fruit of a confederacy between him and Warren Hastings, for the purpose of screening Hastings from a just accusation by accomplishing the death of his accuser, &c., he said that if the premises were true they warranted a more severe conclusion than the words of the charge which pronounced him guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. "If the premises are true," said he, "then I am guilty, not of misdemeanors, but of murder-I am guilty of a murder of the basest, foulest, and most aggravated nature. From such premises that is the only true conclusion. I do not decline it. It would have been justice to have drawn it. My life would then have been furfeit, had I been found guilty: it would have been mercy to have sacrificed that life as an atonement for these enormous crimes, which, if I am convicted of [them], or am to lie under the public imputation of having perpetrated [them], would become a burden too intolerable to be dragged to a distant grave. The substance of this charge has long been before the public, but brought before it in a manner which afforded me

no means of answering it. The weight of it has indeed, borne so heavy on me that nothing but the consolation of my own conscience, indignation for unworthy treatment, and the expectation that the truth would at some time or other be revealed, could have supported me under it. With an overflowing heart I return my thanks to God, and his immediate instrument, my accuser, that he has been pleased to afford me this opportunity, now first given, of disclosing the true state of this so long misrepresented case, and of vindicating my own honour, and the conduct of the much injured judges of the supreme court." After reciting the powers and the extent of the jurisdiction of the court as established by act and charter, he positively averred that, from the establishment of the court till he left Bengal in December, 1783, there had been no indictment tried against any person who was not an inhabitant of Calcutta, nor for crimes not committed in Calcutta. He insisted that Nuncomar was a settled inhabitant of Calcutta, that he was not ignorant of the law, but well acquainted with it, and that the crime with which he was charged was committed in Calcutta. "An Hindu inhabitant of Calcutta," said he, "was as much amenable to the English law in Calcutta as if the said Hindu had been an inhabitant of London. He might with equal propriety object to being tried by any law but that of his native country at the Old Bailey as at the Courthouse in Calcutta. Gibraltar, in the kingdom of Spain, is—Calais, in that of France, was, part of the dominion of this realm: admitting the laws of England to have been introduced into these towns, a French inhabitant of Calais, or a Spanish inhabitant of Gibraltar, having offended against the law under which he dwelt, might with equal reason complain that he was not tried by the law of the place of his nativity, as an Hindu in Calcutta, because that town is situated in Bengal. There is nothing in the quality of an Hindu that makes the law of the country wherein he was born more attached to him than to a Frenchman or Spaniard; -all must be obedient to the law that protects them. It was not till since the seat of government and the collection of the revenues have been brought to Calcutta, that it has become populous by the influx of black inhabitants. The laws have not been obtruded on them, they have come to the laws of England." He affirmed, that long before his time the laws of England, statute and common, had been indiscriminately put in force at Calcutta; that murders, highway robberies, burglaries, felonies of all kinds had been tried in the same manner as at the Old Bailey, and convictions and executions had on them, as well against Hindus, Mussulmans, Portuguese, and other foreign inhabitants, as against those who were more especially called British subjects. Copies of the records of the old court were in the India House, and must be full of such trials. Besides records, and the precedents they established, he had been guided by the charter and by instructions sent out by the court of directors,

Dunning's letter was dated January the 5th, 1778. The passage which Sir Elijah read was thus: "The publication of the trial has been of use, as it has obviated abundance of ridiculous and groundless stories. I see nothing in the proceedings to disapprove of, except that you seem to have wasted more time in the discussion of the privileges of ambassadors than so ridiculous a claim deserved."

showing the new court how to proceed against prisoners not understanding English, how to proceed when any Portuguese, Hindu, or other native of India, not born of British parents, should happen to be prosecuted for any capital offence, which, according to the instructions, "would probably often happen." On legal conclusions and prece-Ments the supreme court would have been justified in trying Nuncomar as an inhabitant of Calcutta or a crime committed in Calcutta: but before proceeding to the trial he made a still more particular search, and found that this specific statute of forgery had been acted on and most completely published to all the inhabitants of Calcutta, and to the Hindus more especially; for he found that in 1765 one Radachurn Metre, an Hindu, had been tried, convicted, and received sentence of death by the former court, for the forgery of the codicil of a will of one Cojah Solomon an Armenian. admitted that this Hindu had not been hanged, but that was because it was the first condemnation for such a crime. "I found," said he, "that the Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta had petitioned the president and council for his respite, not pretending that they were not subject to the laws of Calcutta, but chiefly on this ground,—that till that trial neither they nor the prisoner understood the crime to be punishable by death, it not being so by the country laws. Their petition was solely for mercy in that instance, without any complaint of the law, or desire that it should not in future be executed. In consequence of this application the president and council resolved to recommend the prisoner to mercy in these remarkable expressions - in hopes that the condemnation will be sufficient to deter others from committing the like offence.' It appeared by the records that the East India Company had sent his majesty's pardon; but all my diligence could not furnish me with any comment made on this proceeding; and finding no censure passed upon it by the court of directors or the king's ministers, to whom the case must have been submitted to obtain the pardon, and that the whole passed in the ordinary course of business, and accorded with the other proceedings of the court, I esteemed it a full precedent, more especially as there had been a plain intimation from the governor and council, if the condemnation should not be sufficient to deter the natives from the commission of forgery, that the law would be enforced in future." He read extracts from the company's letter which transmitted to India the pardon for Radachurn Metre; but those extracts scarcely made out Sir Elijah's case, for, instead of showing why it was proper to pardon for this first conviction on the statute, they affirmed that the Hindu ought not to have been convicted at all, as there was a flaw in the indictment which would have caused it to have been quashed in our courts in England, and as there appeared but slender legal evidence to ground a conviction of the prisoner upon. "We are glad," said the directors, "you have interfered in his

behalf." It was alleged in the present articles of charge that Nuncomar had been brought to Calcutta by force, and was there detained as a prisoner at the time of the commission of the crime. "T deny the truth of the fact," said Sir Elijah, "and those gentlemen who were members of the council when Nuncomar was tried, and are now members of this House, must well know the fact is not true. Had it been true, yet, before it could be matter of objection to the judgment, it must be shown it was proved in evidence at the trial; it then would have been made part, and a material part, of his defence; it would have been decisive in his favour: but the contrary was in proof at the trial; he was proved to be a settled inhabitant of Calcutta; no such objection was ever suggested, nor was any attempt made to take him out of the jurisdiction of the court as not being an inhabitant of the town." He said he could trace the story of Nuncomar's being conducted to Calcutta, and detained a prisoner there until the arrival of the supreme court, to no better authority than that of a libellous letter in a book entitled 'Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa,' published in 1782; that the author of that book, from his known connexion, might have received more true information; and that that book, like every libel published on the subject, uniformly endeavoured, as the articles of charge were now doing, to advance the character of Sir Robert Chambers at the expense of his own. As to the part of the charge which alleged that Nuncomar had been convicted on false and insufficient evidence, he requested the House, before they assented to the truth of that proposition, to peruse the whole trial and judge for themselves. As to the mode of execution by hanging, the laws of England left nothing to the discretion of the court, the sentence for the felony being that the convict be hung by the neck until he is dead. To vary was treated by our law books as criminal in the highest degree. "Some," said Impey, "go so far (though certainly too far) as to say that this is not in the power of the king himself; that he may indeed pardon part of the sentence, (as, in high treason, all but beheading,) but that he cannot order execution to be done in a manner variant from the sentence." He declared that before Nuncomar suffered he had the most authentic information that Hindus of all castes, Brahmins included, had been executed by hanging. "I was particularly informed," said he, "by a gentleman formerly a member of the council in Bengal, and now a member of this House, † who has this day repeated to me the same information, that he had himself carried such sentence into execution against two Brahmins, without any disturbance, and even with the consent of the Hindus themselves. The prosecutor who sued for the execution in Nuncomar's case was an Hindu; many of the wit-

^{*} The book referred to is, we suppose, Mackintesh's Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa; 2 vols. 3vo., 1783; of which a French translation appeared at l'aris the same year, and a German translation at Leipsio in 1785.

† Evidently Barwell.

nesses were Hindus; what the sentence must be was well known to the prisoner, the prosecutor, and all the Hindus in the settlement; yet no objection was made by the prisoner or his counsel, before or after the sentence was pronounced, to the mode by which he was to suffer death; no evidence was given of its being shocking to the religious opinions of the Hindus, no mention of it was made in the address of the Hindus.". The articles alleged in the broadest manner that there was a conspiracy between him and Hastings in order to destroy so dangerous a witness as Nuncomar, and inferences to support the assertion were drawn from these circumstances:—that the forgery had been committed five years before Nuncomar was brought to trial before the supreme court; that it had been, and was at the time, the subject of a civil suit in the Dewannee Adaulut, a country court; and that no steps had ever been taken to make it a matter of criminal prosecution, much less of a capital indictment, until Nuncomar had become the accuser of the governor-general. General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Francis had even deposed that in the interval between the forgery and the trial Nuncomar had been protected and employed by Hastings; and this deposition had been inserted in the report of a committee of the House of Commons. Now, in defending himself, Sir Elijah Impey not merely admitted, but insisted upon, the fact asserted by Clavering, Monson, and Francis; and he even cited the evidence of Hastings himself when examined upon oath on the trial of Joseph Fowke and others for a conspiracy against him. This course, if it proved that Nuncomar could not have been tried for forgery before he was tried, proved also that the governor-general had, at least in this case, put himself above the law for temporary political purposes-proved that the guilty could not be prosecuted, previously to the arrival of the supreme court, so long as Hastings extended his protection. Hastings's evidence upon oath, which Impey read to the House, contained, however, a denial of his ever having directly or indirectly countenanced or forwarded the prosecution against Nuncomar. When asked whether he had not had connexions with that rajah, he had said he certainly had; that he had employed him on many occasions; had patronised and countenanced him, though he never had any opinion of his virtue or integrity, and believed the rajah knew he had not.*

The reader may refer back to pp. 116, 117 of the present volume for the positive and pressing orders of the directors to Hastings to countenance Nuncomar and employ him, with all his malice, as an informer against his old rival Mohammed Resa Khan. In the examinations upon eath, quoted by Sir Elijah Impey, Hastings himself said: "I beg leave to add, that, when I employed him as an assistance of government, I might have other motives than my reliance on the man's integrity, motives which did not depend upon me. I might have other motives; I had; I considered it as a point of duty which I could not dispense with. I have, till lately, concealed the research.

employed Nuncomar particularly, Hastings replied, "It was about the removal of Mohammed Ress Khan and the making the new arrangements. His interest and inclination/were contrary to Moham-med Besa Khan's, and he was thought fittees to destroy the influence

was in evidence," said Impey, "at the trial that Mr. Palk, judge of the Adaulut, had once confined him (Nuncomar) for the forgery. It was notorious that Mr. Hastings had ordered him to be released. This of itself was sufficient to prevent any native inhabitant of Calcutta from commencing a prosecution against him, for there was then no other criminal court to resort to but that in which Mr. Hastings presided. It was in evidence also that the prosecutor had it not in his power to commence a criminal suit, even in the court in which Mr. Hastings presided, or in any other court, before the time at which the indictment was actually preferred; for the forged instrument was deposited in the mayor's court, and could not be procured from thence. It was not restored to the party entitled to it till after the records and papers of the mayor's court had been delivered over to the supreme court. One main cause assigned for erecting the supreme court was, that the company's servants either presided in or could influence the other courts. The supreme court, the only court where Mr. Hastings's influence could not extend, sat for the first time towards the end of October. 1774. In June, 1775, at the first effective court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery held by that court, the indictment was preferred and tried. That the endeavouring to procure the papers from the mayor's court was intended as 'a step taken' towards a criminal prosecution, before Nuncomar became the accuser of Mr. Hastings, I have no evidence to prove; but that no effectual steps could have been taken I have given satisfactory proof. As there had been no delay in the prosecution, as the point of time when the prosecution was brought was the first possible point of time when it could be brought, no presumption whatsoever could arise from lapse of time, or the coincidence of the prosecution of Mohunpersaud* with the accusation before the council, or from the unavoidable accident of the prosecution not having been commenced until he had become the accuser of Mr. Hastings. That the accusation was the cause of the prosecution of Nuncomar by another person,—that it had been the subject of a civil suit in the Dewannee court, there was no legal evidence: the proceedings themselves, or authenticated copies, ought to have been shown; parole testimony was not admissible; it did not lie on the prosecutor to produce them. Had they tended to the defence of the prisoner, he should have produced them; his not doing it at least induced a strong suspicion that they would not have made for him. That suspicion was strengthened by the evidence given that he had been imprisoned by Mr. Palk, the judge of the court in which the proceedings were supposed to have been had. The matter, therefore, having

of Mohammed Resa Khan till the new arrangements should be confirmed." These depositions upon oath leave the character of the directors or their secret committee in a lamentalite plight; but they also suggest the doubt that a man who had acted—no matter which its orders—as Hastings had done in these matters might, under every provocation, and the double incentives of policy and revenue of further.

The ostensible prosecutor of Nuncomar.

been in a civil court, as he made it no part of his defence, but chose to keep back the evidence, furnishing a fair presumption against him, it could not with justice have been applied by the court to fling an imputation on the prosecution, nor did it give any appearance that the prosecution bore any relation to the accusation against Mr. Hastings." An this may prove that the supreme court could not have tried Nuncomar sooner than they did; but it does not prove that the governor-general had not chosen the moment for letting loose the proofs of Nuncomar's guilt. But, at the same time, there was nothing in the circumstance of Nuncomar's being in the character of an accuser of Hastings that could stop proceedings against himself upon a separate and unconnected charge, brought forward by a different prosecutor, with different witnesses, and with everything about it different and distinct. "The prosecutor," said Impey, "had a right to demand redress: to have refused it would have been a denial of justice. Had I taken so decided a part as to have flung out the indictment on the ground of the prisoner having been the accuser of Mr. Hastings, how could I have justified the casting that imputation on the prosecution, without any evidence being laid before the court that any accusation existed? Had there been evidence of an accusation, with what justice to the community at large could the court have adjudged that to be a sufficient cause for not putting the prisoner on his trial? If such indemnities were held forth to informers, what man would have been safe in his property, liberty, fame, or life? What kind of informers were likely to be brought forward? Those who by their crimes were subjected to the laws, and had been thereby taught that, by simply preferring accusations, they would be protected from the justice of the laws." After mentioning what was set forth in the charge—as that Nuncomar had accused Hastings of various peculations and other corrupt practices before the council at Calcutta, and that Hastings, instead of confronting his accuser, thought proper, under pretence of his dignity, to decline all defence, and to dissolve the said council at various times-Impey asked how this could affect him, as nothing of the sort had been before him and the court when they were proceeding against Nuncomar? He said that the circumstances were not only not in evidence, but were not known to him and the other judges; that by rumour, and by rumour only, it was known in Calcutta that Nuncomar had preferred some accusations against Mr. Hastings-accusations which, so far from being public, were preferred to the council in their private department, where each ber was under an oath of secrecy. If the prisoner Nuncomar was an object of the special protection of the court, from the circumstances in which he stood as an accuser, that claim should have been laid before the court in evidence, and ought to have formed part of the defence:-they were all matters capable of proof; they were proper subjects to go to a jury. Why were they kept back?

Why were not the court and jury acquainted therewith? "If," continued Impey, "they could leave no doubt in the mind and opinion of the jury, the jury would not have hesitated to acquit the prisoner. If the judges must have been convinced, it would have been their duty to have directed the acquittal. This was the only mode by which protection could have been legally given to Nuncomar: they were not thought sufficient to produce that conviction when the transactions were recent; if they had been, they would have formed a material part of the defence. Why, then, is it averred they must produce such conviction now, at the distance of thirteen years from the transactions?" It was inserted in the charge, and Impey allowed it to be true, that Chambers had made a motion from the bench for quashing the indictment; but Impey urged that this was done more in favorem vitae, and from the natural lenity of Chambers's disposition, than from any sound reason in law. Sir Robert Chambers had wished to try Nuncomar on a statute that did not inflict capital punishment for forgery—the 5th of Elizabeth-thinking it optional in the court to adopt that statute instead of the statute of George II., which made forgery capital. "That it was optional in the court," said Sir Elijah, " to choose the statute which it liked best, I thought impossible: for I understood it to be an undoubted maxim in law, that, whenever a statute constitutes that offence which was a misdemeanor to be a felony, the existence of the misdemeanor is destroyed and annihilated; or, as lawyers express it, the misdemeanor is merged in the felony. The 2nd George II. having made forgery, which was a misdemeanor, both at common law and by the 5th Elizabeth, to be a felony, the offence at law and by the 5th Elizabeth were both merged; and neither the common law nor the 5th of Elizabeth were any longer existing laws with regard to forgery. The 2nd George II. became the only law by which forgery was a crime; the court therefore must have proceeded on that statute or not at all. If forgery was not a capital offence in Calcutta, it was no offence there. If the statute could not have been put in force, it would have operated as a pardon for the offence, which the legislature intended it to punish with more severity. These arguments were made use of by me in court to support the indictment. By these I then understood that Sir Robert Chambers was convinced; he most certainly acquiesced; I never understood him to have been overruled, and his subsequent conduct proves most manifestly that he was not: for he not only sat through the whole trial, but concurred in overruling every objection in arrest of judgment; assented to the summing up of the evidence; was present, and concurred in the sentence." Impey then read a paragraph of a letter written to the court of directors shortly after the trial, and signed by Chambers, the two other judges, and himself, and in which they all asserted that they had in every instance been unanimous, whatever repre-

sentation might be made to the contrary. further showed that all the judges, Chambers included, signed the calendars, which were the only warrants for execution in Calcutta. Nay, still further: he showed that Chambers, on the same day and only a few hours after the execution of Nuncomar, proposed carrying the consequences of the conviction even beyond the execution; and he read a letter in which Chambers suggested that the sheriff should be immediately ordered to seal up, not only the books and papers of the malefactor, but also his house and goods; and that a commission should issue under the seal of the supreme court, to inquire after his effects at Moorshedabad and elsewhere.* Sir Elijah said that, as the charter had not appointed any officer to secure escheats and forfeitures, he did not consider it to be the duty of the court to act as escheator for the crown, and that, therefore, he declined giving any such orders. He asked whether Sir Robert Chambers, after his public concurrence, and his zeal to prosecute the effect of the conviction to its utmost consequence, could wish to be defended by a denial of his approbation both of the judgment and the execution? Sir Elijah had no recollection of any appeal; but he had reason to believe that a petition delivered by the prisoner, desiring to be respited and recommended to his majesty's mercy, had been, after a long lapse of time, confounded with an appeal. If there had been an appeal, it must remain on record and be capable of proof. He quoted the clause of the charter respecting appeals, by which clause the supreme court had full and absolute power to allow or deny appeals. He next quoted the clause relating to respites: by this last clause the supreme court were empowered "to reprieve and suspend the execution of any capital sentence, wherein there shall appear, in their judgment, a proper occasion for mercy;" but in such case they were to transmit to the sovereign a state of the case, of the evidence, and of their reasons for recommending the criminal to mercy. Hereupon Impey argued that neither the law nor the charter required the judges to assign reasons for carrying the judgment into execution; that it was only in case of their not executing it that they were bound to assign their reasons. He maintained that there were no reasons to be assigned for respiting Nuncomar. "Could it," said he, "have been stated as a reason to his majesty that Nuncomar had preferred an accusation against Mr. Hastings? Who was the accuser, and who was the accused? It was notorious to all India that Nuncomar had been the public accuser of Mohammed Reza Khan without effect, though supported by the power and influence of government. He

Chambers said in this letter, "Among his papers it is said there will be found bonds from many persons, both black and white, against whom I conceive that write of scire fluors should be directed by us as suverence coroners."

aguinst whom I conceive that write of early facials should be directed by us as suppressed corollers."

In the recent article in the Edinburgh Roview it is said:—"The Mussulman historian of those times assures us that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing consterfeits of the said of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which, in itself, is by no means improbable."

—No. UXLIX., Art. on Gloig's Life of Hastings.

had been convicted before the judges of a conspiracy to bring false accusations against another member of the council. Against whom was the accusation? Not against Mr. Hastings censured by the House of Commons; not against Mr. Hastings impeached before the House of Lords; not the Mr. Hastings for whom the scaffold is now erected in Westminster Hall; but that Mr. Hastings whom I had heard the prime minister of England, in full parliament, declare to consist of the only flesh and blood that had resisted temptation in the infectious climate of India; that Mr. Hastings whom the king and parliament of England had selected for his exemplary integrity, and entrusted with the most important interest of this Whatever ought to be my opinion of Mr. Hastings now, I claim to be judged by the opinion I ought to have had of him then. What evidence had the judges that the accusation of Nuncomar was true? How could they know that they were screening a public offender in the person of Mr. Hastings, so lately applauded, so lately rewarded, by the whole nation? Ought the judges to have taken so decided an opinion on the guilt of Mr. Hastings, as to grant a paidon to a felon, and assign as a reason that the convict had been his accuser? With what justice to Mr. Hastings could this have been done-with what justice to the community? Who could have been safe, if mere accusation merited indemnity?" Sir Elijah insisted that neither he nor the other judges had prejudiced Nuncomar, or acted unfairly towards him or his witnesses; that, while there was no reason that could justify the court in recommending the prisoner to mercy, there were many against it; that the defence, in the opinion both of the judges and jury, was a fabricated system of perjury; that the jury requested that the prisoner's witnesses might be prosecuted; that after the trial it became matter of public notoriety that the defence had been fabricated, and witnesses procured to swear to it by an agent of the prisoner; and that one of the judges, Mr. Justice Lemaistre, had declared that a large sum of money had been offered to him to procure a respite. In the next place Impev alluded to the attentions and honours paid to Nuncomar while in prison by General Clavering, Monson, and Francis; stating that the secretaries and aidesde-camp of those members of council visited him after his commitment for the felony, and that even the ladies of the families of General Clavering and Colonel Monson were in the babit of sending their compliments to him in the prison. He affirmed, what had already been affirmed upon oath in another place, that Nuncomar, cheered by these flattering attentions-very unusual in such a caseconceived hopes of his being released, through the influence of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, even to the day before his execution, when he wrote a letter to the council for that purpose. After reading the affidavit of Yeandle, the gaoler, Impey read two other affidavits made at the time by two gentlemen at Calcutta who were connected

2 x 2

with the native inhabitants, and who swore that it was an opinion prevalent among them that the rajah would be released by General Clavering or the council. One of these affidavits was that of Mr. Alexander Elliot, a younger brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot, the present accuser of Sir Elijah Impey. Alexander Elliot, who held at the time a civil office at Calcutta, had been conversant with the whole business, and had even interpreted at the trial of Nuncomar. He left India not long after to return to England, and was then intrusted with a discretionary power from Impey and his brother judges to publish the trial if he thought it necessary, it being known to them that very unfavourable representations were current in England. "He," said Impey, " had collated the notes, and had undertaken to bear testimony to the authority of them; he had served voluntarily as interpreter through the whole trial. He pointed out the prevarications of the witnesses; he could have verified the narration from his own memory; and he could have spoken as an eye-witness to my particular conduct at the trial. He lived in that intimacy with me, that I may almost say he made part of my family; and, as no secret of my heart was unrevealed to him, he could have given the fullest and most unequivocal account of my sentiments with regard to carrying the sentence into execution. . . . The calumnies propagated from Calcutta by minutes (of council), secret there, but published, and meant to be published in England, made him use the discretion intrusted to him to refute them. He printed the trial: his testimony could have supported the truth of it; if it could not, no consideration would have prevailed on him to have published a trial with such gross misrepresentations, and, by undertaking the vindication of the judges, to have been instrumental in deceiving the king, his ministers, and the public, in the most abandoned manner. He is unfortunately no more. But, though I am deprived of his living testimony, yet his acts and his character still bear evidence for me." Impey then read a letter from another gentleman eminent in the civil service in India, to show the sense entertained of Alexander Elliot's excellent qualities, and the impression made by his premature death; and he otherwise dwelt upon the subject in a manner to embarrass Sir Gilbert Elliot, the brother of the deceased. "Inventive malice," said Impey, " can do no injury to his memory, except the prosecutor, by maintaining the foul motives charged on me, should, by necessary consequence, fix them on him, and thereby blast his fair fame with unmerited infamy, for the zealous part he took in the investigation of truth." In his correspondence with the secretary of state Impey had referred to Mr. Elliot and to the papers of which he was the bearer, for proofs that nothing relating to the trial was intended to be hid from the English nation. In the same letter to the secretary of state, a copy of which Impey read at the bar, he affirmed that, on a detection of gross practices on the part of the prisoner to suborn witnesses, made before Mr.

Justice Lemaistre and Mr. Justice Hyde, a band of witnesses sent down from Burdwan to give evidence at his trial immediately disappeared; and that it would be seen, on perusal of the trial, that the guilt of the prisoner was proved as strongly from the case he attempted to make out as from the evidence on the side of the prosecution. Sir Elijah also read a letter addressed to himself by Mr. Alexander Elliot, in which that gentleman spoke of the disputes, misrepresentations, and falsehoods of the majority of the supreme council, and pledged himself to be warm in defending the judges. In this letter Elliot said that no expressions could be harsher than what the council deserved-meaning hereby Clavering, Monson, and Francis. Sir Elijah complained that there had never been an instance of so extraordinary a charge against any judge in England, even on a recent cause; and that his own case was the more perilous and the more extraordinary, in his being accused on account of acts done thirteen years before the time at which, and in a country sixteen thousand miles from the place in which he was now called upon to answer for them, and that not only without receiving any notice of the charge, but after having been misled into a security that no such charge would ever be made against him. He reminded the House that his prosecutor, Sir Gilbert Elliot, had not even asserted that he could produce any evidence to show an illegal communication between him and Mr. Hastings or his partizans; that he was without evidence even that Mr. Hastings or his partizans were in any league or combination against the prisoner,—that they had any communication with the prosecutor, or were in any manner instrumental or privy to the prosecution. He said that Hastings himself had been purged on oath on that subject; that the only proof assumed was an inference drawn from the single circumstance that Nuncomar was not capitally indicted till after he had accused Hastings—a circumstance which had been satisfactorily accounted for; and he insisted that, though the fact had been for eleven years the subject of parliamentary investigation, and Hastings's conduct had been most critically scrutinized, nothing had been or possibly could be brought to light to prove any combination against Nuncomar. And yet, continued Sir Elijah, " it is asserted that such a notoriety has arisen as to produce an universal necessary conviction that the whole proceedings were for the purpose of screening Mr. Hastings from justice. That no such universal conviction did ever actually exist, I have the most infallible proofs, or, if it did exist, that the whole body of Armenians and Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta, that all the free merchants, all the grand jury, all the petit jury, Sir Robert Chambers and all the judges, the governor-general and all the council, must have been united in the same horrid combination. For I have in my hand the addresses of all the Armenians, of all the Hindus, of all the free merchants, and of the grand jury, which authorized part, and heard all our proceedings, when those

proceedings were recent.* My portraits now hanging-the one in the town-hall, the other in the courthouse—the one put up soon after this trial, the other on my leaving the settlement-if this notoriety be true, are libels against the inhabitants, the settlement, the judges, advocates, attorneys, and officers of the court, who subscribed no small sum for the preserving my memory amongst them." If the existence of a plot or combination against Nuncomar had been notorious, as described in Sir Gilbert Elliot's charge, how was the conduct of numerous and most respectable classes of men to be accounted for? Was it a universal conspiracy in favour of the governor-general? Was there no man left in all Calcutta with conscience and courage enough to interpose in order to prevent this alleged legal murder? "The alleged notoriety," said Impey, "could not have had any operation on the minds of the grand jury who found the bill, nor of the petit jury who convicted him; nor of Sir Robert Chambers and the other judges who sat through the trial, agreeing and assenting to all the acts of the court; who concurred in giving sentence, in disallowing the appeal (if any there was), in refusing the respite, signing the calendar, and carrying the sentence into execution. Had my conduct been profugate, as it is stated to have been, should not the other judges, instead of concurring, have opposed me in every step? If Sir Robert Chambers had really, as is asserted, thought the proceedings illegal,—if this notoriety had produced this conviction in him,—if he deemed my conduct iniquitous, was not he particularly bound to have taken an active part? Should he not have given a counter-charge to the jury? Should he not, by exposing my corruption and detecting my partiality, have held me up (if I had not sufficiently done it myself) to the detestation of the jury and the whole This has, under similar circumsettlement? stances, been done by honest puisne judges in England: could passiveness and silence in such a case be reconciled to honour and conscience? That this notoriety did not influence the governor-general and council, or that which is called the majority of the council, I am able to give still more convincing proofs from their direct unequivocal official public acts; and by those acts I desire it may be determined whether their opinions are in support of, or in opposition to, the prosecution on this

Sir Elijah insisted that these Calcutta addresses had proceeded spontaneously from the good opinion of those who drow them up and signed them. He said—"To the addresses I know objections have been made, and perhaps will be revived, that they were procured by power and influence. How such influence or power could be derived from the court, cannot, I believe, be easily accounted for. In whom the power and influence of government were then vested, every act of power and every record of the company bave fully published. The company's servants, on whom such power and influence must act most immediately and forcibly, formed the only body that did not join in the addresses. And that the gentleman whose name stood fart on the addresses. And that the gentleman whose name stood fart on the addresses of the free merchants, who had been president of the police, for which a knowledge of the manners and habits of the country was particularly necessary, and for which his long residence in the country had peculiarly qualified him, was, immediately after presenting the address, without any fault objected to him, discharged from his office, and his place supplied by a gentleman who had not been many smonths in the settlement, is a fact which will not be controverted." The gentleman thus thrust into the office of superintendent of the police was Mr. Macrable, brother-is less to Francis.

article." Impey then related one of the most startling circumstances in the whole affair. On the 30th of August, 1775, several days after the execution of Nuncomar, the governor-general and council ordered a paper to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, as containing libellous matter against the judges. The paper was a petition or representation from Nuncomar to the council; but its contents were not published. The judges knew that both this paper, and the proceedings on it, ought to be transmitted to the directors and the king's ministers; and that the paper, though kept secret in Calcutta, would be made public in England. They therefore applied for a copy of the libel. This reasonable request was refused by the council; but Impey said he had obtained from the India House a copy of the libel, and of the proceedings of the council upon it; and these he now read to the Commons. The proceedings were in every way curious. On the 14th of August, just nine days after Nuncomar had been hanged, General Clavering informed the council that, on the 4th of that month, the day before the execution of the rajah, a person, calling himself a servant of Nuncomar, came to his house and sent in an open paper. In presenting the prayer for a respite nine days after death, Clavering said, " As I imagined that the paper might contain some request that I should take some step to intercede for him, and being resolved not to make any application whatever in his favour, I left the paper on my table until the 6th, which was the day after his execution, when I ordered it to be translated by my interpreter. As it appears to me that this paper contains several circumstances which it may be proper for the court of directors and his majesty's ministers to be acquainted with, I have brought it with me here, and desire that the board will instruct me what I have to do with it: the title of it is, 'A Representation from Mahah Rajah Nuncomar to the General and Gentlemen of Council." Francis thought that the paper ought to be received and read. Barwell, who always voted with Hastings, could not understand by what authority General Clavering thought he might at his own pleasure keep back or bring before the board a paper addressed to them; or how the address came to be translated for the particular information of the general before it was presented to the council. "If the general," said he, "thinks himself authorized to suppress a paper addressed to the gentlemen of council, he is the only judge of that authority; for my part I confess myself to be equally astonished at the mysterious air with which this paper is brought before us, and the manner in which it came to the general's possession, as likewise at the particular explanation of every part of it before it was brought to the board." The astonishment expressed by Barwell must be felt by every one that reads these strange transactions, nor will it be diminished by the explanation given by Clavering. The general said, in reply to Barwell, that until he had put the

paper into the hands of his translator he could not know what it meant; that the first day the council met after his knowing the contents—that is to say after Nuncomar had been hanged-he brought the paper to the board, but, the board not having gone that day into the secret department, he did not think it proper at that time to introduce it. Colonel Monson thought that the paper ought now to be received and read. Hastings said, "I do not understand this mystery. If there can be a doubt whether the paper be not already before the board. by the terms of the general's first minute upon it, I do myself insist that it be produced, if it be only to give me an opportunity of knowing the contents of an address to the superior council of India, excluding the first member in the title of it, and conferring that title on General Clavering; and I give it as my opinion that it ought to be produced." Clavering replied that the address did not bear the meaning which Hastings gave it; and that, at all events, he was no more answerable for the title of the paper than he was for its contents. It was then resolved that the paper should be received and read. Hastings then moved that, as the petition contained expressions reflecting upon the characters of the chief justice and judges, a copy of it should be sent to them. Francis objected that to send any such copy would be giving the thing more weight than it deserved. "I consider," said he, " the insinuations contained in it against them as wholly unsupported, and of a libellous nature; and if I am not irregular in this place, I would move that orders should be given to the sheriff to cause the original to be burned publicly by the hands of the common hangman." Mr. Barwell had no objection to the paper being burned by the hangman; but he agreed with the governor-general in thinking that a copy ought to be delivered to the judges. Colonel Monson, on the contrary, apprehended that the board, by communicating the thing to the judges, might make themselves liable to a prosecution for a libel. He added-" The paper I deem to have a libellous tendency, and the assertions contained in it are unsupported. I agree with Mr. Francis in opinion that the paper should be burned under the inspection of the sheriff by the hands of the common hangman." General Clavering also agreed with Francis that the paper ought to be burnt at once without saying anything to the judges about Hastings, on the other hand, urged that the people of Calcutta formed but a very small part of that collective body commonly called the world. "The petition itself," said he, "stands upon our records, through which it will find its way to the court of directors, to his majesty's ministers, and in all probability will become public to the whole people of Britain." Francis begged leave to observe that, by the same channel through which the directors, ministers, and British public might be informed of the contents of the paper, they would also be informed of the reception it had met with, and the sentence passed upon it by the board.

"I therefore hope," said he, "that its being destroyed in the manner proposed will be sufficient to clear the character of the judges, so far as they appear to be attacked in that paper; and, to prevent any possibility of the imputations indirectly thrown on the judges from extending beyond this board, I move that the entry of the address from Rajah Nuncomar, entered in our proceedings, be expunged." The will of the majority was acted upon; the entry was expunged; the translation was destroyed, and the original, without any copy being sent to the judges, was publicly burned with all due solemnity, not by the common hangman, for there was none in Calcutta, but by the common gaoler. If Francis could have burned all the minutes in the council now raked up against him it would have been well for him! After reading all these minutes, Sir Elijah Impey said that, notwithstanding the anxiety of Francis* that every memorial of Nuncomar's petition or representation should be destroyed, he possessed an authentic copy of it, with the translation corrected by Hastings, who had given him the copy. Hastings, continued Impey, "thought it no more than common justice to the judges to give it to me, and, as it was in the secret department of government, he delivered it to me under an oath of secrecy, not to disclose it in India except to the judges: except to them it has not been disclosed to this day, when it is called forth by necessity for my defence." As Hastings was bound by his oath of office to keep, secret what passed in the secret department of government, he was guilty of perjury in giving the paper to Impey. His binding Impey in an onth of secrecy could not cover the breach of his own oath: the manœuvre was characteristic of the man; the perjury committed was certainly not of a heinous nature; but perjury it nevertheless was, and a breach of official trust and duty, rendered necessary in the eyes of Hastings and of Impey by the infamous proceedings and ill-concealed intentions of Clavering and Francis. At the desire of the House Sir Elijah Impey afterwards delivered in a facsimile copy of the original translation of the paper, with Hastings's interlineary corrections. paper, after enumerating the rank, honours, and high employments of Nuncomar, said, that many English gentlemen had become his enemies, and, having no other means to conceal their own actions, revived an old affair which had repeatedly been found to be false; that the prosecutor was a notorious liar, and had been treated as such by the governor-general, who had turned him out of his

* In his examination before the committee of the whole House on the 16th of April, Francis said:—" My secret predominant motive for proposing to destroy the original paper produced by General Clavering was to save him and him alone from the danger to which he had exposed himself by that rash, inconsiderate action; yot the step I took was not immediately taken on my own suggestion. As soon as Mr. Hastings proposed that a copy of the paper should be sent to the judges, Colonel Monson started at it, and desired me to go with him to another room. He then said, 'I suppose you see what the governor means. If the judges get possession of the paper Clavering may be rained by it.' My answer was, 'Why, what can they do to him?' To that he replied, 'I know not what they can do; but, since they have dipped their hands in blood, what is there they will not do?' He tion desired me to move that the original paper be destroyed by the hands of the common hangman."

house; that the English gentlemen had become the aiders and abettors of this notorious liar, and that Lord Impey and the other justices had tried and condemned the writer, Nuncomar, by the English laws, which were contrary to the customs of the country, &c.* Sir Elijah Impey argued that General Clavering's sense of the propriety of allowing no respite must appear from the whole of his conduct, and from the mode in which he treated that paper after he received it. He also cited Clavering's testimony on oath, by which it appeared he did not consider that the prosecution of Mr. Hastings at all depended on the evidence If General Clavering thought of Nuncomar. there were circumstances in the case which ought to render Nuncomar a proper object for mercy, could he have defeated the petition of the unhappy convict, by detaining his paper until it could be of no possible use to him? That paper was no private address to the general, but an address to the board at large, whose sense he would not suffer to be taken on the propriety of recommending him to mercy, as he never produced the paper until days after the execution! If the paper was unsupported then, what new matter had arisen to support it now? If it was not good to obtain mercy for Nuncomar, how could it be good to bring down impeachment and punishment upon Sir Elijah Impey? What could make that a just accusation now which was held to be false and libellous then? Continuing his long speech, Impey closed the horns of a dilemma upon Francis until they went through and through him. "That the paper itself," said he, "should have survived, is hardly more providential for me, than that the gentleman who moved for the condemnation of it, and who expressed his hopes that it would prevent any possibility of the imputations indirectly thrown out against the judges from extending beyond that board, is the only surviving member of that majo-From him, who, to prevent its extending beyond that board, had with so much solicitude procured the paper to be expunged from the proceedings, I hope I may be thought to have some claim to expect that these imputations will not be encouraged in England: should, nevertheless, such imputations have been suggested by any member or members of the council (and I am sorry to say that their secret minutes show that there have), I am in the judgment of the House,

The paper, which was in the first person, went on:—"Taking the evidence of my enemies in proof of my erime, they have condemned me to death. But, by my death, the king's justice will let the actions of no person remain concealed; and, now that the hour of death approaches, I shall not, for the sake of this would, be regardless of the next, but represent the truth to the gentlemen of the council. The forgery of the bond, of which I am accused, never proceeded from me. Many principal people of this country, who were acquainted with my honesty, frequently requested of the judges to suspend my exceution till the king's pleasure should be known, but this they refused, and unjustly take away my life. For God's sake, gentlemen of the council, you who are just, and whose works are truth, let me not undergo this injury, but want the king's pleasure. If am unjustly put to death I will, with my family, domaind justice in the next life. They put me to death out of enmity, and from partiality to the gentlemen who have betrayed their trust; and, in this case, the thread of life being out, I, in my last moments, again request that you, gentlemen, will write my samp particularly to the just king of Kaglasd. I suffer, but my isnocence will certainly be made known to him."

whether it would not be a precedent of dangerous tendency to admit secret communications and private informations in evidence from any persons whomsoever to disavow and contradict their own solemn official unanimous acts entered upon public records—on records required by act of parliament to be transmitted to his majesty's ministers as authentic information both of their acts, and their reasons for their acts." Sir Elijah said that. as he had been charged as an individual, so he had defended himself as an individual. "But." added he, "though called to answer as for acts done by me singly, those acts not only were not, but could not have been, done by me individually: I was one member sitting in a court consisting of four members; all the four members concurred in the acts imputed to me; my voice singly and by itself could have had no operation; I might have been overruled by a majority of three to I was not more concerned in the proceedings than any other judge; I was less so than two. Informations had been laid against the criminal before two of the judges [Lemaistre and Hyde], who, by committing him for felony, had applied this law to his case without my knowledge or privity. I was, indeed, applied to by the council as to the mode of his confinement; I had no right to revise the acts of the judges; their authority was equal to mine; I did what humanity required; I made the strictest inquiries of the pundits, as to the effect of his imprisonment on his caste and religion; I learned they could not be hurt. I gave directions to the sheriff that he should have the best accommodations that the gaol would afford; the gaoler and his family quitted their apartments and gave them up to him; I directed that every indulgence, consistent with his safe custody, should be granted him. Those only were my individual acts, and they appear on the report of your committee. If it had been just so to do, it was not I, but the court, which must have afforded protection to the criminal because he was the accuser of Mr. Hastings; it was not I, but the court, that must have quashed the indict ment; it was not I, but the court, which retained the prosecution; had Sir Robert Chambers been overruled, it was not I, but the court, that could have overruled him; it was not I, but the whole court, that rejected the appeal (if there was an appeal),—that refused the respite, and carried the sentence into execution. ALL signed the calendar; I executed no act of authority as a magistrate, but sitting in open court, assisted by all the judges: even those acts which are particularly objected to me, as mine individually, though I was only the channel of the court to pronounce them, are not my individual acts; as chief justice, I presided in the court, and was the mouth of the court; all questions put, all observations made by me, were with the judges sitting on my right hand and on my left; those questions and those observations were not mine, but the questions and observations of the court. I did not presume to make observations in my summing up to the jury, without having first communicated with the judges, and taken their unanimous opinion on every article. As no act is imputable solely to me, so there is no motive in the whole charge assigned for my conduct that is not equally applicable to every other judge; nor is there one allegation that exonerates the other judges, and applies them specifically to me; if they are true with regard to me, they are true as applied to every judge of the court. The notoriety of the injustice of the proceedings applies to all, and gives an equal ground of conviction that all the judges were in a combination to sacrifice an innocent man for the purpose of screening Mr. Hastings from justice; all must have shown an equally determined purpose against the life of the criminal; all had equal knowledge of the accusation, the proceedings in council, and the conduct of Mr. Hastings; all knew equally the credit of the witnesses, and the infamy of the unnamed witness. There is no stage of the business where they are not all as much implicated in the motives as I could be; yet I alone am called to answer, whilst they, if this charge be true, are still administering justice in Bengal notoriously branded with infamy, are still judging on the lives of men with hands stained with blood! I say this as necessary to my defence, I most solemnly protest, and most anxiously request, that it may clearly be understood that I do not entertain the most distant wish that any judge of the supreme court should meet with the same fate which I have experienced, after long and faithful services in so inhospitable a climate, in their decline of life, and be dragged from their tribunals to appear as criminals at this bar."

This defence, which occupied two days in the delivery, produced a deep and lasting impression. Pitt was heard to affirm that, if he had been placed in the same situation, he could not say but that he should have acted precisely as Sir Elijah Impey had done. It was quite clear that the prosecution would speedily be dropped. With the exception of the documents included in it, Sir Elijah had delivered his defence as an extempore speech, not reading it drily and heavily as Hastings had done. Accordingly, when asked whether he would leave the House a copy of it, he said he could not, as he had not written it out, and had spoken hurriedly and under great agitation of feeling; but soon after a full report of the speech appeared, evidently drawn up by himself or under his own superintendence.* Both Fox and Burke expressed their regret that the specific charges upon the table of the House had not been metaly

a specific written defence, a circumstance which, they said, must cause the House much inconvenience. On the second day, before Sir Elijah was called in, Francis rose to take notice of a serious charge which had been brought against him, and to move that Sir Elijah should be required to deliver to the House the original paper read by him as the translation of the petition of Nuncomar. "The reason," he said, "why he called for the original paper was, because Sir Elijah had stated at the bar that it was delivered to him by Mr. Hastings, and that it contained alterations in his handwriting. He wanted, therefore, to see what those alterations were, which he could not unless the original paper was deposited on the table." The premier, the solicitor-general, the master of the rolls, and other gentlemen of the robe, strongly objected to this motion, for which, although supported by Burke and Fox, was at length substituted the amendment, that the speaker should ask Sir Elijah if he had any objection to produce a copy of the paper in question. Sir Elijah, upon being called in, answered that he had no objection. The said paper, and still more the history attaching to it, copied from the records in the India House, tended greatly to incense and irritate a man who was naturally one of the most irritable of mankind. And, indeed, in various other ways, sad havoc was made on the character of Francis in the course of these proceedings against Sir Elijah Impey. When the party friends of Francis were applauding him as the most honourable, upright, and incorruptible of men, Major Scott spoiled the eulogium by speaking of the large fortune which that six years member of council had brought with him from India; and the allusion produced all the effect intended, as it was universally known that the man who had never held any higher appointment in England than that of a clerk in the war-officeand even that appointment he had lost some considerable time before he went to Calcutta-was now in possession of a splendid revenue. Scott, too, proposed applying in this instance the searching test which had been originally included in Pitt's India bill. "Before I join in applauding his integrity," said the major, "I require it be proved by the only possible way in which his integrity can be proved. Let him come fairly, boldly, and honestly forward as Lord Macartney has done; let him state that he left England in debt, that he was six years in India, that his expenses at home and abroad were so much, and his fortune barely the difference between the amount of his expenses and the amount of his salary. When the honourable gentleman shall have done this, I will join the committee with cheerfulness in pronouncing Mr. Francis te be one of the honestest men that ever came from Bengal. But, until he shall submit to this only true test of his integrity, I shall pay no attention to the animated panegyrics of his friends." Francis made no reply, nor ever showed any inclination to submit to such an ordeal. Moreover, it was

^{*} The speech, which together with the copious appendix fills an octave volume of 244 pages, was published by John Stockdale, and bears the date of 1788. The advertisement states that "the editor of this speech," took accurate notes of it when it was delivered. No editor's tame is mentioned. In every part of the book there is internal evidence that the editor must have been Sir Elijah Impey himself, or some person employed by him, and working under his immediate direction or dictation. A good deal of the matter in the appendix could only have been furnished at the time by Sir Elijah; and no editor or bookseller could have arranged that matter, or have furnished the notes and comments upon it and upon the matter contained in the speech.

pretty well known that Francis, who as he grew older grew into something very like a miser, was exceedingly fond of money, and capable of many little sordid tricks which are altogether incompatible with the high and generous qualities of that fanciful portrait his party were attempting to draw for him. On this day Sir Elijah Impey claimed the protection of the House against certain libellous public prints, which were daily circulated to injure his cause. He was ordered to produce them the day following, when, upon the motion of Mr. Grenville, they were declared to be scandalous and seditious libels upon the House, and tending to prejudice the minds of the public against an accused individual; and an address was presented to the king to direct the attorney-general to prosecute the publishers.* When Sir Elijah had finished his answer to the Nuncomar charge, he submitted to the House that his mind had been so strongly affected, and his health so much impaired by the horror he had felt at the charge of having committed a deliberate legal murder, that he was unequal to the exertion of going into his defence upon the other articles before he was acquitted of the first. He said that the rest were so light in comparison with this, that, if it were decided against bire, he was indifferent to their going at once to the bar of the Lords, without any further discussion. To this request Sir Gilbert Elliot readily consented. On the 11th of February, and the following days on which the House sat in committee, Mr. Thomas Farrer, who had acted as counsel to Nuncomar upon his trial, and who was now a member of the House of Commons, was examined as a witness, standing in his place as a member. His evidence in nearly every essential particular confirmed what Impey had himself said. He showed an attested copy of the warrant of commitment for the forgery, which was not signed by Impey, but by Justice Lemaistre and Justice Hyde; he showed that it was impossible to have tried Nuncomar either sooner or later; he declared, in the plainest language, that two of the judges concurred on every point with the chief justice, and that Chambers, after his first doubt as to the statute upon which the prisoner ought to be tried, sat on the bench, silent and to all appearance acquiescent; he spoke, as every one who knew him appears to have done, with the warmest feeling of the character of Mr. Elliot, who had acted as interpreter, and afterwards superintended the publication of the trial; he stated that the civil proceedings in the court of Dewannee Adaulut were not given in evidence at the trial by either party, and that the reasons why he as counsel for the prisoner did not give them in evidence were, 1. That Nuncomar's witnesses had in several material points contradicted each other. 2. That the plaintiff had expressly charged the instrument in ques-

tion to be a forgery. 3. That when Nuncomar had this alternative offered him by the plaintiff, either to leave the matter to arbitration or to make oath that his demand was just and the bond no forgery, he appeared to have declined both the one and the other. 4. That when Nuncomar found the court, in consequence of his refusal, were proceeding to judgment, and that he would no longer be allowed to protract the decision by introducing from time to time new witnesses, he had then agreed to arbitration. Farrer also stated that these proceedings in the Dewannee Adaulut had commenced only at the end of 1773, and had terminated on the 9th of June, 1774, (five months before the arrival of Impey and the supreme court,) by the reference to arbitration. He informed the House that the trial for the capital offence had lasted several days, having ended on the 15th of June, or rather on the 16th, about four o'cleck in the morning; and that all the proceedings, with the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, had appeared to him fair and unprejudiced. He said that a petition of appeal had been drawn up and presented; that this paper was not drawn up by him nor presented by him, but by Mr. Brix, another advocate, who had assisted him in the defence, and that he could not take it upon himself to say that Mr. Brix had stated to him whether Sir Elijah Impey was present or not when the petition of appeal was presented. Farrer also stated that an attempt was made by himself to induce the jury to recommend the prisoner to the judges for a respite; and that Mr. Robinson, the foreman of the jury, had peremptorily refused to join in such recommendation, upon the grounds that his conscience would not permit it, and that the high opinion be entertained of the judges would not allow him to doubt that, if they thought Nuncomar a proper object of mercy, they would themselves have recommended him for the king's pardon. Farrer produced and read Robinson's letters, as also the original of a petition which was signed by only one of the jury of twelve. He said that his next step was to endeavour to ascertain whether the governor-general and council would receive a petition addressed to them, and then enclose it with their recommendation to the four judges. Knowing, as every man in Calcutta did, that it was of no use to apply to the minority (Hastings and Barwell), Farrer resolved to speak with the majority, Clavering, Monson, and Francis, who were all to be at a party given by Lady Anne Monson. He called Francis aside and explained the business to him first. Francis, he said, made no objection, but, when they called Clavering and Monson into consultation, Clavering, without hesition, positively refused to interfere, assigning as his reasons "that it was a private transaction of Nuncomar's own, that it had no relation whatever to the public concerns of the country, which alone he, the general, was sent out to transact, and that he would not make any application in favour of a man who had been found guilty of forgery, nor,

^{*} Fex and other members wished the House to take the punishment of the publishers into their own hands, as the mode of prosecution recommended by Mr. Grenville tended to bring the privileges of the House before inferior courts; but the original motion was carried b) a large majority.

indeed, did he think it would do any good." Colonel Monson agreed with the general, and therefore the matter was dropped. Farrer had been told that Nuncomar's son-in-law had afterwards presented a petition either to Impey in person, or had left it at his house, but he was not sure which, and he had only the word of an Hindu for the fact. He read a petition from the native inhabitants of Calcutta, Moorshedabad, and other places, but he believed that it had neither been signed nor presented—that it was not even approved of by the Hindus. He said he had been informed that some of these people had prepared another petition, according to their own ideas, and presented it to the chief justice, but he had never seen it, and in fact knew nothing about it of his Farrer, who had frequently own knowledge. visited Nuncomar in prison, declared that he had never complained of harsh treatment.* He made prominent the fact that more than seven weeks were allowed to elapse between the sentence and the execution of the prisoner. He admitted, however, that there had been no person capitally executed during all the time he was in India, save Nuncomar. Concerning the petition sent by Nuncomar to Clavering the day before the execution he knew nothing either directly or indirectly. When asked whether he apprehended that Nuncomar himself supposed forgery to be a capital offence, he questioned the propriety of his answering that question; and, upon the question being repeated, he said he could not answer it as he knew nothing about it. It is quite clear, as stated by Sir Elijah Impey, that Nuncomar must have been aware of the former trial and capital conviction for forgery; but, as in that case the convict was pardoned, the impression on the mind of the old rajah may have been vague and confused.

As there has been great unfairness in nearly every account extant of these proceedings; as far too large a share in them has been universally attributed to the chief justice; as the charges and specific allegations against Sir Elijah Impey have been given at full length, and his answers to them nearly everywhere suppressed or slurred over in the most careless and hurried manner, we have devoted much more space to the subject than we should otherwise have done. But we must now hasten to a close, trusting that the matter we have laid before the reader will enable him to form an impartial opinion, and apportion the blame-for blame there was, even though the conviction and execution were strictly according to the letter of the English law-among all the parties concerned. On the 20th of February Mr. Rouse, who had ormerly presided in the Dewannee Adaulut, before which the civil cause was brought, and who was now a member of the House of Commons, was examined in his place. The committee also examined Mr. Samuel Tolfrey, who was under-sheriff

of Calcutta at the time of the arrest, trial, and execution, and Mr. James Durnford, who had been clerk to Mr. Justice Lemaistre. Durnford said nothing to the point, pleading that deficiency of memory which is common to unwilling witnesses; but Tolfrey spoke out with fulness and apparent frankness, and his depositions tended to strengthen the case for Sir Elijah. When asked whether Francis had ceased all friendly intercourse with Impey after the condemnation of Nuncomar, he said that he certainly had not, but that he believed there was, for a time, a suspension of friendly visits between them on account of a civil suit against Francis in the supreme court, i. e. the crim. con. action brought by Le Grand against Francis. Tolfrey could speak with some confidence on the latter subject, as he was attorney to Francis in that cause. He declared that the verdict in that case was given contrary to the opinion of Sir Robert Chambers; that Justice Lemaistre was then dead; that Justice Hyde and the chief justice agreed in the judgment, the reasons for which Sir Elijah gave at full length, to the evident dissatisfaction of Francis, the defendant.

On the 26th of February Francis rose to defend himself against some but not all of the charges and imputations which had been brought against He strongly called the attention of the committee to the irregularity of the proceeding by which Sir Elijah had become possessed of the translation of Nuncomar's last petition, exultingly reminding them that that transaction had passed in the secret department of government, and thence deducing the inference that the information possessed by Sir Elijah Impey was a positive proof of collusion between him and Mr. Hastings, who had evidently betrayed his colleagues, and his trust to the chief justice! This was a thrust with a two-edged sword; but it was likely to injure Hastings much more than Impey. He entered into a long detail on the subject of his own conduct in proposing the suppression of the petition; declaring, upon his honour, as, he said, he was ready to do upon his oath, that the protection of Clavering, or his extrication from the awkward predicament in which they feared he had involved himself, was the principal motive with Colonel Monson and himself for getting the paper destroyed. "As Mr. Hastings," he added, "entirely agreed with us in everything we did relative to the paper, I never had a doubt that all the translations of it were destroyed, until Sir Elijah produced a copy of it at the bar of the House-a copy, of the authenticity of which you have no evidence, and which, admitting it to be authentic, must have been obtained by means the most unjustifiable; by means which prove, what we always suspected, that we were betrayed by one of our own boards Sir Elijah Impey, and by means which prove to demonstration the collusion and confederacy that subsisted from the first between Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Hastings." On the 29th Mr. Edward Baber, who had been clerk of the court which tried and convicted

This witness also said emphatically: "I never heard, to the best of my recollection, any complaint of the want of humanity in Ser Elyah Impey, or of any other of the judges."

Radachund Metre for forgery, was called in and examined. Baber had been absent at Moorshedabad at the time of the execution of Nuncomar, and could speak to the impression produced on the natives by the execution, and by the application of the English penal code to their delinquencies His evidence on these particulars bore more against acts and charters, and the barbarous spirit of our statutory enactments, than against the judges or any of those concerned in enforcing the laws. Major Rennell, the able surveyor-general, geographer, and writer, who had owed his promotion to his honourable and most useful office to the discrimination and patronage of Clive, was also examined. The major said that the execution of Nuncomar was a degree of punishment so novel and unexpected, that, pending his trial, and till his execution, nobody supposed he would be executed. Being asked whether they did not know that forgery was a crime? he said they certainly knew it was a crime, but never deemed a capital one; nor was it ever so punished in their courts.*

On the 28th of April, all the evidence being gone through, Sir Gilbert Elliot began his reply to the defence of Sir Elijah Impey. After a very long speech, in the course of which he read the letter from the sheriff describing the execution, + the committee was adjourned to the 7th of May. On the 7th Sir Gilbert resumed his reply, and finished it on the 9th, which was the next day of sitting. The defence of Sir Elijah was undertaken by Sir Richard Sutton, Mr. D. Pulteney, the attorney and solicitor general, and the chancellor of the exchequer, who was exceedingly severe, as he had been before, on the conduct and motives of Francis. Sir Gilbert Elliot's motion, importing that the first charge had been made good, was supported by Fox, Burke, and Colonel Fullarton; but, upon a division, it was lost by a majority of eighteen, the numbers being 73 against 55. On the 27th of May, the day appointed for the committee to sit again, upon the usual motion that the speaker do now leave the chair, the attorney-general opposed the motion, on the ground that the next article of charge, the Patna cause, was then depending before the privy council, and likely to come speedily to a hearing. After a short conversation, in which Pitt again expressed a strong conviction in favour of Sir Elijah, the motion was negatived, even without a division, and the further consideration of the charges was adjourned to that day three months. And thus ended the whole prosecution of the late chief justice of Bengal. The Patna charge came to nothing before the privy council; nor was there ever any attempt made to press any of the other charges or to revive the impeachment in any way

whatsoever. Some of those charges, as those relating to the acceptance of the office in the Sudder Dewannee Adaulut, and the proceedings in Oude and Benares, though far from being of so heinous a character, might possibly have been more difficult to justify than the Nuncomar charge; but, as his accusers never gave Sir Elijah the opportunity of meeting them in the House of Commons or before any public tribunal, it is not safe or fair to say that he might not have been able to give many explanations of his conduct in taking the second wellpaid place, and in collecting the evidence against the Begums in the manner he did. As his defence was certainly a triumphant one upon the only charge that was entered upon, the other charges which were let drop must at least be considered as "not proven;"—nay more, in ordinary reasoning, Sir Elijah is entitled to the benefit of the doubt that he might, if his prosecutors had persevered, have been enabled to disprove them, or extenuate what seems the worst part of them. There was, however, a tribunal to which the chief justice might have appealed, and to which, as far as we know, he never did appeal. We mean to the public at large, and by means of the press. It is true that this appeal was not a matter of obligation or necessity—it is true that the onus probandi lay with his accusers; but still, as the accusations were specified and were spread in all directions, in books, in pamphlets, in parliamentary reports and parliamentary histories, in annual registers, in newspapers, and magazines, it might have been expected that a man anxious for his fair fame, and being both an able lawyer and an accomplished writer, would at some moment have taken up the pen to undo the evil impressions which were made, and which have lasted more than half a cen-

Meanwhile the impeachment of Hastings, in which that of Impey was a mere episode or interlude, had been carried on with all possible activity. A few days before the Christmas holidays the Lords informed the Commons that Warren Hastings. esquire, had delivered in answers to the articles of impeachment, a copy of which answers they sent them for the use of the Lower House. On the 5th of December (1787), after the answers were read short, Burke moved that they should be referred to a committee. This was agreed to. The speaker then desired him to name his committee; upon which, after he had himself been named as the first member by Mr. Pitt, he instantly named Francis as the second. But, when the question was put, this motion was negatived by a majority of more than four to one, the numbers being 97 noes against 23 ayes. Burke hereupon declared that he scarcely knew how to proceed without the valuable assistance of Francis, and that he felt the cause to be in some degree damned by this act of the House. So fully was he convinced of the great utility of the assistance of his honourable friend, that he should feel himself, who knew the subject as well as most men, so exceedingly crippled and 2 n 2

^{* &}quot;And being asked whether the opinion of the people at Dacca, that Mar Rajah Muncomar would not be executed, arose from an idea that it would be impossible to obtain justice against a person of his rank and power? said, that amongst the lower sort of people he believed it did; but the better sort imagned that it was meant to terrify others from committing forgery by proceeding to sentence. He had long esseed to be a man of power."

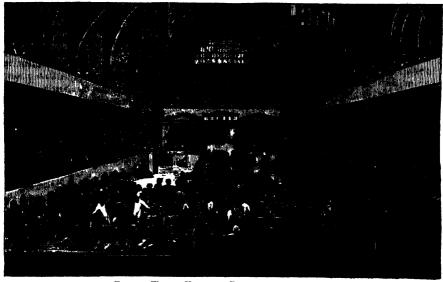
† See ante, p. 187. It should be mentioned that the sheriff who superintended the executions and wrote the famous letter was Mr. Masrabie, the brother-in-law of Francis.

enfeebled without the advantage of his honourable friend's superior information, that, when the day for naming the mext committee should come, he would again appeal to the sense of the House, and try to have his honourable friend reinstated. Meanwhile he proceeded to nominate the rest of the committee, which consisted of the same persons as the preceding one, with the omission of Francis and the addition of Wilbraham, Fitzpatrick, and Courtenay, and which was armed with the usual powers. Fox said that they were rejecting from the committee the man the most proper to be upon it; but, as the gentlemen on the ministerial benches had thus created a vacancy, he thought it but proper that they should fill it up with some person well acquainted with India affairs; and he archly suggested that the leading member of the India Board (Dundas) would be the proper man. Neither Dundas nor any of his friends condescended to notice Fox's suggestion. Two days after this Burke brought up from the committee a replication to the answers of Hustings, in which the Commons, in the usual form, averied their charges against the said Warren Hastings to be true, and declared their readiness to prove the same against him, at such convenient time and place as should be appointed for that purpose. On the next day of sitting this replication was ordered to be carried by Mr. Burke up to the Lord, who appointed Wednesday, the 13th of February (1788), for proceeding upon the trial in Westminster-Hall. then became necessary to appoint a new committee of managers; and, after it had been agreed to, on the motion of Burke, that the committee to whom it was referred to consider the answer of Warren Hastings should be the said managers, Fox rose and moved that Philip Francis, esq., should be added to the committee. He carnestly implored the House to reconsider their former vote. He said the Commons, or their committee, were not now acting as the judges of Mr. Hastings; they were not even sitting in the character of a grand jury to decide whether or not a bill of indictment should be found against him; they were now become his prosecutors. Whatever objection might be urged to Mr. Francis as the judge of Mr. Hastings, there could be no objection to his appearing as his accuser. Fox again eulogised Francis as a man of immaculate virtue, and used many arguments to prove his peculiar fitness for a place in the committee. He was followed by Wyndham, who chimed in with the panegyric and insisted that no reasonable ground could be laid for the rejection of Francis. Pitt, who was not generally supposed to have much feeling of any kind, though he btless had more than his cold stiff manners betrayed, contended that this was not a question of argument, but a question of feeling. He thought that it was delicate and proper for the House to take from the impeachment every appearance of improper motives, and to exclude from the committee the only person in the House that had been concerned in a personal combat with Mr. Hastings. He said that

it was impossible that the prosecution sould be injured through the absence of Francis, who had already given all the materials he could furnish, and would be always at hand not merely to be consulted but also to be examined at the bar. Grenville took the same view of the case, and supported it with nearly the same arguments. Francis rose to declare that, though he had quarrelled with Hastings for six long years, and had fought him, and been wounded by him almost mortally, the quarrelling and the fighting had all arisen out of public matters, and that therefore he was not to be considered as the private personal enemy of Hastings. made rather a long speech, and immediately left the House, who decided that he should not be of the committee by 122 voices against 60. A few days after this vote a letter was addressed to Francis by the managers of the impeachment, in which, after declaring their opinion that they would show very little regard to their honour, to their duty, or to the effectual execution of their trust, if they omitted any means left in their power to obtain the most beneficial use of the knowledge possessed by a person whose conduct and character appeared to them in all respects to merit the highest commendation, they concluded by saying-" We have expressed sentiments in which we are unanimous, and which, with pride and pleasure, we attest under all our signatures, entreating you to favour us as frequently as you can with your attendance in the committee; and you shall have due notice of the days on which your advice and instructions may be more particularly necessary." We believe, nevertheless, we may say that the common feeling of mankind since has gone along with the vote of the House; and that Francis has been generally thought to have shown quite as much moral obtuseness as intellectual acuteness in his conduct on this occa-"His local knowledge and his habits of business," says a recent writer, "were of invaluable service to the managers: he excrted his whole energies in a cause so near his heart from every principle and from all personal feelings; nor could he ever be taught to understand why the circumstance of his being the private enemy of the man. as well as the public adversary of the governor, should be deemed an obstacle to his taking this The motives of delicacy, which so many thought that he ought to have felt on this subject, were wholly beyond his conception: for he argued that the more he disliked Mr. Hastings, the wider his grounds of quarrel with him were, the more natural was it that he should be his assailant; and the reason for the House of Commons excluding him by their vote from a place among the managers surpassed his powers of comprehens Had the question been of making him a judge in the cause, or of appointing him to assist in the defence. he could well have understood how he should be deemed disqualified; but that a prosecutor should be thought the less fit for the office when he was the more likely strenuously to discharge its duties of bringing the accused to justice and exacting punishment for his offences, because he hated him on private as well as public grounds, was a thing to him inconceivable. It never once occurred to him that an impeachment by the Commons is like the proceedings of an inquest; that the managers represent the grand jury acting for the nation, and actuated only by the love of strict justice; and that to choose for their organ one who was also known to be actuated by individual passions would have been as indecorous as for the prosecutor in a common indictment to sit upon the grand jury, and

accompany the foreman in presenting his bill to the court."*

In the mean time the magnificent old hall, which the second of our Norman kings had built for very different purposes, was prepared and decorated as a grand court of justice. Benches, stages, and boxes were erected, and the grey walls were hung with scarlet. On the appointed day (the 13th of February), at eleven o'clock in the morning, all the magnates of the land began to crowd within those walls. Her majesty and her daugh-



TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS From a Painting by Dayes.

ters, with the princesses Elizabeth, Augusta, and Mary, took their places in the Duke of Newcastle's gallery before the peers arrived. Near one hundred and seventy fords, robed in gold and ermine, and marshalled by the heralds under Garter King at Arms, walked in solemn procession from their own House to Westminster Hall, the junior baron present, Lord Heathfield (the excellent old Eliot, who had defended Gibraltar), leading the way, and the procession being closed by the Duke of Norfolk (Earl Marshal of England), by the great dignitaries, by the brothers and sons of the king, and last of all by the Prince of Wales. Above two hundred of the Commons followed their speaker into the hall; but, as very few of them, except Charles Fox, Burke, and the rest of the managers, were in full dress, and as some of them were in boots, those who had critical eyes in these matters complained that they made but a shabby appearance. The managers were attended by the counsel for the impeachment, Drs. Scott and Lawrence, and Messrs. Mansfield, Pigot, Burke, and Douglas. The seats for the Commons were covered with green cloth; the rest of the vast room being all "one red." The twelve judges, in their dresses of state, attended to give advice on

points of law. Galleries were set apart for the accommodation of ambassadors and envoys, for distinguished foreigners, and for distinguished Englishmen who had reached fame and fortune by different paths. Gibbon, the historian of the Roman Empire, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Dr. Parr, Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Mackintosh, with other men of note, were present in that imposing scene. And there were other ladies besides the queen and her daughters. The Duchess of Gloucester, the niece of Horace Walpole, and once the wife of the honest Earl Waldegrave, was there with her young son (the late Duke of Gloucester); Mrs. Fitzherbert was there, with royal accommodations, and looking queen-like; her friend and champion, Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, was there with a crowd of beauties about her; and Sheridan's musical and beautiful wife was conspicuous among them all. Mrs. Siddons also was there, looking, even as a spectatress, the queen of tragedy. When all were seated the sergeaut-at-arms made proclamation, commanding silence, and called upon Warren Hastings, esquire, to come into court. Hastings

* Character of Sir Philip Francis, in Lord Brougham's Historical Sketches of Statesmen

advanced, accompanied by Sulivan and Sumner, his two bail, and, kneeling at the bar in the box assigned to him he was ordered to rise. Precedents had been diligently studied; none of the old forms were omitted, and they all made a deep impression. After a pause the sergeant-at-arms made proclamation again, that, whereas charges of high crimes and misdemeanors had been exhibited by the honourable the House of Commons, in the name of themselves and of all the Commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, csquire, all persons concerned were to take notice that he now stood upon his trial, and that they might come forth and make good the said charges. And when this was done Lord Chancellor Thurlow, with a form and face well adapted to represent the inflexible severity of the laws, then rolled out in his sonorous manner :-- "Warren Hastings, you stand at the bar of this court charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, a copy of which has been delivered to you; you have been allowed counsel, and a long time has been given to you for your defence; but this is not to be considered as a particular indulgence to you, as it arose from the necessity of the case, the crimes with which you are charged being stated to have been committed in a distant place. These charges contain the most weighty allegations, and they come from the highest authority: this circumstance, however, though it carries with it the most serious importance, is not to prevent you from making your defence in a firm and col-lected manner, in the confidence that, as a British subject, you are entitled to, and will receive, full justice from a British court." Hastings replied, both firmly and briefly, that he came to that high tribunal equally impressed with a confidence in his own integrity and in the justice of the court before which he stood. The clerks of the court then proceeded to read the charges and the answers, which they did as long as they had daylight; but about a quarter-past five, when they had only got to the end of the seventh charge and answer, the lord chancellor moved that the lords should adjourn to their own chamber of parliament, and their lordships accordingly withdrew in the order in which they had come, and the assembly broke up. The next day the reading of the charges and answers was continued; and on the next, the third day of the trial, Burke rose to deliver, or to begin, his opening speech, which occupied four days -the 15th, 16th, 18th, and 19th of February. Although the length of it must have wearied some people almost to death, and although a very considerable portion of it must have been above the capacity of most of that brilliant audience, there ere parts and passages that charmed and excited, and terrified and filled with indignation, and produced all the effects attributed to the most successful and triumphant oratory of ancient times. Mrs. Siddons is said to have been as much affected as she affected others by her wonderful acting on the stage. Ladies fainted in the galleries, and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in convulsions: sobs and tears, which as said not all to have proceeded from the gentler sex, were heard and seen in nearly every part of the hall; even Thurlow seemed at moments to be affected. The orator had not reflected on the amplification and exaggeration common to all Oriental people, who neither see with our eyes nor describe with our tongues; who look at everything as if through a magnifying lens, and who heighten in describing by one sense what they have falsely seen with another. This is the case even when they are subjected to no extraordinary excitement, or are agitated by no violent passion: every one that knows anything of the East must be aware of this unvarying spirit of exaggeration in all moods and humours and in the most trite and self-evident matters; but only let the more violent passions, the hatred and the revenge of these Easterns be inflamed, and there is no calculable limit to the range this spirit will take. Some of the Indian ryots had been harshly, and perhaps in some instances barbarously, treated by other natives employed in collecting the revenue. These ryots had afterwards been encouraged by the agents of Francis and Clavering to raise complaints, and their tongues, being once loosened, were sure not to stop so long as they left a monstrosity unmentioned. Francis, who had not been, while in India, scrupulous enough to authenticate or examine these horrible tales, told them all to Burke as if upon undoubted authority; and the orator introduced the essence of them all in his four days' speech, building up a climax of abomination, horror, and guilt out of materials which in good part were only proper for a ghastly Eastern tale of ghouls, and ghins, and other monsters. And these were the things which terrified and made to faint the ladies in the galleries. These appeals to the feelings and passions of the auditory were much too frequent; but there was other matter in this grand oration, or series of orations, that was free from the faults of exaggeration, and that was soberly sublime—there was matter showing a wonderful range of knowledge, a high statesmanlike philosophy, and a beautiful spirit of philanthropy and love. He astonished even those who best knew him and the subject by the vast extent and minuteness of his information, the variety of his resources, and the lucid order in which he arranged the whole for the support of his object. The sober and the best parts # the oration were not, however, those which were the most admired by hearers who went there to have their feelings excited and not their judgment convinced. In the most terrible passages Burke's own excitement was as great as any that he produced in others. In detailing the cruelties of Debi Sing, on the third day, he became almost convulsed himself; he dropped his head upon his hands, and, for some moments, was unable to proceed: he recovered sufficiently to go on a little further, but, being obliged to cease speaking twice at short intervals, the Prince of Wales, to relieve him, moved the adjournment of the court. "The half an hour," said Hastings, "I looked up at the orator in a reverie of wonder; and, during that space, I actually felt myself the most curpable man on earth; but I recurred to my own begon, and there found a consciousness that consoled ma under all I heard and all I suffered." In pronouncing his peroration, on the fourth day, Burke raised his voice to such a pitch as seemed to shake the walls and roof of the antique hall. "Therefore," said he, "it is with confidence that, ordered by the Commons,

"I impeach Warren Hastings, esquire, of high

crimes and misdemeanors.

"I impeach him in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, whose parliamentary trust he has betrayed.

"I impeach him in the name of all the Commons of Great Britain, whose national character

he has dishonoured.

"I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose laws, rights, and liberties he has subverted, whose properties he has destroyed, whose country he has laid waste and desolate.

"I impeach him in the name and by virtue of those eternal laws of justice which he has vio-

lated.

"I impeach him in the name of human nature itself, which he has cruelly outraged, injured, and oppressed, in both sexes, in every age, rank, situation, and condition of life.

"And I conjure this high and sacred Court to

let not these pleadings be heard in vain!"

As soon as the agitation had somewhat subsided Fox rose to address their lordships respecting the course of proceeding to be followed on the trial: he said it was the wish of the committee to proceed to a conclusion, on both sides, upon each article separately, before they opened another article; that is, to open and adduce evidence to substantiate one charge at a time, to hear the prisoner's defence and evidence upon that charge, and afterwards to reply; and to proceed in the same manner with the rest of the articles, one after the other. This was the course adopted in the House of Commons with regard to the charges against Sir Elijah Impey, and it was adopted at Sir Elijah's own request. But Hastings and his legal advisers preferred the opposite course; and, when the lord chancellor called upon Hastings's council to know whether the mode proposed by Fox would be agreeable to them, they answered in the negative. The chancellor then intimated to the committee that their lordships would be glad to know the reasome which induced the managers to call upon the court to adopt that mode. Fox immediately stated that, in a cause of such magnitude and complexity, the mode proposed appeared absolutely necessary, and was calculated to prevent confusion, to aid their lordships' memory, and to enable them to form a more distinct view of the merits of the charge and defence upon each separate article than could possibly be done by running over all the articles before concluding upon any. He mentioned the

cases of the Earls of Strafford and Middleton as precedents. He urged that if the mode adopted for the defence should be the ordinary mode of procedure among lawyers, their lordships must be called upon to decide upon evidence after sey had forgotten the greater part of it; and that such a mass of matter would be offered all at once to their minds as must confound them. The chancellor next called upon Hastings's counsel-three barristers of note-Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough and chief justice of the King's Bench; Dallas, afterwards chief justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer, afterwards vice-chancellor and master of the rolls. These learned gentlemen argued that the mode proposed by Fox was contrary to the practice of all courts of justice, and was inconsistent with all principles of equity, as it subjected the defendant to many obvious and most As for the precedents manifest disadvantages. quoted by Fox, they maintained that in both cases the mode of proceeding was regulated by mutual consent of the parties. Law took this early opportunity of condemning the violent language which Burke had used against Hastings. "The defendant," said he, "has been loaded with terms of such calumny and reproach as since the days of Sir Walter Raleigh were never used at the bar of this House." Fox, interrupting him, said, that, vested with a great trust by the House of Commons, he could not sit still and hear such language applied to an accusation which that House, in the prosecution of high crimes, had carried to the bar of the competent court. The Lords then retired to their own House, and an order was made that they should be summoned to take the matter of the proceedings into their consideration on the Thursday following. On that day Thurlow left the woolsack, and, after pronouncing an eulogium on Burke's great speech in the hall, declared that, if the crimes charged upon the defendant could be proved, no punishment their lordships could inflict would be adequate to his guilt. But he then decidedly took the part of Hastings and his counsel, saying that what they claimed was no indulgence, but a right; that his imagination could not conceive any other possible mode of defending Mr. Hastings than that which his counsel had proposed; that the articles were so intimately blended and mixed up with one another, that he would defy any man living to separate them; that they comprised the whole of Mr. Hastings's government for a long series of years, and that the merits or demerits of particular parts might depend upon the various relations they bore to each other, and upon the construction put upon the great whole. That other great law lord, Loughborough, who always called black what Thurlow called white, took the side of Fox and the ma-

" Their lordships," said Thurlow, "all know the effect of that speech upon the auditors, many of whom had not to that moment, and perhaps mover would, recover from the shock it had occasioned." The shill atmosphere of the immense old hall, at any rate, proved fatal to many of those who attended. Among others, poor Gainstonoush canget a cold at the trial, which aggravated other disorders, and carried him to his grave.

nagers, and spoke at great length to show that the mode of procedure they proposed was the best, and that the high court of parliament was not to be shackled by the rules of the courts below. He then moved that their lordships should agree with the proposition as stated by the managers. Lord Stormont and Lord Grantley replied to Loughborough; the Duke of Norfolk endeavoured to support his arguments; but upon a division the motion was negatived by 88 against 33. When the court met again in the hall, the lord chancellor informed the managers that they must produce the whole of their charges, with the evidence upon each, before the prisoner should be called upon for his defence. After some complaints against this decision, Fox, in a speech which lasted five hours, opened the Benares charge, down to the expulsion of Cheyte Sing; and Mr. Grey followed up and completed the charge on the succeeding day. Several days were then spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses, there being various long disputes as to what evidence ought to be received and what rejected. Anstruther then summed up the evidence admitted, and commented on it as establishing the charge. The court did not meet again till the 15th of April, which was the fourteenth day of the trial. Then Mr. Adam opened the next charge, relating to the Begums of Oude; and on the 15th Mr. Pelham continued the same subject, endeavouring chiefly to refute the defence of that part of his conduct which had been put in by Hastings. The sixteen following days were consumed in reading and examining evidence; and it was not until Tuesday, the 3rd of June, that Sheridan began to sum up the evidence, and apply it in proof of the charge. This was another of the grand displays of Sheridan; but it seems to be generally admitted that his speech was far inferior to the one he had delivered on the same subject in the House of Commons. Yet he had evidently spoiled it in labouring to make it grander and His performance, however, attracted a fuller audience than had yet assembled in the hall: it lasted three days, and the court was crowded to suffocation the whole of that time. It is said that as much as fifty guineas were paid for a single seat. Of the tragments that remain of the speech there are few that convey any notion of the fascination which it certainly exercised over those who heard it from Sheridan's own lips. One passage has often been quoted, not as a specimen of eloquence, but as containing a prompt and happy compliment to the great living historian who was among the auditors and spectators. After describing the treaty of Chunar, and the obligation put by Hastings upon the Nabob of Oude to prunder and offer violence to his own mother and grandmother, Sheridan added—" I do say, that, if you search the history of the world, you will not find an act of tyranny and fraud to surpass this; if you read all past histories, peruse the Annals of Tacitus, read the luminous page of Gibbon, and all the ancient or modern writers that have

searched into the depravity of former ages to draw a lesson for the present, you will not find an act of treacherous, deliberate, cool cruelty that would exceed this." The peroration, as preserved to us in print, is a sonorous roll of words, with a meaning not above commonplace; and it was ended by a downright stage trick. After describing the beauty, the loveliness; and the majesty of British justice, he said-" It is by the majesty, by the form of that justice, that I do conjure and implore your lordships to give your minds to this great business; that I exhort you to look, not so much to words, which may be denied or quibbled away, but to the plain facts—to weigh and consider the testimony in your own minds: we know the result must be inevitable. Let the truth appear, and our cause is gained. It is this, I conjure your lordships, for your own honour, for the honour of the nation, for the honour of human nature, now intrusted to your care—it is this duty that the Commons of England, speaking through us, claim at your hands. They exhort you to it by everything that calls sublimely upon the heart of man, by the majesty of that justice which this bold man has libelled, by the wide fame of your own tribunal, by the sacred pledge by which you swear in the solemn hour of decision, knowing that that decision will then bring you the highest reward that ever blessed the heart of man—the consciousness of having done the greatest act of mercy for the world that the carth has ever yet received from any hand but heaven. My lords, I have done." And, having so said, Sheridan fell back, as if fainting, into the arms of Burke.

The prorogation of parliament was now at hand, and no more work was done in the hall. Of twenty charges only two had been heard, and these remained to be answered in form by Hastings and his counsel. In the meanwhile Mr. Burgess had moved in the House of Commons, "That an account of the money issued from the exchequer for the discharge of the expenses incurred in the impeachment should be laid before the House." The managers made some objection to the motion, which they said they considered merely as an attempt by the friends of Mr. Hastings to vex and impede the committee in the prosecution. The motion, however, was carried, and the account of the expenses was laid upon the table. Exclusive of the buildings or erections in Westminster Hall, they amounted to 43001. The trial had already cost Hastings a much larger sum. Burgess again rose to observe that the account submitted to the House was incomplete, and did not convey all the He demanded to know how information wanted. the money issued had been expended, and he moved that the solicitors to the impeachment should lay a particular account of the expenditure before the House. This motion was supported by Pitt, who

When asked by some thick-headed Whig how he could call such a thorough Tory as Gibbon a luminous historian, "I said voluminous," replied Sharidan.

was violently assailed thereupon by the managers. They accused him of seeking to obstruct and render unpopular measures in which he had himself concurred. The motion, however, was agreed to without a division, and the solicitors' accounts were produced the very next day by Burke. reports had got abroad that many men were making a most profitable job of the impeachment, and that enormous fees were given to the counsel for the prosecution, and as no notice was taken of the solicitors' accounts after they had been produced, the managers, a few nights afterwards, called upon Mr. Burgess to proceed with that inquiry. Burgess then declared that the accounts were still vague and unsatisfactory, and that he should therefore move "that the solicitors should give in an account stating specifically to whom and on what account the several sums had been paid." The motion was seconded by Sir William Dolben. The managers declared that, as far as regarded themselves, they had nothing to object, but that there were forcible and obvious objections to the present motion The House, they said, had solemnly determined that Mr. Hastings should be impeached; they had appointed a committee of managers and armed them with a variety of powers, including that of acting as a secret committee; and could the House now demand a public account and disclosure of all the private grounds of their conduct? They asserted that such a measure was unprecedented, and had never been attempted nor dreamed of in any great prosecution; that the charges already incurred in employing counsel were remarkably moderate, the fees paid being in fact shamefully inadequate to the services performed; and that no unnecessary expense whatever had been incurred. They said if more money had been spent more good might have been done: secret services, for example, might have been procured by means of money, and they thought secret services very necessary in such a case; -- an argument, we think, of very dangerous tendency; for, if a bountiful market for secret services had been opened, it would almost inevitably have become a market for fulse witnesses. Sheridan said, no doubt the House might order that no counsel should be allowed the managers; but if they came to that determination he should move that the attorney and solicitor general, together with the master of the rolls, should be added to the committee of managers: or, if the House thought proper, they might resolve that the managers should pay all the lawyers' fees out of their own pockets; but in that case he hoped the House would have the goodness to add to the committee Sir Sampson Gideon* and his money-bugs. Pitt again supported Burgess, declaring that he thought it necessary that the House should know how the money was spent, and have the power of checking the expenditure if they found it in any case excessive or unnecessary. The managers withdrew be-

Member for Coventry; soon after made an Irish peer by the title of Baron Eardley.

VOL. II.

fore the division; and Burgess's motion was carried by 60 against only 13. The solicitors' accounts were laid upon the table, but several days passed without any notice being taken of them. When called upon by the managers to give his opinion of these lawyers' bills, Burgess said that he had done his duty, and that the papers were now before the House, who might judge for themselves: he hinted, however, that there were still doubts upon his mind as to the accounts. The managers called upon him afresh, insisting that he should either act upon his doubts, or get some other gentleman to state his doubts for him—that the matter, after what had passed, could not be let drop without further investigation. Thus pulled from his seat, Burgess gave notice of a motion on the subject; and a few days after he moved that the solicitors should continue to present from time to time an account of the expenses incurred in the impeachment. In his speech his doubts came out. He doubted whether the House had really authorised the managers to employ counsel; he doubted whether there was any precedent for their employing counsel; and he doubted whether there was any peculiar difficulty in the present prosecution that rendered the assistance of counsel necessary. The managers said in reply that, if no precedent could be found for employing counsel, it should be remembered that the present was a remarkable case, in which the managers were left without the advice and assistance of the great lawofficers; and that, though they had great confidence in the legal knowledge of several of their own committee-several, in fact, were regular-trained lawyers—they did not choose, in a cause of such magnitude, for the proper management of which they were responsible, to proceed without the sanction of learned persons in actual practice. Pitt doubted whether there was any absolute necessity for their employing, besides ordinary counsel, two civilians. To this they answered that the services of both those doctors were indispensable in such a cause, and that one of them (Dr. Lawrence) was eminently useful from his deep and perfect knowledge of the subject. As Mr. Burgess doubted whether there were not some errors in the accounts. the managers proposed that the solicitors should be called in and examined; but the previous question was carried against this proposition, and so the discussion ended. It will not perhaps be very uncharitable to draw two inferences-1. That the discussions were really brought on, not out of any regard to the public purse, but in order to benefit Hastings, by encouraging doubts and insinuations against his prosecutors, who counted in their number at least two men who enjoyed very indifferent reputations in money matters. 2. That the discussions tended materially to keep down the growth of the law expenses by drawing public attention in that direction, and by establishing the rule that the solicitors should present their accounts from time to time drawn up in a clear and specific manner.

On the 11th of July the king in person pre-

rogued perliament. The speech from the throne mentioned that the Emperor of Germany had joined the Empress of Russia in the war against the Sultan; and also that his majesty had entered into treaties with his good brother the King of Prussia and with the States General of the United Provinces, which he hoped would be productive of the happiest consequences.



GREECE III. (His usual appearance at this period.) From a Sketch by Gear.

The king appeared to be in his usual robust state of health; but some weeks after the prorogation it was rumoured that he was unwell, and that he had gone to Cheltenham by the advice of his physicians. At that pleasant sojourn his majesty was seen much abroad; but in the autumn, when he returned to Kew, he almost disappeared entirely from the public eye, and mysterious whispers got into circulation abroad that his mind was deranged. The belief was confirmed by his not holding the usual drawing-rooms at St. James's. As if to remove the impression, a drawing-room was held on the 24th of October; but the king's manner and conversation only confirmed the suspicion in those who approached him. When the court broke up Pitt attended him in the closet. It is said that the minister clearly perceived the unhappy condition of the sovereign, and was deeply affected by w: but if this were the case Pitt certainly took no notice of it at the time; and the next day the king was allowed to leave London for Windsor as if he were sane and well. Great pains were taken, and had evidently been taken for some time previously, by the queen and the household to conceal the dreadful malady; but the secret could not be kept

long, and the sufferer himself had a fearful glimpee of the worse which was to follow. On the 5th of November he mounted his horse and rode wildly about the forest and the country round Windsor for five hours, and, meeting his second son, the Duke of York, who had recently returned from Germany, he burst into tears and said, "He hoped he should die, for he was going to be mad!" That night the king was in a maniac state, and the madness was accompanied by a bilious fever, from which, for several days, his life was despaired of as well as his reason. The Prince of Wales joined his brother the Duke of York at Windsor, and Pitt, as prime minister, and Thurlow, as chancellor, made journeys thither to devise what should be done in case the sovereign should recover from the fever but not from the madness. It is said that Pitt paid assiduous court to the queen, assuring her of a proper share of authority in case it should be necessary to appoint a regency; and that Thurlow, as soon as he conceived the king's malady to be incurable, paid the same sort of court, but more secretly, to the Prince of Wales. There had never been much harmony between the chancellor and the premier, † and the disgrace of abandoning and betraying his official colleagues was a trifle in the eyes of Thurlow if thereby he should be enabled to preserve his post under the regency and keep the great seal from the eager clutch of his rival, Lord Loughborough, who was now putting himself forward as the chief adviser of the prince. Fox was absent on the continent, but his return was daily expected and most anxiously looked for by the Whig party. As parliament stood prorogued for the 20th of November, and as there was now no voice competent to prorogue it again to a more distant day, it was resolved to assemble a full cabinet council at Windsor to consider of the measures which might be required in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The council met, and Thurlow, who by possessing the great seal had in a manner all the sovereignty that was left in the land, took a part in the deliberations without revealing his plans or intentions. The physicians were examined, and their report convinced Thurlow that the king would never again be capable of holding the reins of government. When the anxious consultation was ended and the council broke up, Lord Camden asked the chancellor if he would

* Letter to Sheridan from Captain Payne, in Moore's Life of She-

* Letter to Sheridan from Captain Payne, in Moore's Life of Sheridan.

4 "Their tempers were indeed ill suited to co-operate for a length of time, though necessity and ambition had united them against Fox. Thurlow was sullen, and often intractable; Prit, impesions, infectible, and dictatorial. Many causes had combined to wides the breach. The chancellor highly disapproved of Hastings' impreshment, in which Pitt had concurred. His ill-humour was augmented by the obligation officially imposed on him of presiding in Westeniaser Hall during an interminable trial; compelled to listen for successive hours to Burke's and Fox's invectives, or to Sheridan's heart-resuling descriptions of sangierated, if not imaginary, acts of tyransy; while Thurlow seemed ready to exclaim,

'Semper ago anditor tantum ? nunquamne reponam, Vezatus totics?' ''

—Sir N. W. Francille Posthumous Memoirs. But Thurlow, who, with all his roughness, was one of the greatest dissemblers that ever lived, would certainly have continued to act as Pit's steady friend, but for his convictions that the king would not recover, and that Few would be prime minister under the Primes of Walss.

secompany him back to town. Thurlow excused himself, saying he had a friend at Windsor to whom he wished to pay a visit. Lord Camden's suspicions were excited, and he contrived to learn that Thurlow's friend at Windsor was no other than the Prince of Wales, to whom he no doubt communicated all that had passed in the council. During the sharp political contest which followed Thurlow was discovered to have been several times closeted with Sheridan, and once, at least, in the house of Mrs. Fitzherbert.* The wily chancellor, however, was cautious in committing himself, and his mysterious visits could have been known but to very few.

On the 20th of November the two Houses of Parliament assembled pursuant to the prorogation; but, as there was no authority for opening the session, the Lords and the Commons remained in their respective chambers. In the Upper House the lord chancellor notified the cause—the malady of the king-of parliament being allowed to assemble without the usual forty days' notice and summons to meet for the dispatch of business; and then Earl Camden, the lord president of the council, after stating that he had found no instance in which either House of Parliament had proceeded to business until the session had been opened in the usual form, moved that the House should adjourn to the 4th of December. made the same announcement in the Lower House, and both Houses adjourned for a fortnight. Days, and nights too, were spent in deliberation and in active intrigue; and the varying opinions of the physicians gave rise to great perplexity and indecision in the minds of calculating politicians. Fox, though he travelled homeward with extraordinary speed, did not arrive until the end of November. On the 3rd of December a general meeting of the privy council was held at Whitehall, when the physicians who were attending the king were called in and examined. The first question put to the physicians was, whether his majesty was incapable of meeting his parliament, and of attending to any kind of public business? They answered, "Certainly he was incapable." The second question was, what was their opinion of the duration of the malady, and the probability of a cure? They replied, "There was a great probability of his recovery, but it was impossible to limit the time." The third question put by the privy council was, whether they gave this opinion from the particular symptoms of his majesty's disorder, or from their experience in complaints of a similar nature? Their general answer was, "It was from experience, and from having observed that the majority of those afflicted with the same disease had recovered." On the following day, the 4th, parliament reassembled, and both Houses were full, for ministers had issued circulars to their friends, and the heads of opposition had done the same; and without any

Memoranda dictated by Wilhersbree, in Appendix to his Life by

of these summonses there would have been a full attendance. Men of all parties had hurried up to town on learning the nature of the king's disorder; and from the middle of November Lendon had been crowded and excited to an unusual degree. In the Peers Lord Camden announced that the continuance of the king's illness rendered him incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby suspended. His lordship then declared it to be his opinion that, in this dismembered state of the legislature, the right devolved on the two Houses of Parliament to make such provision for supplying the defect as should be adequate to the necessity of the case; but that it was necessary, before any step could be taken in so delicate a business, that the deficiency should be fully ascertained. With this view his lordship moved that the minutes of the privy council taken in examining the physicians should be read, and that, that being done, they should be taken into consideration on Monday the 8th of December. In the Commons precisely the same course was pursued by Pitt, who now saw his rival, Fox, seated in his usual place on the opposition beaches, but presenting an appearance that was anything rather than joyous or exultant. From the fatigue he had undergone in his rapid journey, and from other causes wherein the mind was probably more concerned than the body, Fox looked dispirited, haggard, and worn. He did not rise at once with alacrity and vigour, as was his habit whenever Pitt had to be met on a vital question, but sat still and silent, and allowed Mr. Vyner, a Lincolnshire Whig, to reply to the minister. Vyner expressed a doubt whether the House could proceed merely upon a report from the privy council, and whether they ought not rather to examine the physicians themselves at their own bar, or by means of a committee. Pltt rejoined that the greatest delicacy ought to be used in this case; and that the report of the physicians to the privy council was made upon oath, which the House of Commons had not the power to administer. Fox then rose and said, rather languidly, that he entertained the same doubts as Mr. Vyner; that he felt the propriety of proceeding with delicacy, but that, if delicacy and their duty should happen to clash, duty must not be sacrificed to delicacy. The speaker intimated his doubt whether in the present defective state of parliament he could issue writs for new elections to supply the places of some members who had died during the recess. It was determined that the speaker was competent to issue the writs; and then the House adjourned for four days. During that interval, from the private information Pitt received from some of the phyaicians, (for even the medical camp was divided into Whige and Tories, or Foxites and Pittites,)

"As men are naturally led to take the direction of their wishes, the physicians who were friendly to the opposition confidently produced that there was no hope of the hing's recovery. Dr. Warren, especially, was the chief authentity on this said; and his can't the priline's additionate not theuselves in direct opposition to the Whithman who with equal confidence predicted the hing's recovery. The heavy guage on the one side was, that, if a requesty them has make

the premier was induced to believe that the exsimination suggested by Vyner would not injure but materially serve his cause, as it would make more apparent the probability there was that the king would recover, and that the regency, if appointed, would last but a short time. It was, in fact, only by establishing this opinion that Pitt sould hope to prevent a very considerable defection among his adherents. Accordingly, as soon as the House met, on the 8th, Pitt rose and proposed that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine all the physicians who had attended the king during his illness. Fox was not present—it was said he was too ill to attend—but Burke, who appears to have been but little consulted by the prince or his party, adjured the House not to sacrifice any of their constitutional privileges at this crisis, and least of all the right to examine evidence at their own bar. Pitt's motion was carried without a division, and the committee of twenty-one was appointed, with himself as their chairman. On the same evening the Marquess of Stafford made a similar motion in the Upper House, and a committee of peers was appointed for the same purpose. All this time Thurlow, who might have been expected to do the work which Stafford and Camden had done, remained inactive and silent. His object still was to avoid committing himself with cither party until he should be able more accurately to calculate the chances of the king's recovery; but his conduct excited suspicion and disgust. The unfortunate king was now removed from Windsor to Kew, and placed more immediately under the care of the Rev. Dr. Willis, who had quitted his clerical functions and devoted himself with surprising application and success to the cure of insanity. It is said by the right reverend biographer of the premier that there was great difficulty in getting the king into his carriage for the journey to Kew; but, that as soon as the physicians showed him a pretended note from Mr. Pitt, recommending the change of residence, his majesty went quietly to the coach. On the 10th of December Pitt, as chairman of the committee of the Commons, presented the report of their examination of the physicians, which was read and ordered to be printed. Drs. Richard Warren, Sir George Baker, Willis, Gisborne, Addington, Sir Lucas Pepys, and Reynolds coincided in opinion as to the probable recovery of their patient: Dr. Willis spoke the most hopefully, and as if convalescence had already begun. Pitt, whose evident object it was to spin out time without coming to any decision, now moved that another committee should be appointed to examine the journals of the House and report precedents of such proceedings as might have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a blished, the king would never be suffered again to resume his authority; that of the other, that ministers were resolved at all hazards to zestore him to his power, and the Willies were said to be the supparters of the plot."—Priberforce, Momoranda,

view to provide for the same. Fox was again in his place, having recently attended a great consultation at Carlton House. He rose as soon as Pitt had finished speaking, and objected to the motion as nugatory and productive of unnecessary and improper delay. He said, the right honourable gentleman knew very well that no precedent was to be found in which, at the same time, there existed an heir-apparent to the crown of full age and capacity. He said he was fully convinced, upon consideration of the principles and practice of the constitution, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of his natural demise. He acknowledged, however, that the two Houses of Parliament were alone competent to decide the precise time when the Prince of Wales ought to take possession of his right. Pitt said to a friend sitting near him, "I'll unwhig that gentleman for the rest of his And, then rising, the Tory premier, whose tenure of place depended on a different view of the case being adopted by parliament, poured forth a torrent of pure Whigism against the head and chief professor of that creed, whose advancement to power now depended upon the assertion of Tory principles, or the establishment of unshackled hereditary right in contradistinction to the popular will and the elective quality of the British crown. With an appearance of patriotic indignation, the chancellor of the exchequer declared Fox's doctrine to be little short of treason against the constitution. He insisted that the heir apparent had no more right, in the case alleged, to the exercise of the executive power than any other subject in the realfn; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legislature, in behalf of the people, to make such provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think most proper for preserving unimpaired the interests of the sovereign and the safety and welfare of the nation. He added that, from the manner in which Fox had treated the subject, a new question arose-a question of their own rights—a doubt whether the House had on this important occasion any deliberative power. The motion he had made could not therefore he called nugatory, but was become absolutely necessary in order to ascertain and establish their own rights at this critical period. Fox rejoined, that, the sovereignty of these kingdoms being hereditary, and no parliament existing which could legally alter the succession, nothing but a case of imperious necessity, which at present did not exist, could justify the two Houses of Parliament in assuming to themselves the right of setting aside the heir-apparent from the regency, or imposing limitations and restrictions on his authority. Burke followed Fox, and declared, with bitter sarcasm,

that the doctrine of the chancellor of the exchequer would go to change the character of the sovercignty from hereditary into elective, and to convert parliament into a sort of Polish diet. He said that, since it was proposed to make him an elector on the regency, he hoped he should be excused if he gave his vote for a Prince of Wales whose amiable disposition was one of his many recommendations, in preference to a competitor, the prince opposite (Pitt), who was threatening the supporters of the Prince of Wales's right with the penalty of constructive treason! Here he was interrupted by long cries of order. He insisted he was not disorderly: the right honourable gentleman, he said, had asserted that the prince had no more right to the regency than any other subject whatever; and, if the House should be of the same opinion, who could tell how the election might go? Pitt complained that Burke had used indecent expressions; and he asked whether, when Somers asserted in the convention of 1688 that no person had a right to the crown without the consent of parliament and the people, it would have been thought decent for any member to have called Somers the competitor of William III. and Queen Mary? The minister's motion was carried without a division; and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to sit, with the usual powers, to look for precedents, which, in reality, did not exist. The day following, the president of the council (Camden) made the same motion in the Lords. He strongly condemned the doctrine which had been advanced by Fox; and he maintained, as Pitt had done, that the right and duty of naming the regent, and limiting his power, belonged exclusively to the Houses of Parliament, the two remaining branches of the legislature. Chancellor Thurlow was still mute; but his rival, Loughborough, boldly defended Fox's position and the prince's hereditary right to the regency, both as being analogous to the law of the land and the spirit of the constitution, and as steering clear of the embarrassments and dangers which must arise from the opposite course. He ridiculed the notion of having an hereditary succession to the sovereignty and an elective regency. He asked whether the two Houses would not, by acting on their right of election, be assuming the whole power of government to themselves, when they might elect such a regent as would be little more than a slave to his electors? He asked what would be the consequence if the Irish parliament, assuming the same right, should elect a different person to be regent in Ireland? He said it would scarcely be denied, that, if the present unfortunate emergency had happened during an intermission of parliament, the Prince of Wales would have been warranted in issuing writs and summoning the parliament to meet. At the same time he agreed that, under the present circumstances, the prince ought to wait the declaration of the king's incapacity by parliament, before he took upon himself the office of regent. Lords Stormont and Porchester supported Loughborough; Lord Stanhope took the

opposite side; and then Thurlow, the veritable image of a chancellor in doubt, growled a few words, and no more, implying that Loughborough's doctrine was new to him. On the next day - the 12th of December-the report of the committee was brought up, and ordered to be printed, in the Commons; and Fox then rose to complain that his doctrine had been misrepresented by Lord Camden. Fox had previously declared-what certainly was only formally true, if true at all—that he had had no communications with the Prince of Wales on this delicate subject; and he now repeated that he spoke merely as an individual member, without authority from the prince. He said he had been made to assert that the prince had a right to assume the royal authority; but he believed that he had never used the word assume; and what he undoubtedly meant was, that the right was in the prince, but that the adjudication of the possession was in the two Houses of Parliament. If he had used the word assume, it was only in the carelessness of debate; and he certainly did not mean that the prince ought now to take the regency without the consent of parliament. He hoped the chancellar of the exchequer would inform the House what course he meant to pursue. For his own part, he should not hesitate to declare what, in his opinion, that course ought to be :- it ought to be a declaration or address from parliament to the prince, stating the fact of his majesty's present incapacity, and investing his royal highness, during such incapacity, with the full exercise of all the Pitt stood up to accept the explaroyal powers. nation of Fox, and to declare again that the Prince of Wales had no right whatever to the regency. Upon this point he said they were at issue; and the question must be decided before they could proceed one step farther. He urged that it was subversive of the principles of the constitution to admit that the prince might, under any circumstances, seat himself on the throne during the lifetime of his father; and that the insinuation of the existence of any such right presented a question of greater magnitude even than the present exigency; a question that involved the constitution, the liberties, and the satety of the state. When the rights and powers of parliament were ascertained, it would then become a question to whom, and what portion of it, the sovereign power should be delegated during his majesty's He would say that, however decided he might be in his opinion that no part of the royal power ought to be vested in the Prince of Wales as a matter of right, he thought it was highly desirable that whatever part of the regal power it was necessary to have exercised during the unhappy interval should be vested in a single person, and that that person should be, on the ground of expediency, but not of right, the Prince of Wales. In conclusion, Pitt intimated very plainly that the limitations and restrictions of the powers of the regent ought, in his opinion, to be numerous and severe, so that the king's lawful

authority might be returned unimpaired into his hands as soon as his majesty should recover. By this time the Whigs were convinced that their chaiming the regency as a manner of right had no chance of success in either House; and their scheme now was to fight off the question and avoid any formal decision on that doctrinal point. On the 15th of December Earl Fitzwilliam observed in the Lords that it was very inexpedient at such a crisis, and when all parties were agreed that by right or by vote the prince was to be regent, to go into discussions of abstract political questions. Lord Camden replied that, as the most essential rights of the two Houses of Parliament had been called in question, it was absolutely necessary that they should not be left in a doubtful and unsettled state. The Duke of York, who is said to have been gratified by the promise of being appointed commander-in-chief of the army under the regency and Whig ministry, rose and spoke at some length. beginning with the excuse which no young orator has been able to use, since the days of a great comedian, without exciting a laugh, that he was unaccustomed to public speaking. His royal highness said that he entirely agreed with Earl Fitzwilliam, and wished to avoid any discussion of the rights of the Prince of Wales-that one fact was plain, that no such claim of right had been made on the part of the prince—and that he was confident his brother understood too well the sacred principles which seated the House of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives and their lordships in parliament assembled. He hoped that the wisdom and moderation of all considerate men would induce them to avoid pressing a decision which was not necessary, and which must be most painful in the discussion to a family already too much agitated and afflicted. Such, said his royal highness, in conclusion, were the sentiments of an honest heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his father, and by attachment to the constitutional rights of the people; and he was confident that, if his royal brother were to address their lordships in his place as a peer of the realm, these were the very sentiments which he would distinctly avow. The Duke of York was followed by his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who spoke still more warmly upon the impropriety and indelicacy of discussing the question of right. For his part, he felt so strongly on the subject, that if the attempt was persisted in, and the question brought before that House, he could only say that he believed he should not to trust himself to come forward and speak his sentiments on the extraordinary conduct of those who were unnecessarily compelling a decision on so delicate a question. But these appeals from royal princes had no effect on ministers and their majorities, who were determined to persevere. Thurlow, still doubting about the possibility of the king's speedy recovery, and discouraged in his

hope of making a good bargain with the prince and the Whigs, who were evidently committing themselves to the interpretation of the law propounded by Loughborough, deplored, with a laughable attempt at pathos, that such a question had ever been started; but said that, as it had been brought forward, he could not see how they could avoid coming to some determination upon it. Pitt, therefore, pursued his course; and on the 16th of Becember, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, he moved three resolutions. The first, which merely affirmed the indisposition and incapacity of the king, was passed unanimously. The second resolution asserted that it was the right and duty of the two Houses of Parliament to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority in such manner as the urgency of the case might seem to require. And the third resolution was-" That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name, and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition." Upon these two last resolutions there was more eloquent, and passionate, and thoroughly earnest debating than had been heard in that House for many a year. The Whigs had every possible motive for exertion that can animate a party: if their adversaries triumphed, it was clear that such restrictions would be laid on the power and patronage of the regent as would make it next to impossible for Fox, as his minister, to carry on the administration—as would render all the business of government most unprofitable and uncertain; while the acceptance of office would bring a perpetual ban upon the acceptors, if the king should recover. On the other side, Pitt and his Tory phalanx well knew that they would secure the favour of the king more firmly than ever, if he should resume his seat on the throne; and, as George III. was little more than fifty years of age, his reign might yet be long. The thing was not unprecedented—the two great parties had interchanged political principles and professions—the Whigs had been heard clamouring for prerogative and the hereditary rights of princes, and the Tories had been heard clamouring for the rights of the parliament and the people, before now; but still it was curious to watch a combat in which Pitt had to maintain and declare that the assertion of the inherent right of the Prince of Wales was one of those exploded ideas of indefeasible right which had fallen into contempt; and Fox had to adjure the House not to recur to the primary axioms of government and the abstract rights of the people. Lord North, ailing and blind, spoke with great spirit against the resolu-

tions, being the first to rise and oppose Pitt. The mester of the rolls, the lord-advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general, and the solicitorgeneral to the queen, spoke long and learnedly in support of the ministerial propositions and on regencies in general. Fox combated their arguments, and, though ill and suffering, fought like a man whose very existence depended on the issue; and, in fact, so utterly shattered was Fox's fortune and credit, that it did seem to depend on the issue. whether he should not be condemned to owe the means of a comfortable existence to the bounty of others. He reminded his opponents of the statute of the 13th of Charles II., which not only declared that the two Houses of Parliament could not make laws without the consent and concurrence of the king, but also that whoever should affirm the contrary should be held guilty of high treason. right to make laws rested only with the three estates complete; the royal estate could do nothing of itself, nor could the two other estates, either singly or conjointly, make any law without it. This was the very principle upon which our constitution was Gentlemen on the other side had compared the present situation of affairs to the Revolution of 1688; but their proceedings were diametrically opposite to those that were then adopted. convention of parliament which met at that crisis, conscious that they could not make laws until they had a head, first restored the third estate in the person of William and Mary, and then proceeded to define its powers; whereas the committee were now called upon first to new-cast the office, and then to name the officer. And what must be the condition of a regent thus elected, and with powers defined by that House? He must be a pageant and puppet, a mere creature of their own. They might appoint him for a year, a month, a day, and so change the monarchy into a republic. Another mischief of the most serious nature might arise from an elective regency. What if the two Houses should disagree as to the person to be appointed? What if one regent should be appointed in England, and another in Ireland? With respect to Ireland, if the two Houses of the British parliament simply declared the Prince of Wales regent, most probably the parliament in Ireland would do the same; if they speculated, the Irish parliament would speculate. Were the question of right but once set afloat, it would become impossible to say to what extent it might be carried. There had been two assertions of positive rights made on the two sides of the House: on his side the assertion of the right of the heir-apparent, being of full age and capacity, to exercise the sovereign authority during his majesty's infirmity; on the other side, the assertion that the prince had no more right to exercise the sovereign authority, under such circumstances, than any other individual subject. Why did they not let the question be-"That it is the opinion of this committee that his royal highness the Prince of Wales, being of full age and capacity, has no more right to exercise the royal

authority during his majesty's incapacity than any other subject?" The right honourable gentlemen well knew that he durst not venture to bring such a question into dispate. Conscious of his error, and coracious that so monstrous a doctrine as he had quiffered himself in an evil hour to deliver had revolted the public mind, he now sought to divert the public attention by a paltry triumph over him. though that triumph could not be obtained without putting a marked insult upon the Prince of Wales. For, whatever opinion he (Fox) might entertain, or might have expressed, of the prince's absolute right to the regency, why should that right be discussed when it had never been claimed by the prince? That this was the fact could not be doubted after the declaration which had been so graciously made in another place (the declaration of the Duke of York). The claim being thus disavowed on the part of the prince, the preamble of the bill, in order truly to describe the case as it stood, ought to be-" Whereus his royal highness the Prince of Wales has never claimed a right to the regency, it becomes necessary for the Lords spiritual and temporal, and for the Commons of England, to declare that his royal highness has no right, and therefore we do hereby declare his royal highness sole regent of these kingdoms." Fox said he had been accused, in the present case, of deserting the Whig cause, which he had hitherto been supposed to claim the merit of standing forth on all occasions to defend—had been accused of an inattention to the privileges of the House, as opposed to the encroachments of the prerogative of the crown. He believed the influence of the crown had in his time been checked more than once in that House, and, as he thought, to the advantage of the people. He followed up this part of the subject with uncommon eloquence. " Whenever," said he, "the executive authority was urged beyond its reasonable extent, it ought to be resisted; but he desired to ask if this was an occasion for exercising the constitutional power of resisting the prerogative or the influence of the crown in that House? He had ever made it his pride to combat with the crown in the plenitude of its power and the fulness of its authority: he wished not to trample on its rights while it lay extended at their feet, deprived of its functions, and incapable of resistance. Let the right honourable gentleman pride himself on a victory obtained against a defenceless foe; let him boast of a triumph where no battle had been fought, and, consequently, where no glory could be obtained. Let him take advantage of the calamities of human nature; let him, like an unfeeling lord of the manor, riot in the riches to be acquired by plundering shipwrecks, by rigorously seizing on waifs and strays, and deodands, and all the accumulated produce of the various accidents which misfortune could throw into his power." "Let it not be my boast," said Fox, " to have gained such victories, obtained such triumphs, or availed myself of wealth so acquired." The right honourable gentleman, he

added, appeared to have been so long in the possession of power, that he could not endure to part with it, and was resolved to destroy what he might no longer be permitted to enjoy. He had experienced the full favour of the crown, and enloved the advantage of exerting all its prerogatives; and, finding the operation of the whole not too much for the successful carrying on of the government, he had determined to cripple his successors, and deprive them of the same advantages which he had possessed; and thus circumscribe their power to serve their country, as if he dreaded that they would shade his fame. Pitt said, in reply, that this personal attack was unprovoked, unfounded, arrogant, and presumptuous. The right honourable gentleman thought proper to announce himself and his friends as the successors of the present administration. He did not know by what authority the right honourable gentleman had made that declaration; but he thought both the House and the country were obliged to him for the seasonable warning of what they were to expect. The nation had already had experience of that right honourable gentleman and his principles. It was the professed object of him and his party to nominate the ministers of the crown by the weight of their political influence. It was with them a fundamental principle, that ministers ought at all times so to be nominated. If persons possessing these principles were likely to become the advisers of the Prince of Wales in the exercise of those powers which were necessary to be given during the present unfortunate interval, it was a strong additional reason for parliament to be careful in considering what the extent of those powers ought to be. It was impossible not to suppose that by such advisers those powers of the regency would be perverted to a purpose which it was, indeed, impossible to imagine that the Prince of Wales could, if aware of it, endure for a moment; but to which, by artifice and misrepresentation, he might unintentionally be made accessary—for the purpose of creating a permanent weight and influence in the hands of a party which would be dangerous to the just rights of the crown when the moment should arrive (so much wished, and, perhaps, so soon to be expected) of his majesty being able to resume the exercise of his own authority. The committee then divided on the motion, "That the chairman report progress" (implying the non-adoption of the resolution), which was rejected, but by a much diminished ministerial majority, the numbers being only 268 against 204. Pitt's second and third resolutions were then put and carried without any debate. The exertions which Fox had made proved so injurious to his broken health, that the neaday he was unable to attend; and on account of his illness the House adjourned till the 19th. On that day Pitt being called upon by Sir John Sinclair to state distinctly how he intended to represent the third estate, and give legality to the act of parliament which he proposed for defining and limiting the authority of the regent, boldly announced that

he meant to employ the great seal, as if his majesty were not in a state of infirmity and incappeity. but competent to issue the usual order to his lord chancellor. The crown lawyers, in the preceding debate, had argued that there was a broad distinetion between the political and natural capacity of the king; that, in the contemplation of the law. the monarchy was still perfect and complete, and the king's political capacity entire, notwithstanding his present illness; -in short, they extended the political fiction, and urged that the king could no more go mad than he could die. And the minister now stated that as, in contemplation of law, his majesty's political capacity was entire, he should propose that their proceedings should be carried on under his majesty's authority, delegated by a commission under the great seal; that commissioners so appointed should open parliament in the name of his majesty, in the usual form, and afterwards give the royal assent to such bill as might be passed by the two Houses for appointing a regent to exercise so much of the royal authority as was necessary during his majesty's indisposition. This he thought was the mode most consistent with the principles of the constitution. It was a good mode for the minister and his party, for it put the sovereignty into their hands for the signing of the Regency Bill, and enabled them to frame that bill as they chose, and make it law by giving their own assent to it. Pitt's three resolutions, which had passed in committee, were now brought up and debated. Fox, who had endangered his life in flying home over rough French roads, spurred on by the hope of having the reins of government put into his hands almost as soon as he should arrive at Carlton House, although able to attend, was still too unwell to take any prominent part in the debate; but his cause was ably supported by Sir Grey Cooper, Wyndham, and others. The House was again excessively crowded in all its parts. In the course of the debate a young member-Mr. Rushworth, who represented the borough of Newport, in Hampshire-standing upon the floor of the House, which was crowded right up to the table, suddenly spoke in a loud and startling tone. "I desire," said he, "that gentlemen of more age and experience than myself will refer to the glorious reign of George II. Let them recall to their memory the year 1745. Suppose that great and good king had lain under a similar affliction of madness at that period; where was the man, much less the minister, that would have dared to have come down to that House, and boldly, in the face of the world, say that the Prince of Wales had no more right to the regency than any other subject? The man or minister who could have dared to utter such language must have found shelter in some other place than in the House of Commons, and in some other country than England!" Tumultuous cheers rose from the one side, and loud murmurs from the other. In the end, two amendments—one moved by Mr. Powys, and one by Mr. Dempsterwere negatived without a division, and the first and

second resolutions were received. Dempster then moved an amendment on the third resolution, which would have entirely changed its meaning and spirit. As the House was exhausted, the debate on this question was adjourned to the 23rd, when a most spirited and exciting struggle ensued on Pitt's proposal for holding the sovereignty to be for the moment in a piece of wax impressed by a symbol. Fox, though still evidently weak and in pain, was in his place, and spoke for a short time with much animation. He was vigorously supported by Lord North, who, in losing his sight, had not lost his wit, his enviable good humour, or his admirable ability and promptness as a debater; and he was sustained heart and hand by Burke, who opened the debate, and delivered one of his choicest harangues. Though firm to Fox and to his party, Burke was not moved by the encouragements and strong incentives which had operated upon his friends; and he declared to the House that he had had no part in any consultations about the regency: that he knew as little of the interior of Carlton House as he did of Buckingham House. At this moment his assertion was undoubtedly true; but it appears that he was called into the Carlton House consultations very soon after. Burke was very felicitous in his description of the fiction by which the great seal was to be converted, for the nouce, into the third branch of the legislature, and of the person of the man who then held that seal. " But what is to be done when the crown is in a deliquium? It was intended, he had heard, to set up a man with black brows and a large wig, a kind of scarecrow to the two Houses, who was to give a fictitious assent in the royal name, and this to be binding on the people at large!" Sheridan, who, behind the scenes, had been the busiest man of all the party, doing other work besides being closeted with Thurlow, writing and running in all directions for the prince, also spoke in this debate. He put several pointed questions to the minister. He asked whether his fears of the abuse of the prerogative did not arise out of the recollection of his own conduct? Whether every restriction not absolutely necessary was not a limitation, but an insult? Did not his haste proceed from his fear that he could not carry the limitations he proposed unless he were minister? Or was he apprehensive that parliament or the prince would forget their duty? What provision was made if the prince should refuse to be regent on the terms proposed? Supposing him not to refuse, what reason had they to believe he would withhold his consent from those restrictions when regent, under which he would consent to accept the trust? Would any one advise him to say, I accept the regency under limita-tions which I think are improper, and which I hope parliament will annul? Pitt's scheme was, nevertheless, approved by a somewhat larger majority than had attended him on the previous divisions: Mr. Dempster's amendment was negatived by 251 against 178; and then the three resolu-VOL. II.

tions, having been all received, were ordered to be communicated to the Lords at a conference, wherein their lordships' concurrence was to be desired. This conference took place on the morrow, the 23rd of December, and none of the Lords were so hearty in their con-currence as the lord chancellor. Thurlow had at last made up his mind on two very important points—that the king was likely to recover very soon—and that if he did not recover there was no permanent reliance to be placed on the Whigs, who, indeed, were bound by the honour of party to prefer his rival, Loughborough. He had had frequent and close communications with the physicians, and had, no doubt, found other means of prving into the interior of Kew Palace, and ascertaining the real condition of the king. It is said that Willis had pledged his reputation to him that the unhappy malady could not be of long duration, and that the king's temperate and orderly mode of life gave promise of health and longevity. And so cunning a man as Thurlow could not possibly avoid perceiving that Fox, even in conferring with him, regarded him with feelings of dislike, and evidently regretted the necessity imposed on him by others of breaking faith with Loughborough. It was Sheridan and the prince, and the prince's comptroller of the household, Captain Payne (afterwards admiral), that conceived the bright idea of treating with Thurlow; thinking " that the chancellor might take a good opportunity to break with his colleugues."* Fox was absent when the mysterious incetings and communications began. After his arrival from the continent Fox felt himself greatly embarrassed by the negotiation: for he was to be, if not in name, in fact, premier, and he stood pledged to bestow the great seal upon Loughborough. Finding, however, that the prince and his party had gone so far in a negotiation with Thurlow, he most reluctantly undertook to write to Loughborough to request him to waive his claim for the present. Loughborough, who was, at the least, as keen and cunning as Thurlow, must have known of the intrigue, which had been betrayed in various ways; and he could hardly have needed the intimation now sent to him. In a letter to Sheridan, Fox said, " I have swallowed the pilla most bitter one it was—and have written to Lord Loughborough, whose answer of course must be consent. What is to be done next? Should the prince himself, you, or I, or (Doctor) Warren, be the person to speak to the chancellor? The objection to the last is, that he must probably wait for an opportunity, and that no time is to be lost. Pray tell me what is to be done. I am convinced, after all, the negotiation (with Thurlow) will not succeed, and am not sure that I am sorry for it. I do not remember ever feeling so uneasy about

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See letters from Payne to Sheridan, in Moore's Life of Sheridan, † It is said that on one occasion, during his manauvres, the chancelor betrayed, to the no small amusement of his colleagues, the security of an interview which he had just had with the prince, by combey to the council with his royal highness's hat in his hand instead of his own.—Id. Id.

any political thing I ever did in my life." Loughborough, conscious of these feelings in the breast of Fox, soon undertook the very easy task of proving that Thurlow was not to be depended upon, whatever offers might be made to him. In a letter to Sheridan, Loughborough said, "The chancellor's object evidently is to make his way by himself, and he has managed hitherto as one very well practised in that game. His conversations, both with you and Mr. Fox, were encouraging, but at the same time checked all explanations on his part, under a pretence of delicacy towards his colleagues." Thurlow had managed to get himself appointed, as chancellor, to a visitation or inspection, and, unknown to the prince, had seen the king, apparently more than once, at Windsor or Kew, and had made a wonderful show of tenderness and affliction to her majesty. Loughborough pointed out to Sheridan the dangerous use which might be made by Thurlow of this office of inspec-"By this situation," said he, "he gains an easy and frequent access to the king, and an opportunity of possessing the confidence of the queen. I believe this the more from the account of the tenderness he showed at his first interview, for I am sure it is not in his character to feel any. With a little instruction from Lord Hawkesbury (Jenkinson), the sort of management that was carried on by means of the princess dowager, in the early part of the reign, may easily be practised.† In short, I think he (Thurlow) will try to find the key of the back-stairs, and, with that in his pocket, take any situation that preserves his access, and enables him to hold a line between different parties. I wish Mr. Fox and you would give these considerations what weight you think they deserve, and try if any means can be taken to remedy this mischief, if it appears in the same light to you." This letter could not fail of producing a deep impression; and it appears that, soon after it was written, and only a few days after the return of Fox (for all these intrigues were huddled together in the compass of a few weeks), distrust was shown of the Chancellor, and favour and consideration to Loughborough. Thus Thurlow was as much thrown off by the Whigs as he threw himself off from them on his selfish calculation of chances. Such double dealing at such a crisis, together with the sure knowledge that it had not been concealed, was enough to have sunk any other man; but Thurlow was not like other men, and

he braved the matter with an audacity and a cant that will render his name immortal. He stood up from beside the woolsack in the House of Lords, and, with an awful solemnity of manner, undertook the defence of the king's sacred rights against the claims of the prince and the wicked Whigs. He seemed to pour out the whole strength of his heart and soul in a passionate eulogy on the superhuman virtues of his sovereign: he said his debt of gratitude for many favours graciously conferred was great beyond the power of expression; and he finished by exclaiming—" When I forget my king, then may God forget me!" " Forget you!" said John Wilkes, who was one of a group of astonished auditors standing near the throne, within a few feet of Thurlow; "he'll see you damned first!" Wilkes knew the man well, and his oblique vision had an aptitude to see round corners and into secret places; and he was no doubt aware, as many others who heard the speech must have been, that Thurlow had only a few days before broken off his intrigue with Carl-According to Wilberforce, the same motives by which Thurlow had been actuated had led to many unprincipled and shameless desertions by political speculators, chiefly in the Upper House, who thought they could not be too early in worshipping the rising sun, and who were afterwards grievously disappointed at the king's recovery. † The steadier peers were, however, numerous enough to carry the question upon Pitt's three resolutions, to negative a motion of amendment, and to appoint a committee to acquaint the Commons at a conference that they concurred with them.‡ A strong protest was entered and signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland and fortysix other peers. The latter part of these debates took place in the Christmas holidays, for this was no time for allowing a recess. Christmas-day was observed, and that was almost all.

A.D. 1789.—On the 2nd of January, Cornwall, the speaker of the Commons, left the chair vacant by rather a sudden death. A trial of strength immediately took place on the appointment of his successor; and Pitt's relative, William Wyndham Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), triumphed over Sir Gilbert Elliot, the nominee of the Whigs, by a majority of seventy-one, the numbers being 215 against 144. On the day after this election-January the 6th-Pitt, having previously given notice, introduced the subject of the restrictions proposed to be put on the exercise of the regal power by the regent. Mr. Loveden, member for Abingdon, observed, that before the House pro-

^{*} See Letters from l'ayne to Sheridan, in Moore's Life of Sheridan, † Alluding to the year 1764, when the king was undoubtedly deranged for many weeks, and the secret of his malady was skilfully, that for many years no suspicion was enteringed of the real nature of the disease. According to Cuptain Payer, who accompanied the prince to Windsor at the first intimation of the present disorder, the same attempt at concealment had been made now. "Truth," says the captain," is not easily got at in palaces, and so I find here; and time only slowly brings it to one's knowledge. One hears a little bit every day from somebody, that has been reserved with great costiveness, or purposely forgotier; and by all such achears a little bit every day from somebody, that has been reserved with great consiveness, or purposely forgotien; and by all such accounts I find that the present distemper has been very palpable for some time past, previous to any conditement from sickness; and so apprehensive have the people about him been of giving offence by interruption, that the two days (viz. yesterday so unight and the Monday following) that he was five hours each on horseback he was in a confirmed frenzy."—Letters to Sheridon.

According to Wilberforce's memoranda, dictated in his old age, the words were. "When I forsake my king, may my God forsake me;" and these words were afterwards engraved, in Thurlow's hoseur, on rings and south-toose i This exhibition of the chancellor's was made in the debate on the 15th of December, in which the Duke of Vack took past.

made in the depart on the limb of December, in which was the same as York took part.

† Memoranda, in Appendix to Life.

I The amendment on the third resolution, which was the same as that moved by Mr. Dempster in the Commons, was proposed by Lord Rawdon, who made an able speech, and was supported by Lords Stormont, Porchester, Loughborough, and the Duke of Richmond; the chief opposers being the Chancellor and Lord Camden. Lord Rawdon was out-voted by 95 signific 66.

ceeded any further they ought to know exactly where they were, and what the exigency of the case really was; they ought to know precisely what was the present state of his majesty's health, what the degree of alteration it had undergone since the physicians were last examined, and whether the probability of his majesty's recovery was increasing or diminishing. He said this was the more necessary as very contradictory reports had got abroad and were said to be supported by the different physicians who were attending his majesty. He therefore moved that the physicians should be again examined. A very hot, and not very decorous, debate ensued. Pitt treated Dr. Warren, to whom the unfavourable reports about the king's malady were more particularly imputed, as a violent Whig and party-man, whose wishes suggested his predictions that the speedy recovery of the king was not a probable event. He insinuated not only that Warren's opinion was dictated by a partiality to the rising administration, but also that gentlemen on the opposite side who were to form that administration wished the doctor's opinion to be true. As a matter of course the gentlemen on the other side, with indignant voices and gestures, repelled these insinuations as scandalously unjust and basely illiberal; and then, with a liberality and delicacy equal to Pitt's, they fell upon Willis, the Tory doctor, and accused him of uttering false oracles and predictions of rapid amendment solely to suit the purposes of the minister and his faction. When this wrangling was over it was, however, agreed that a new committee of the House should be appointed to re-examine all the physicians. On the 13th of January the report of this committee was brought up. Burke instantly moved that it should be recommitted, as they had not examined into the grounds of the different opinions held by the physicians respecting the probability of the king's recovery. He was seconded by Windham, but the motion was negatived without a division; and it was ordered that the report should be printed, and be taken into consideration, in a committee of the whole House on the state of the nation, upon Friday the 16th. On that day Pitt, after expressing his great satisfaction at having consented to the re-examination of the physicians, the event of which had justified his sanguine expectations of the king's recovery, proceeded to open the subject of his proposed restric-As the report stated that all the physicians agreed that it was probable his majesty might recover, what parliament had to provide for was a deficiency in the executive government for an interval which he hoped would be a short one, and against any embarrassment in the resumption of the royal authority when his majesty should recover. If, contrary to his expectations, his majesty's illness should be protracted, then a more permanent plan of government might be arranged; but for the present they ought to grant such powers, and none other, as were necessary to carry on the government with energy and effect. To

this end he moved that the Prince of Wales should be invested with the whole royal authority, subject only to certain necessary limitations. The first of these limitations was that the authority of the regent should not extend to the making of any new peers.* The second was that the prince The second was that the prince should not grant any pension or place for life, or in reversion, other than such place as, from its nature, must by law be held for life or during good behaviour. This, Pitt urged, would prevent his majesty from finding himself on a worse footing on his recovery than he was before his illness; and the power restrained by this limitation was not necessary to a regent. The third restriction was, that the prince should not have any power over the personal property of the king. It was not to be supposed, said Pitt, that his royal highness would interfere with his majesty's personal property in his lifetime; but, as they were acting upon parliamentary principles, he thought it his duty to submit this clause to the committee. The fourth restriction was, that the prince should have nothing to do with his majesty's person or household, which were to be left entirely to the guardianship of the queen, who was to have full powers over his majesty's household, and to dismiss and appoint as she should think proper. And this was followed by the proposition that a council should be named to assist the queen with their advice whenever she should require it; but who should have no power of control, but barely that of giving advice, and of satisfying themselves daily of the state of the king's health; and that they, the said council, or some others, should be appointed to manage the real and personal estate of the king, being bound not to alienate or dispose of any part of it, except by lease. A new and terrible combat ensued on all and every part of this plan of restrictions. Mr. Powys moved a sweeping amendment, including the doctrine that the regent ought to exercise all the prerogatives and powers of the crown, which, by the act of the 5th of his majesty, the council and the regent were empowered to exercise in

* This greatest of peer makers gave the following reasons for this restriction. 1. That the prerogative in question was designed to onable the king to counteract the designs of any factious subol in the House of Lords which might have acquired a predominant influence in the deliberations of that House; but it was soft at light probable that the government of his royal highness would be obstructed by any such coded. (Why a cabal in the lords was less probable under a regent than under a king he did not explain. He said, indeed, that he, for one, would give no opposition to any administration the regent might choose to form, so long as their measures were compatible with the property of the kingdom. But this meant just nothing at all; and Plit was not a peer, but a commoner; and, if he had been a peer, how could he have engaged and promised for the other lords?) 2. That such a number of peers might be created by the regent as would considerably embarrass his majesty's government in the event of his being restreed to health. (This seems a reasonable and a strong objection.) 3. That the power of making peers was also vested in the crown to enable the sovereign to reward emineant merit and excite emulation in the public service; but the suspension of such incentive for a few meatile was not likely to depart the country of the services of man of merit: the king would get better, and then he might confer patents as herefore; or, if his liness should be protracted, and he should be pronounced not likely to recover for a long time, then parliament might remove the restriction, and the prince regent make poers as he should see proper or necessary. 4. The percepative was also designed to provide for the fluctuations of wealth and property in the country, that, by resisting men of great lauded interest to the peerse, that branch e till inglishter might always be pleased upon its true and proper basis) but, as the present armangement was only meant to be temporary,

case the crown had descended to any of his majewy's issue under the age of eighteen. Lord North seconded Powys with a long and able speech, in which he endeavoured to show that the bestowing of the whole power and patronage of the household upon the queen would be setting up a party in the court opposed to the administration of the regent. His fordship, who, in his long career as prime minister, had had abundant experience of the political value or weight of household appointments, said he thought that pages and grooms of the chamber might safely be left under the control of the queen; but the lords of the bed-chamber, who were part of the king's public state, who were in reality political servants, and who had proved themselves to be so on a recent occasion, ought undoubtedly to be under the control of the executive government. After paying a compliment to the queen, as an exalted personage incapable of abusing the enormous patronage proposed to be given to her, North said that that patronage would be only nominally hers; that it would be seized upon by the council which was to advise her, and for whose purity and exemption from party spirit and factious opposition there could be no guarantee. He concluded with declaring that he should tremble for his country if the resolutions now proposed were adopted; that he wished it not to be said that, for fear the regent should change the ministry, they were willing to change the constitution; that he probably should not live to see the fatal effects which might follow, but there were gentlemen sitting in the House who might live to repent having brought ruin on the constitution by their votes of that night. Sheridan followed Lord North, and was uncommonly witty and severe upon the abstraction of the household patronage, which, he said, was nearly the third part of the patronage of the crown, and intended, in reality, to be held by Pitt, when he could no longer hold his present high office. He represented the ex-premier coming down to the House in state, attended by a retinue of black and white wands, and a guard of beef-eaters marshalled by the lord steward, with the lord chamberlain and the master of the horse clearing his way through the lobby. After more wit of the same kind, Sheridan declared that, when the public should know that all these restrictions were only imposed because the prince was going to take into his service a different set of men from those now in office, they would despise and detest the cunning and the craft of such wretched proceedings. Colonel Fullarton spoke more seriously and at a greater length, quoting historical parallels and cases of regency in various parts of the world, and arguing, in conclusion, that there was not a single instance in the history of England, in the history of France, in the history of Spain, or in the history of any other country, where the established legal powers of executive government had been maimed, mutilated, and restrained, without producing inefficiency, counteraction, confusion, calamity, and disgrace. One of Fullarton's historical parallels—which will

not altogether stand historical criticism-was savagely severe against the queen and Pitt. He compared the reign of George III. to that of Charles VI. of France, a sovereign subject to long fits of insanity (during which our Henry V. conquered his kingdom). He endeavoured to show that Isabella of Bavaria, Queen of France, and her confidential minister, Morvilliers—the former one of the most vicious as well as unnatural princesses commemorated in history, the latter an ambitious and unprincipled politician—were realized and resuscitated before their eyes. He depicted the queen of Charles VI. as "a woman attached only to her treasures, influenced by the chancellor, the prime minister, and other principal officers of the court; who apprehended that, if the government should be intrusted to the heir apparent during the king's incapacity, they would lose their employments." Morvilliers was described as "commencing his career in the profession of the law, but speedily opening for himself a nearer road to greatness by the more productive path of politics."* Finally, he portrayed the prince, afterwards Charles VII. of France, "who possessed," he said, " not only the most interesting qualities and the most fascinating manners, but who had attached to his cause the noblest spirits and the best abilities of his country." On the other side, Pitt's resolutions were most ably defended by the new speaker, Grenville, who arrested the attention of the committee for near three hours. At a late hour the committee divided, when the amendment which Powys had moved and Lord North had seconded was negatived by a majority of seventy-three, the numbers being 227 against 154. The resolution relative to the creation of peers was then carried by 216 against 159; and the other resolutions, with the exception of the last about the care of the king's person and the household, were carried without a division. That last or fifth resolution was debated on the 19th of January, with an increase of heat and animosity. Mr. Grey charged the minister with a systematic want of respect and common courtesy to the prince in the whole course of these proceedings. Mr. Bouverie moved an amendment, and Lord North another, for limiting the time to which the restrictions were to extend but both were negatived by considerable majorities. On the 22nd the resolutions were taken into consideration by the Lords, who had also resolved themselves into a committee on the state of the nation. They were opposed by Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, and by Lords Stormont, Carlisle, Derby, Porchester, and Fitzwilliam; but an amendment, moved by Lord Sandwich, for limiting the time during which the regent should be restrained from creating peers, was negatived by 93 against 67. The debate was renewed on the next day, when another amendment to the same effect, moved by Viscount Stormont upon the third resolution (restraining the regent in regard

Pitt had begun his career as a burrishir, had pleaded at the bar. gone the circuit, &c.

to the granting of places, &c.), was rejected by 91 against 68; and after that division the combat ceased; but a protest was signed by fifty-seven peers. These debates in the Lords were signalised by some very pathetic acting on the part of Thurlow, who shed tears, and even quoted poetry, in expressing his deep sense of the lamentable condition of the best of kings. Burke exposed this hypocrisy in the Commons in his best manner. "The other House," said Burke, " were not yet perhaps recovered from that extraordinary burst of the pathetic which had been exhibited the other evening; they had not yet dried their eyes, or been restored to their former placidity, and were unqualified to attend to new business. The tears shed in that House on the occasion to which he alluded were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of lords for their expiring places. The iron tears which flowed down Pluto's cheek rather resembled the dismal bubbling of the Styx than the gentle murmuring streams of Aganippe."

The prince, as well as his friends, had bitterly complained of the conduct of ministers in opening everything to the House of Commons before making any communications to him on the subject of the regency. He had addressed a letter of remonstrance to Pitt, and Pitt had returned him a very haughty answer, telling his royal highness that he had several times at Windsor inquired whether he had any orders for him, and had received for answer that he had not. On the 30th of December, however, Pitt had thought proper to communicate his scheme of restrictions to the prince in a long letter, and the prince had employed the pen of Burke to write an answer to it.* In this letter, which lay for some time on the Duke of Portland's table, in order that the leading Whigs might fully consider it and suggest improvements before it was sent to the minister, the prince agreed to accept the regency on the terms proposed, but did not withhold the expression of his discontent at the limitations put upon his authority. In the words of the letter-"His conviction of the evils which may arise to the king's interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country re maining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outwitchs, in the prince's mind, every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the partial trust imposed on him by the present melanchelly attention, (which of all the king's subjects he delicity the most,) in full continuous that the affections and loyalty to the king, the experienced attachment to the House of Bruns-

* This celebrated letter, which for many years was variously attributed to Sheridan, to Sir Gilbert Elliot, to Lord Loughborough, or to all of them and others conjointly, is now perfectly well ascertained to have been the production of Burke; and will remain as a striking proof of the varied styles of cloquence and versatility of genius of that extraordinary man.

† It is said that all who inspected the letter found it admirable and incapable of improvement except Sheridan, who venured to make a lew attentions that were not improvements. As Burke had been called in at a late hour, and as Sheridan had been previously the prime's chief pennan, we may suspect the existence of some little pique and jeniousy.

wick, and the generosity which has always distinguished the nation, will carry him through the many difficulties inseparable from this most difficult situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the king, and with advantage to the public." This letter appears to have been delivered after the discussions on the restrictions in the House of Lords; and Pitt, in the name of the cabinet, had sent the prince a very curious answer, asserting that, if ministers had seen their plan in the light in which they had now the mortification to observe that it was considered by his royal highness, it would never have occurred to them to propose it. This was indeed little better than a quibble and a sneer; and it will excite no surprise that a prince royal should have been exceedingly irritated by it. Pitt also treated the prince's letter as a state paper calling it, in his own reply to the prince, "the paper;" and, though it may not have been polite so to call it, Burke's production was a state paper, and not a letter: it had been exhibited, as we have seen, for state purposes, and had in a manner undergone the revision of the whole Whig party. The irritation felt by the prince was communicated to his friends, who, notwithstanding his acceptance of, or submission to, the Tory limitations, determined to raise a fresh tempest round the ears of the minister. On the 27th of January Pitt, after recapitulating all the steps which had been taken, suggested that it would now be both respectful to the Prince of Wales, and expedient in the order of their proceedings, to know parliamentarily whether his royal highness was willing to accept the regency upon the terms which they had come to: and he moved that a committee should be appointed to wait upon his royal highness for that purpose with the resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons. Fox was not present, having retired to Beth after the great debate of the 19th, to seek some alleviation to his malady, which had been irritated by his labours in the House; but Mr. Grey again charged the minister with having treated the prince with marked disrespect, and Burke joined in these reproachful accusations. The minister was accused of sending to his royal highness an ordinary summons to the privy council when the physicians were examined previously to the meeting of parliament, of neglecting to apprise him of the restrictions before they were discussed in parliament, and of having at last communicated them in a disrespectful manner. Pitt replied that, as to the first charge, he might transfer the blame, if there was any, to the lord president of the council, but that he disdained to avoid taking his share of any blame which might be deemed imputable to any measure of that respectable and venerable personage; that in regard to the second charge he was ready to acknowledge its truth—his majesty's ministers not having conceived it to be their duty to receive orders from the Prince of Wales at a time when they were the servants of the crown, and when his royal highness was in no political capacity whatever, nor had any authority to give

his: majesty's ministers a single order of any desocieption, knowing that theirs was the responsibihis for every step they took, and that theirs ought the the discretion. He declared, however, that Fox had forced him to explain his plan in the House earlier than he intended, and that the very next day he communicated the plan to the prince. Extravagant reports had been circulated in town and country: it had been said, for example, that his message to the prince had been a verbal one, and had been sent by a livery servant. The truth, however, was, that the communication had been made respectfully in writing, and the letter had been sent by a special messenger.* Burke, in one of his outbreaks, taxed Pitt with the design of converting the constitutional monarchy into a republic, with a regent, annually elected, nominally at its head. "If," said he, "it is intended to erect a republic, why is it not avowed? Should I be asked whether I disliked a commonwealth, I would answer, No! I am, however, aware that, according to our frame of government, we cannot speculate upon a republic." He burst into a paroxysm of rage at "the phantom, the fiction of law," by which it was intended to open parliament and give the sanction of the third estate to the Regency Bill. "It is," said he, "a mere mummery, a piece of masquerade buffoonery, formed to burlesque every species of government! A hideous spectre, to which, with Macbeth, we may

'Avaunt, and quit my sight! Let the earth hide thee! Thy bones are mariowless, thy blood is cold: Thou hast no speculation in those eyes. That thou dost glare withal.'

So is it with this ministerial, political spectre. Its bones are marrowless, its blood is cold, and it has no speculation in its eyes. I reprobate it as a chimera, a monster summoned up from the depth of hell!" The minister's motion was carried without a division, and ordered to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence. Pitt next moved that a similar committee should be named to wait upon the queen, in order to ascertain whether her majesty would be graciously pleased to undertake the important trust of the care of his majesty's person, together with the management and control of the household; and this too was voted without a division, and ordered to be carried to the Lords. On the very next day a motion was made in the Upper House by Camden for the concurrence of their lordships in this resolution. The Duke of Northumberland repeated a proposal which had already been made several times under various shapes, in both Houses, to declare that the restric tions were imposed in the conviction that king's illness would probably be of short duration; but this was negatived; and the usual blanks left in the Commons' report, when the concurrence of the Upper House is requested, were ordered to be filled up with the words "Lords spiritual and

temporal." On the next day, the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. in front of Whitehall, one of the two joint committees of Lords and Commons waited upon the Prince of Wales at Carlton House. The day chosen was one on which parliament never met for the dispatch of business; but it was represented that the imperious necessity of restoring the executive government must supersede every other consideration. No day in the year could have been better chosen for awaking solemn reflections in the The deputation consisted of Earl Camden prince. and the Marquess of Stafford from the Peers; Pitt, Arden, now master of the rolls,* Lord Frederick Campbell, and Sir George Younge, on the part of the Commons. The reply of the prince was short and dignified. He thanked the lords and gentlemen for their communicating the resolutions agreed upon, and requested them to assure their respective Houses that his duty to the king his father, and his anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered by a longer suspension of the exercise of the royal authority, together with his respect for the united desires of the two Houses, outweighed, in his mind, every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to him. He, however, took care to record his opinion of the restrictions. "I am sensible," said he, "of the difficulties that must attend the execution of this trust in the peculiar circumstances in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience. But, confiding that the limitations on the exercise of the royal authority deemed necessary, for the present, have been approved by the two Houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his majesty's disorder may not be of long duration, and trusting, in the mean while, that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two Houses and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in the interval, I will entertain the pleasing hope that my faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the king, his crown, and people may be successful." On the same day two peers and four members of the Lower House waited upon her majesty at Kew; and were assured that the queen, out of her duty and gratitude to the king, and the sense of her great obligations to this country, would accept of the trust reposed in her by parliament; and that it would be a great consolution to her to receive the aid of a council. On the 31st, the answers received from the Prince of Wales and the queen being read and ordered to be printed, the House of Lords again resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation. Camden then rose, and remarked that,

[•] He professed to he very ignorant of etiquetie; but said he had repeatedly made communications to his royal highness before in precisely the same manner, and without having incurred any reproach.

[•] Richard Pepper Arden, Esq., had been made master of the rolls in June, 1798, on the promotion of Sir Lidvyd Kenyon (created at the same time a peer by the title of Lord Kenyon) to the chief justiceship of the King's Bench, from which Lord Mansfeld had retired.

having been merely a convention since the incapacity of the third estate, they could pass no bill till they were enabled so to do by the presence or assent of the sovereign power; that, being deprived of his majesty in his natural capacity, they must resort to his political capacity, as residing in the great seal. He said he knew that this had been ridiculed as a phantom; but would those who were so free with their ridicule impart any other mode by which they could be extricated from their present difficulties? As the chancellor could not use the royalty that was in the great scal, the two Houses, and they alone, must direct the use of it; and consequently his lordship moved "That it is expedient and necessary that letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain, be empowered to be issued by the authority of the two Houses of Parliament, in the tenor and form following:"-then followed a transcript of the writ usually issued under the sign-manual empowering certain commissioners to open and hold the king's parliament, &c. In this present commission ministers had inserted among other names those of the Prince of Wales, his brother the Duke of York, and his uncles the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester. Lord Porchester rose to condemn this fiction of the great seal, and to maintain that parliament was now precisely in the same situation in which it stood two months ago, with this difference only, that they were now going to do by a pretended act what ought to have been done at first by a declaration of the two Houses. The Duke of York warmly protested against the whole system, and in particular against the measure now proposed. He would not he said, sanction the proceedings with his name, as he considered them to be unconstitutional and illegal. "I desire therefore," said he, "to have nothing to do with any part of this business; I request that my name be left out of the commission; and I am authorised to make the same request on the part of my brother the Prince of Wales." Camden, who was doing all the business of the night, Thurlow being, or pretending to be, too ill to attend, said that he should not for a moment resist the royal duke's desire, but would omit his name and that of the Prince of Wales. Then the Duke of Cumberland rose and desired that his name and the name of his brother the Duke of Gloucester should also he struck out of the commission. A debate then took place as to the proper mode of withdrawing the names of the four personages so as to convey no disrespect to the House or to their royal highnesses; but at last it was settled that Lord Camden's motion, with the transcript of the writ, names and all, should stand as it did, and that when the resolution was reported to the House Lord Radnor should move an amendment to make it appear on the journal that it was at the express desire of their royal highnesses that their names were omitted. Camden's motion was then passed without a division, and the resolution was communicated at a conference to the Commons. On the 2nd of Fe-

bruary Pitt moved the concurrence of the House therein. This brought on another most stormy debate, in which the opposition again held up to scorn the phantom, and again dwelt upon the wrongs done to the Prince of Wales, and through him to the monarchy and the constitution. Lord North, in a quiet tone, which produced more effect than violent declamation, said he thought it was singularly fortunate that the Prince of Wales had condescended to accept the regency as offered to him-that it must create an agreeable surprise throughout the kingdom, and extinguish those false alarms which had been so industriously circulated, that the prince had asserted his right to assume the sovereign authority independently of the two Houses of Parliament. Pitt rose to deny once more any right in the prince to the regency except such as parliament should give him. "I allow, indeed," said he, "that this right was not claimed by the Prince of Wales; but it was asserted by others-it was started by men who now lament their own assertions, which they are ashamed to avow and anxious to retract." Burke instantly rose and exclaimed, "I assert that the Prince of Wales's right to the regency is as clear as the sun, and that it is the duty of this House to appoint him regent, with the full powers of sovereignty." Continuing with equal warmth, Burke contended that ministers were about to purloin the great scal and commit an act of forgery; that the House had no right to authorise the chancellor to use the great seal in the manner proposed. He was supported by Powys; but no division took place, and the resolution of the Lords was concurred in. On the following day, the 3rd of February, the Commons, with the speaker at their head, presented themselves at the bar of the Lords to hear the commission read. Thurlow was still absent; and the Earl of Bathurst, who officiated as speaker for him, acquainted the Commons that the illness of his majesty had made it necessary that a commission in his name should pass the great seal, &c. After the clerk had read the said commission, which now merely included the names of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Bathurst, the lord privy seal, the Marquess of Carmarthen, Lord Sydney, and the lord chamberlain, Bathurst, in a short speech, opened the causes of the present mode of meeting as a parliament, and the objects for which they were more especially to provide. The Commons then, dropping their character as a convention, or part of one, returned to their own chamber a legally convoked and constituted House of Parliament; and Pitt forthwith rose to move for leave to bring in his Regency Bill, which was still required to complete the three estates. Leave was given without debate, and on the morrow the bill was brought in and read for the first time without a division, and, apparently, without any debate. But on the 6th of February, when the second reading of the Regency Bill was moved, Burke fell upon the bill as if he would have torn it to pieces and scattered it to the wind, together

4 900

with these who had framed it. He declared that the regent, put in possession of a mutilated and disjointed government, would have to bear the burthen and odium of power without any of its graces or splendour-without the power of doing good, encouraging merit, or even exercising charitywould have to contend with a council and a court faction bitter in its enmity and far more powerful than he. "The duration of his majesty's malady," said Burke, "lies hidden in the secret recesses of the dispensations of Providence. He is insane; but his disease is not intermittent, nor has it any lucid intervals. His faculties are totally eclipsed—not a partial, but a total and entire eclipse. The present bill is indefinite in its duration; because that bold promiser, Dr. Willis himself, cannot venture to fix a time when the king may be able to resume his functions. This bill is intended to degrade not only the prince, but the whole Brunswick family. This House is now scattering the seeds of future dissensions in the royal family. . . . According to the provisions of this bill, until the queen shall think proper to assert that the king is recovered, the people possess no means of knowing the fact. If, therefore, her council shall declare it, and his majesty shall be able to sit in a chair at the head of that council, the bill provides that he shall be declared capable. What is this enactment but putting into the hands of Dr. Willis and his keepers the power of changing the government? A person who has been insane may be so subdued by coercion as to become capable of acting the farce appointed for him, and of appearing for a short period to have resumed his intellects. I maintain the utter impossibility of adducing proof whether a person who has been insune is perfectly recovered or not." Burke was several times called to order, but this interruption only led to a condensed recapitulation of the arguments he had used, in order to prove that he had not been disorderly, or that his warmth was justified by the seriousness of the subject. He paid some not unmerited compliments to the domestic virtues of the queen: he did not suspect her of ever intentionally doing wrong; but certain situations and temptations might pervert the purest minds. The bill, however, was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on the morrow. It consisted of thirty-two long clauses. In committee Burke strongly objected to two parts of the oath (contained in the first clause) to be taken by the regent." But it was on the seventh clause, providing against the non-residence of the prince, and against his marrying a papist, that the most startling debate took place. Rolle, who had h on fermer occasions so incredulous to the assurances

of the prince's friends, and so very pertinacious. again called attention to the prince's mysterious connexion with Mrs. Fitzherbert. He said he had given his consent to the appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent only on the understanding that he was not married to a certain lady, either in law or in fact. He was called to order by Sir Francis Basset, who insisted 'that no member should use such language unless he was prepared to submit some specific proposition to the House. Rolle then said that, since the explicit disavowal of the marriage, he had both heard of and read a noted pamphlet,* which affirmed that the disavowal was not warranted by fact; and that no threats, no opposition should deter him from moving that the words "or who is or shall be married, in law or in fact, to a papist" should be added to the seventh clause of the bill. Lord Belgrave opposed this amendment, declaring his conviction that Fox's previous declaration that no marriage had taken place, either in law or in fact, was true and unquestionable, and that the report to the contrary ought to be treated as a false and libellous calumny. Lord North reminded the House that the writer of the pamphlet which had been alluded to had the boldness to declare that the Royal Marriage Act was not legal, and was evidently actuated by no other motive than that of making mischief by daring assertions which he never meant to prove. Welbore Ellis desired the Royal Marriage Act to be read, by which it is cnacted that the marriage of any of the descendants of George II. shall be illegal without the royal assent. This, he said, was a full answer to all cavils and rumours, as that could not be valid in fact which was not good in law. Advantage had been taken of Fox's absence to spread the report that he had not gone to Bath merely for the sake of his health, but in consequence of dissensions and disagreements in the council at Carlton House, and out of a desire to avoid being forced into any fresh explanations on this delicate and embarrassing subject. It appears that many members of the House were disposed to give credit to this rumour, although they had seen with their own eyes the suffering, emaciated appearance of the Whig chief, and had been witnesses of the exhaustion which had followed his late exertions in debate. Sheridan, who was in his place, joined in the attack upon Rolle. "I tell him," said he, "I doubt his motives. What, but the wish to give suspicion wing and disseminate alarm, could induce him to propose an amendment upon which he dares not divide the House?" Courtenay followed: "The pure motives and ardent zeal of the honourable member for Devonshire for the

^{*}By one part of the oath the regent was bound "to take care of the personal asfety of the king to the utmost of his power and ability." This prevision, Burke eatd, was a mockery and insult upon the prices, who was not in the smallest degree intrusted with the care of the royal person. Another part of the oath bound the regent "to govern according to the significtion and testrictions contained in the bill." Burke saked why this idea of a coverant was introduced, and why the worlds till not run in general terms, as in the coronation cutti, "according to the laws of the land," of which that bill, when it passed, would of course make a part?

^{*} Horne Tooke, whose hatred to the Whigs continued in full force, who knew that they would be seriously emuarrassed by the configuration of the popular belief that the prince was really married, and who was not over scrupulous as to the means to be enapleyed for so desirable an end, had published "A Letter to a Friend," in which he boldly asserted, not only his belief in, but knowledge of, a marriage coremony between the prince and "the late Nr. Fitzherbert, new his lawful wife." He also pretended to disappeove as too of the Royal Marriage Act, and to approve warmly of the union which his royal highness had formed with "a most aniable and justify valued female character."

constitution in church and state are," he said, "proved beyond all doubt by the weakness and absurdity of his arguments. Disdaining the aid of logic or reason, he trusts to his conscience alone, and exposes himself in the artless, naked simplicity of his understanding." Mr. Grey spoke warmly on the same side. On the ministerial benches the law-officers of the crown observed a profound silence; but Dundas stood boldly forth to declare that the Royal Marriage Act did not do away with the Act of Settlement, which pronounced the crown to be forfeited by any prince that married a papist. He said, that, when he heard that a reference to a recent act of par liament was the only reply fit to be given to questions of the most serious importance, he could not submit to have a matter of such magnitude rest on such a point, nor would he agree that the effect of the Act of Settlement was virtually done away by a posterior act, which did not specifically repeal the clause about marriages in that statute. Nor was he more disposed to admit that the report which had given rise to the amendment now proposed (by Rolle) was a question rather to be laughed at than argued. So to state it was, he thought, to pay a bad compliment to the Prince of Wales, and to rest his cause on a weak and loose foundation. For himself, he (Dundas) regarded the solemn assurance of Mr. Fox as decisive, feeling convinced that if, anything had occurred to make him change his opinion on the subject, he would, at all hazards, even at the risk of his life, have come down to the House to deliver his sentiments. Rolle, in replying, said he had indeed no wish to divide the committee on the question, being perfectly satisfied with having done his duty in recommending the subject to attention. Pitt said he saw no ground for instituting a public inquiry, and was, therefore, willing to abide by the clause as it stood in the bill. Rolle's amendment was, of course, negatived without a division. The debate then went on upon other clauses of the bill, various amendments being proposed only to be negatived, and great eloquence being displayed on the side of opposition, particularly by Burke. In discussing the clauses by which the regent was restrained from creating peers, granting places, pensions, &c., some curious arguments were used on both sides. Mr. Joliffe thought that the restriction as to the peerages ought to be limited to fifteen months and no more. Burke declared that there ought to be no restriction at all; and he then endeavoured to show how moderate the Whigs had been, and would continue to be, in the granting of those high distinctions. The Duke of Portland,* he said, had been already in his majesty's service in England, and had also been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but had never made a prodigal use of that prerogative; the late Marquess of Rockingham, in whose footsteps the present Whigs proposed to tread, had been extremely sparing of grants of

* In the scheme of the new Whig ministry his grace of Portland was to be first lord of the treasury.

peerages; why, then, should it be supposed that the Whigs would now be prodigal of those ho-nours? Up to this time only, Pitt's creations of peers, British and Irish together, had amounted to about sixty. Lord North observed that, by the granting of pensions being stopped, the prince would not really have the power of choosing his own servants; and he asked how it would be possible for him to fill the highest situation in the law, when not a puisne judge, or even a barrister in tolerable business, would accept of the always precarious office of lord chancellor, if there were no hope of the pension on dismissal. Pitt. with a sort of solemn drollery, said, it was very fit the regent should have the free choice of a chancellor if the country should be so unfortunate as to lose the learned lord who now filled that office; but still it was not in the present bill that the power of providing for him should be given. When the occasion should occur the regent might apply to parliament, and he himself (Pitt) would

very readily agree to the pension.

On the 9th of February it was reported in the ministerial circles that the king was much better. The House, however, in committee, continued the debates on the Regency Bill, the opposition still speaking as if there were slight hopes of his majesty's recovery. It was generally believed that the king, though so often pleading debt and distress, had accumulated large sums of money. Anstruther remarked, that, though the bill stated that the management of the king's property should not be in the Prince of Wales, it was totally silent as to whose hands it should be vested in; that there had been various rumours as to the vast amount of that property, and that, whatever it might be, it was but right it should be properly taken care of, and not left to be embezzled by anonymous purloiners, whom nobody could call to account, because nobody knew them. He was therefore of opinion that the property should be put in trust of a commission, to consist of the queen, the princes of the blood, the great officers of state, the lord chancellor, and the two chief justices. Pitt said that, as to the amount of that property, he believed there could be nothing but guess; that he at least had no clue by which to form a notion of its amount; but that, whatever it might be, it had already been deposited in such hands as would always be obliged to account for their trust. Burke complained that all this was further proof of the illiberal treatment of the princes of the blood, who were thus declared to be unworthy of any share in the trust. The clause investing the queen with the care of the king's person and the management of the household was again vehemently opposed. Burke described the sick king as a monarch smitten by the hand of Omnipotence, hurled from his throne by the Almighty, and plunged into a condition which ex cited the pity of the meanest peasant in the land. He was interrupted by loud calls of order, and was very severely rebuked by the Marquess of Graham. Burke justified the language he had used by the

the same strain, he asked whether they the pemps and expenses of royalty?* "Ought they, at that hour of sickness and calamity, to southe his bed with purple? Ought they to make a mockery of him, putting a crown of thorns on his head, a reed in his hand, and dressing him in a raiment of purple, to cry, ' Hail, King of the British!" This was one of the most lamentable transgressions against taste, and something more serious than taste, ever committed by this great man in the passion and whirlwind of his eloquence. The House strongly marked their disapprobation. Burke condemned the clause altogether, maintaining that the queen ought to have no share in the executive government, and declaring that the division of power was unconstitutional and dangerous; and in these arguments he was joined by Lord Sheridan, supported by Lord George Cavendish and General Norton, proposed se-parating the great offices of the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the lord chancellor from the rest of the household. Pitt declared that the salaries of the household, from the greatest officers to the lowest turnspit, did not exceed 100,000l. per annum; out of which not more than 30,000l. per annum was paid in salaries to individuals that were members of the two Houses of Parliament. He said that there were seven gentlemen sitting in the House of Commons whose salaries from the household amounted altogether to about 40001.; and eighteen peers, in the other House, whose joint salaries amounted to about 26,0001.; and that the amount of such influence could not be of much weight either on the one side or the other. The chancellor of the exchequer thus treated the question merely as one of pounds, shillings, and pence, without attributing any weight or importance to the political feelings and predilections of the lords and gentlemen forming the household, which were directly adverse to the Whigs. On the 10th of February, the House still continuing in committee on the bill, the clause relating to the council to be appointed to assist and co-operate with the queen was debated with the same warmth. Pitt proposed that the said council should consist of the four principal officers of the householdthe lord chamberlain, the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole, for the time being; and in addition to these, of four other persons, in the selecting of whom, he said, he was naturally led to make choice of those whom his majesty himself had placed at the head of the church and the law; and therefore he should propeac the names of John (Moore) Archbishop of Centerbury; Edward Lord Thurlow, Lord High Charceller; William (Markham) Lord Archbishop of York; and Lloyd Lord Kenyon. Various and strong objections were raised to the constitution of this council. It was urged that it ought to include, if not the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Speaker of the Commons, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. With particular reference to the last-named functionary (Lord Loughhorough) the Whigs, who, upon rather slippery grounds, counted upon him as one of their party, complained that ministers were looking exclusively to the politics of persons as the criterion of their qualifications for the trust. Lord North moved in form that the Duke of York should be one of the said council. This being negatived by 177 against 130, the several names of their royal highnesses Prince William Henry, Prince Edward, the Duke of Gloucester, and Duke of Cumberland, were then severally proposed and negatived. Mr. Dempster then moved that the Speaker of the House and the Lord Mayor should be added, but this too was negatived. The ministerial majority on all these divisions was about 50. On the following day-the 11th of February-Pitt met the objection about the difficulty started as to the manner in which the king's recovery and restoration to a sound state of mind should be ascertained and announced to the public. He proposed that some organ, known to the country, should be employed to satisfy the people of so desirable an event; that, as soon as it should appear to five out of the eight councillors appointed by the queen that his majesty's health was restored, they should certify it under their hands to the political servants of the regent and to the Lord Mayor of London, and afterwards to the public in the London Gazette; that the king should then summon nine members of the privy council, who, sitting in council with his majesty, would have an opportunity of judging whether his incapacity was really removed or not; and, should six of them be of opinion that it was removed, then a proclamation, signed by his majesty, and countersigned by the six privy councillors, certifying the king's capacity, should immediately be published, and instantly all the power of the regent should cease and determine. Against this elaborate project, which left out parliament altogether, there rose a loud dissent. Mr. Powys, who had been active in every stage of the Regency Bill, treated the proposition as the most extraordinary of all that had yet been advanced-more condemnable than any part of the bill. He said, the minister had first maintained that parliament had a right to settle everything relating to the present unprecedented exigency; but now he abandoned that principle, and would not suffer the interference of parliament in the restoration of the king to his government. As to the nine members of the privy council, Powys thought that the public could not have much confidence in their declaration, as they were to be picked and chosen out of a great number. The minister had spoken of their responsibility, but, if they should form a wrong opinion, it would be impossible to say whether they had done wrong wilfully or merely through an

^{*} By the hittoenth chines of the bill, which had just been debated, the privy purse, amounting to 60,000f. a-year, was reserved to the king, and 16,000f. a-year out of it was given to the queen in order to enable her to consinte his majoray's characters.

ersor in judgment; - they might deceive the public both ways. Sheridan urged the necessity of having the king's restored capacity ascertained and determined, not by the queen's council, or members selected from the privy council, but by the two Houses of Parliament. He observed that if, either through error or design, the king should be incorrectly reported to be perfectly sane, and so be restored during the recess of parliament, the most fatal consequences might ensue before parliament could correct or check them. Mr. Marsham proposed a clause for remedying this objection, but it was rejected. Powys moved that the physicians should be examined by the queen's council upon oath; but this was negatived. In the last place Sheridan moved that the regent should be bound to communicate to parliament the notification of the king's recovery. This motion was pressed to a division, when it was negatived by 181 against 113. The House then resumed, the report was brought up and agreed to, and the bill ordered for the third reading on the morrow. On that daythe 12th of April—the third reading was gone through, and the bill was sent up to the Lords, with the addition of one clause, limiting the restriction on the making of peers to three years, which was moved by Mr. Pulteney and adopted.*

The report that the king was rapidly recovering was now spread in all directions. Many men hungering and thirsting for promotions or places hoped that there would be no delay in passing the bill through the Lords, and no hesitation on the part of the Whig leaders in accepting office. Among the good things actually vacant were one or two bishoprics, the office of justice in eyre, and sundry commissions of major-generals. † A day more or a day less might decide whether the Whig adherents should clutch these profitable appointments, or be left for years to sigh in vain. It was not to be expected but that men of mortal mould should be anxious and impatient under such circumstances. Still, however, it was unreasonable in them to expect that the chiefs of the party should take office one day to be turned out the next. Opposition were sadly embarrassed whether to accept or not. At the same time Pitt "doubted what to do."! It was not until the 17th that the Lords committed the bill; and on that very day the king was publicly declared to be convalescent. In committee their lordships made two rather important additions to the bill: one placing under the control and management of the queen all the palaces, parks, houses, gardens, &c., belonging to his majesty; and the other committing to the queen the care of all the royal off-

spring under the age of twenty-one. On Thursday, the 19th, Lord Chancellor Thurlow sonorgue announced to their lordships that, from the official reports of the physicians, it appeared that his gracious majesty had been for some time in a state of convalescence; that the accounts just received conveyed the happy news that that improvement was still progressive -information which, he said must prove, beyond measure, pleasing to every man in the kingdom. In this situation of affairs he conceived that their lordships could not possibly proceed with the Regency Bill before them and he moved that their lordships should immediately adjourn to Tuesday next. The Duke of York rose and said-" I trust your lordships will do me the justice to believe that no person in the House could feel equal pleasure with myself from the favourable account which the noble lord on the woolsack has given, and the motion he has made to the House, in which I entirely concur. I should have had great satisfaction in making the same communication to the House, if I had been enabled to do it from any certain information. I thought it my duty yesterday, upon the favourable reports given to the public, to request to be admitted to his majesty's presence. From reasons very justifiable, no doubt, it was not thought proper that I should have that satisfaction. From the knowledge I have of my brother's sentiments, though I have had no immediate communication with him upon the subject of this metion, I am convinced he will feel equal if not greater pleasure than myself at the hopes of his majesty's recovery, as it must relieve him from the embarrassment of the situation in which the bill would have placed him. which nothing but a strong sense of his duty to the public would have induced him to undertake." Thurlow's motion was agreed to; the House adjourned forthwith; and, fortunately for the country and for all parties concerned, the Regency Bill stopped there. On Monday, the 23rd, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York saw the king at Kew for the first time, and his majesty, it is said, "bore it well." On Tuesday, the 24th, the Chancellor informed the House of Lords that he had that morning attended his majesty, by his express command, and had found him perfectly recovered: but that, in order to bring the pressure of public business as gradually as possible upon his mind, he should propose an adjournment to the Monday fol-To this motion no opposition was made.

On the very next day a committee from the two Houses of the Irish parliament arrived in London to present an address to the Prince of Wales, requesting his royal highness to take upon himself the regency of Ireland, as his rig When Burke told ministers that something like this might happen in the sister island, he probably knew perfectly well the course which would be pursued in the parliament there, as Lord Charle-

^{*}At the same time Mr. W. Smith proposed reserving to the regent the power, in certain cases, of giving the royal assent to a bill or bills for the relief of the dissenters, but this was withdrawn after a short convoration. A clause of the bill prohibited the regent from giving his assent to any act repealing or altering the act of the 18th of Charles II., entitled An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, &c. † It was also expected that several field marshals would be made, none having been made since the appointment of Lord Tyrawley to that rank in 1763. In fact, the first field-marshals made after this werks General Conway, the Duke of Gloucester, and Sir George Howard, in October. 1785.

Witherforce, Diary. In the same entry he mentions having not off to Kew himself on the same day, and having had some talk with Tour Wills " about Fittle going to the king betimes." He saids, " See the Fitt to be early." 2 Q 2

took the lead in the Irish House of the his bosom friend and constant corredepends, and his freedomine which would have been a strange anomaly into the executive permment, had not been managed without a hard turgle. The session at Dublin was opened on the 5th of February by the lord-lieutenant, the Marquess of Buckingham (lately Lord Temple), who had put off the meeting as long as he could do so with propriety and safety. He laid before both Histories all the documents respecting the king's health which had been received. As soon as the was voted, Mr. Fitzherbert, the lordlientenant's secretary, moved in the House of Commons that they should resolve themselves into a committee on the Monday se'nnight, to take into consideration the state of his majesty's health. It was immediately understood that this proposed delay of ten days was intended to prevent the Irish parliament from coming to any resolutions before the determination of the British parliament could be known and presented to them for their concurrence. A terrible cry was raised about the independence of Ireland, and the dignity and credit of her parliament. Grattan, the most eloquent man in the House, proposed that they should meet again on the next Wednesday, and his amendment was carried by 128 against 74. At the same time a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer for proceeding immediately upon the business of supply was negatived, and the consideration of supply put off to the 12th of February. On the Wednesday, the 11th, when the House met again, Mr. Conolly moved that an address should be presented to the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the government of the kingdom of Ireland, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, and, under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, and in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of that kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, opposed the motion with all his ability, which was very considerable; but Grattan, Curran, and Ponsonby supported it with brilliant speeches, and it was carried with wonderful enthusiasm and without a division. On Monday, the 16th, while the government party were endeayouring to carry another adjournment, Charlemont rose in the House of Lords, and moved for an address to the prince similar to that voted by the Commons; and his motion was carried by a ma pority of nineteen. On Thursday, the 19th, both Houses waited upon the lord-lieutenant with their addresses, and requested him to transmit the same to London. His excellency said, that, under the impressions he entertained of his official duty, and of the oath he had taken, he did not consider himself warranted to lay before the prince an address, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers

to take upon himself the government of that realm. before he should be enabled by law so to do; and that, therefore, he must decline transmitting their address. On the following day, after his excellency's answer had been entered on the journals. Grattan moved that a competent number of members should be appointed by the House of Commons to present their address to his royal highness; and, this being agreed to without a division, he moved that Mr. Conolly should attend the Lords to request them to appoint members of their own body to join with the members of the Commons in presenting the said address. The Lords agreed, and appointed the Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Charlemont. The Commons then named Conolly, O'Neil, W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stuart. This over, Grattan moved that the two Houses of Parliament had discharged an indispensable duty in providing for the third estate of the Irish constitution, by appointing the Prince of Wales Regent of Ireland; and this, too, was carried by a large majority, the numbers being 130 against 71. Grattan next moved and carried a vote of censure on the lord-heutenant for refusing to transmit the address. Continuing to proceed as if he were pressing a siege or carrying a citadel by rapidly repeated assaults, not determining on a great state question, which certainly called for some deliberation, Grattan, on the 25th, moved that the supplies should be voted only for three months; and next, that the army should be provided for only for the same length of time; and both his motions were carried—the first by 104 against 85, the second by 102 against 77. The joint committee of Irish Lords and Commons, who had airived on the 25th, presented their address to the prince at Carlton House on the day following, His royal highness returned his warmest thanks, but acquainted them with the fortunate change which had taken place in the king's health, and which he hoped, within a few days, would enable his majesty to resume his government, and make it only necessary for him (the prince) to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland which he felt indelibly in his heart. Personally the members of the Irish committee were treated very differently from the English deputation, in which the starch figure of Pitt had been included. A splendid entertainment was given to them at Carlton House, and the leaders of the prince's party, foremost among whom stood Sheridan and Burke, both Irishmen by birth, were invited to meet them. The grand dining-room was hung with harps and other Irish emblems; and the arms of Ireland, encircled with a glory, blazed triumphantly in the centre of the table. The wine flowed in torrents, and all was loyalty and jollity.* As a son, the prince might rejoice, for that very morning the

[•] It was at this famed feast that Burke made his famous pun. Some of the Irish guests (the fact seems almost incredible) objected to the "one bottle more before we part," proposed by the Prince of Wales. "Come," said Burke, "the prince on this occasion is absolute fore de clao."

king was prenounced perfectly free from his complaint; and a paper was posted at St. James's, stating that, by his majesty's command, the phy-



GEORGIANA DUCHESS OF DEVON-HIRE Sir J Reynolds From a Painting by

sicians were to issue no more bulletins. there had been feasting in that mansion when, according to the natural feelings of ordinary men, it



JAME DUCKESS OF GOLDON. From a Painting by Sir J. Reynolds.

ought to have been a house of mourning. During the malady of the king and the great party struggle on the Regency Bill, dinners began to be given at

Carlton House on the Saturday and Sunday of every week; to which entertainments thirty or more members of both Houses we a usually in-vited, and at which the Primes of Wales and Duke of York presided. These dimers were given, of course, for political purposes. It is said that wine, flattering attentions, and promises were not spared; that governments, regiments, discount and preferments were held out 'h prospect to retain the wavering and allure the credulous or discontented. Strenuous efforts were made by the two rival duchesses of the day-by her Grace of Devonshire for the regent and Charles Fox, and by her Grace of Gordon for William Pitt. These for male auxiliaries were each of the greatest importance to her party: the Duchess of Devonshire, who was said to have gained Fox his Westminster election in 1784, had captivating graces not to be resisted; and the Duchess of Gordon had a bold masculine spirit, which cared for no rebuff and carried her triumphantly over most obstacles. She is said to have acted as a regular whipper-in for ministers, giving splendid parties at her house in Pall Mall, not far from Carlton Palace, inviting or summoning members of parliament, and those who had influence or command over them, and arguing, remonstrating, or bullying with them. The traditions of these things will preserve the name of Jane Duchess of Gordon in political history. † During the latter part of the parliamentary proceedings the Duchess of Gordon's house and Carlton House are said to have presented scenes of very extraordinary agitation. In the streets of London and Westminster the old trade of lampooning and caricaturing each other was revived by the two contending parties, and numerous jests were interchanged upon a very lugubrious business, and at what was, in reality, a dangerous crisis. A caricaturist, in the Tory interest, represented the Prince of Wales in the act of stealing the crown from his sick father: an ingenious artist, on the other side, represented Pitt, Dundas, and Thurlow as the three weird sisters dancing on a barren heath with their eyes fixed on the moon, out of which shone resplendently the approving countenance of Queen Charlotte, while the king's profile was clouded over so as to be scarcely visible. The sobcrer part of the nation, the majority of the people, were decidedly inclined to the side of Pitt and the king. The personal popularity of the sovereign had increased wonderfully: it was already a habit to call him " the good old king," to point to his moral, domestic modes of life, and to

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Posthumous Memoirs. Wraxall was a decided Pititie, and somewhat given to detail more than he knew or than was actually true; but his word may be taken implicitly on this sociation, being supposted by abundant testimony.

† Id —In spite of his political predilections, the barenet, like nearly every one else that knew anything of the rival duchenses, admired the fominine graces, the amiability, and elegance of the Duchess of Devonshire much more than he did the manly qualities of the Sociatiah Duchess. He moreover hunts that her Grace of Goodon's exertions were far from being disintensessed—that she had a plan to secure this unloving and not very lovesable premiser as a husband for one of her vulnameric detailed early history—that it was through her solves services but formed considers that her every husband received the grean seal of formed considers that he produced, and that he broather. Local William Gordon, obtained the

times them, perhaps uncharitably and unwisely, The lapse of the young and gay prince: the dreadful malady of his majesty only endeared him the pore by exciting compassion and sympathy; and their generous feelings for the individual, and in heir anxiety that he should be restored to his lingly state, people were but too apt to overlook the inconveniences and dangers that might pos-ably have attended his restoration to the throne. The city of London, which had once been the great centre of opposition, was now enthusiastically loyal; and, though Fox, the charming duchess, and the Whigs maintained their superiority in Westminster, the capital and its thickly peopled neighbourhood gave very strong proofs of their preferring the restored government of the king with Pitt's ministry, to the untried government of the prince with a Whig cabinet. The Whigs, in fact, were still labouring under that heavy burden of unpopularity which they had imposed upon themselves by the coalition; several of their leaders were suspected of a want not merely of political principle, but of common honesty: in the heat of debate on the Regency Bill they had delivered sentiments highly offensive to all loyal subjects, or to all the admirers of "the good old king;" and their disrespect, their heat, and vehemence were attributed entirely to their selfish impatience to obtain the emoluments and honours of office. shall not here attempt either to condemn or justify these feelings: we merely state what appears to have been the fact in 1789—that the Whig party in the nation was decidedly in the minority, and its eloquent leaders distrusted even by many of those who admired their abilities and ge-The principal merits and demerits of the bill will appear from the clauses themselves, and from the debates upon them which have been given. As the bill never came into operation we may reserve further reflections on the regency question in general till the year 1811, when a bill was passed which was acted upon, and when several eminent constitutional lawyers and writers treated the subject in all its possible bearings.* We need mercly say here that the Whigs in their first move committed a blunder in claiming a regency for the prince as a matter of right without previous consent of parliament; that, though they hastily retraced their steps, they could not soon efface the unfavourable impressions they had made on that delicate, critical ground; that parliament and the framers of the bill were really placed in a most difficult dilemma, for, if they gave too much power to the regent, the restoration of authority to the king must have been rendered difficult and in various ways embarrassing; and if, on the o hand, they gave too little power to the regent, they

• No inconsiderable number of essays and pamphlets were published now in 1788-9. The very first publication of the late Sir James MacKinstols was a pamphlet supporting the analogy which Fox shidesvoired to establish between the state of the sovereign and the matural denties of the crown. This cop dessay of the young metaphysician did not attend much public notice; but it secured to its author, in later years, the kindly recollections of the Prince of Wales.—Members of Mackinstols, by his Son.

must have destroyed or injured his efficiency as representative of the third estate, and thus impaired the monarchic part of the constitution. The whole tendency of Pitt's scheme was in the latter direction, and nothing but his inward conviction that the king must soon recover can be pleaded in excuse of many portions of his Regency Bill. It was no time for trying appropriate; the flames of revolution kindled in France were spreading rapidly through the European continent, and thrones and dynasties were swept away, consumed, and obliterated as if they had hever been. Voltaire's Epiphany, or Day of Kings, was more than real-

As the bill had not been actually passed—as the royalty in the great seal had not been impressed upon it, it was not considered necessary to adhere to the complicated method prescribed by it for announcing the king's recovery and restoration to his royal capacity. The declaration of the lord chancellor and the chancellor of the exchequer, the bulletins of the physicians, and the royal order by which those bulletins were suspended as being no longer necessary, were considered ample announcement and ground sufficient to enable the king to resume the government and exercise all the functions of his office. It is true, as urged by one of Pitt's biographers, that a formal inquiry into the fact of his majesty's restoration to health might have been painful and indelicate; but, on the other hand, the interests of the nation imperatively demanded that his recovery should be authenticated. and publicly and formally confirmed, before the sovereign was reinstated. There were other arguments used at the time which would have gone to establish the theory that a king once mad must be considered as always mad, masmuch as it was not possible to determine the precise points where insanity began and ended, or to intrust any authority to a king who might be sane to-day, and mad again to-morrow. On Tuesday the 3rd of March the Lords met, but only to adjourn again till the 5th. On that day they were informed by the chancellor that his majesty would signify his further pleasure to both Houses on the Tuesday following. Both Houses accordingly adjourned till Tuesday the 10th of March. Then, the Commons being summoned as usual at the opening of parliaments, whether by the king in person or by commission, repaired to the House of Lords with their speaker at their head, and were informed by the chancellor that his majesty, not thinking fit to be there present in his royal person, had caused a commission to be issued, authorising the commissioners who had been appointed by former letters patent to hold that parliament to open and declare certain further causes for holding the same. The com-mission was then read, and the chancellor, in the name of the commissioners, informed the two Houses that his majesty, being, by the blessing of Providence, happily recovered from his severe indisposition, and being able to attend to the public affairs of his kingdom, had commanded the com-

missioners to convey to them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs which they had given of their attachment to his person, &c.; and that they were ordered by his majesty to acquaint them, that, since the close of the last session, he had concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with the King of Prussia; and that his majesty's endeayours had been employed during the last summer in order to prevent the extension of hostilities in Addresses were then moved in both Europe. Houses as at the beginning of a session. In the Lords Earl Stanhope expressed some doubts as to the regularity of their proceedings, and their not having his majesty's recovery ascertained in the method laid down in the Regency Bill; but his objections were asserted by Thurlow to be of no force, and the House went along with the Chah-In the Commons Mr. Yorke, who secellor. conded the address, observed that the House might congratulate themselves on having proceeded with more caution than expedition with the late bill; and that it must be to them a source of exultation to perceive that his majesty was able, on resuming the duties of his office, not only to approve, but likewise to applaud their proceedings. Fox said they were merely getting up an eulogium on mi-nisters—that he did not believe the king intended to express any such opinion of the late parliamentary proceedings—that he entertained too high an opinion of his majesty's regard for justice to suppose him capable of deciding between two parties without previously hearing both.* The addresses being carried in both Houses, a congratulatory address to her majesty was moved in the Upper House by the Earl of Morton, seconded by Lord Hawkesbury; and in the Lower by the Marquess of Graham, seconded by Mr. Hamilton. Fox made some objection to this address, and thought that, if all Europe had admired the queen's conduct, there was likewise another person whose conduct had equally excited universal admiration, and whose character had acquired additional splendour; and that, if her majesty should be addressed, there was no reason why an address should not be presented to the Prince of Wales. Pitt said that he did not believe any difference of opinion existed relative to the virtues of the heir-apparent; that he had not the slightest objection to address that illustrious person, if any precedent for it could be found. On that night the popular feeling was shown by such an illumination of the capital and suburbs as had never been witnessed before. To eyes that were as yet strangers to the brilliancy of gas, Lendon seemed one blaze of light. The illumination was literally general—from the richest down to the poorest houses. The popular enthusiasm seemed to be boundless. On the following day the Spanish and Prussian ambassadors were admitted to a private audience of the king. All the

business which had been so long delayed began now to be dispatched with all possible speed. the 18th of March 218,000%. was granted for the extraordinaries of the ordnance. The money was meant to be applied to the erecting of more fortifications in our West India islands—a scheme which was again condemned by General Burgoyne, Sheridan, and other members of opposition. On the 24th Mr. Beautoy moved for leave to bring in a bill, "To establish a perpetual anniversal" thankagiving to Almighty God for having, by the glorious Revolution, delivered this nation from arbitrary power, and to commemorate annually the confirmation of the people's rights." proposed that the bill should contain that brief but comprehensive abstract of the rights of the people which is exhibited in the Bill of Rights, and should be annually read in our churches as a part of the service of the day. He was seconded by Lord Muncaster, and opposed by Sir Richard Hill. who thought the event sufficiently commemorated in the form of prayer appointed for the 5th of November. The bill, however, was not only brought in, but carried through all its stages in the House of Commons. The Lords seemed less disposed to pay any additional honour to the Revolution of 1688, which had brought the reigning family to the throne. On the motion for the first reading the Bishop of Bangor (Doctor Warren) pointed out the several parts of the service of the 5th of November which had been added and altered for the purpose of commemorating the Revolution; and the bill was thrown out, on his motion, by a vote of 13 of their lordships against 6, without the ceremony of having been even once read, to which a bill proposed by a peer is considered to be entitled of right, and which is usually accorded in courtesy to any measure sent up from the other House. On the 2nd of April Fox renewed the attempts he had made in several successive years for the repeal of the shop-tax, and at length succeeded in carrying that measure. In consequence of this repeal Mr. Dempster proposed and carried the abolition of the additional tax and restrictions which had been laid upon hawkers and pedlars. On the 8th of April Pitt rose to acquaint the House that he was commanded to inform them that his majesty had appointed Thursday, the 23rd of April, to be observed as a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God for that signal interposition of his good providence which had removed from his majesty the late illness under which he had suffered; and that, for the greater solemnity of that day, his majesty would go to St. Paul's church to return thanks to Almighty God; and that his majesty had given the necessary orders for providing places in the cathedral for the members of that House. It was forthwith resolved that the thanks of the House should be returned to his majesty; that the House would attend, as a House, in St. Paul's; and that a committee should be appointed to consider of the manner of the House going to the church, and of such regulations as might be

It is said that one of the first uses the king made of his recovered senses was to peruse the reports of the debates on the regency question, and to take especial note of these who had been warmest on the side of the Prince of Wales, and of these also who had described the minister on that trying occasion.

preserving order upon that occasion. On the appointed day London was thronged to the morning, the Commons in their coaches, and with their Speaker in his state coach, going first. Then came the masters in chancery, the judges, and after them the Peers, with the Lord Chancellor in his state coach in their rear. The next in order were the princes and princesses; and they were followed by their majesties, who were hailed with the loudest and most hearty acclamations. At Temple Bar their majesties were met by the Lord Mayor in his gown of crimson velvet, and by the sheriffs and aldermen in their formalities. At the west door of the cathedral they were received by the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the canons. After a flourish of martial music from the regimental bands stationed outside, they entered the cathedral amidst the peal of organs and the voices of five thousand children of the city charity schools, who were placed between the pillars on both sides, and singing the hundredth psalm. The king was much affected, and, as he was walking across the area under the great dome between the bishop and the dean, he said to the dean, with great emotion, "I now feel that I have been ill!" but, recovering himself, he proceeded to the choir. When Te Deum was sung the Tower and Park guns were fired. The procession returned towards St. James's in the same order and amidst the same acclamations, and at night all London was again illuminated. There might be selfishness, maincerity, hollowness, and hypocrisy in some of the high places, but we see no reason to doubt what we are told by the eye-witnesses of this prolonged jubilee, that the rejoicing of the people bore every appearance of being genuine, heart-felt, and spontaneous. †

On the 12th of May, an elaborate report from the privy council on the slave trade being laid upon the table of the House of Commons, together with petitions for and against the abolition of that traffic, it was voted, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the report, with other papers, should be immediately taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House. In committee, Wilberforce, who in private had received promises and encouragement from his friend the premier, made a long and excellent speech, and concluded with moving twelve resolutions condemnatory of the traffic and the barbarous treatment of African slaves. Pitt said he was willing that the resolutions should be entered on the journals. Burke and Fox supported Wilberforce with their usual animation. Burke "thought the House, the tion, and all Europe under very great and serious obligations to the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) for having brought the subject forward in a manner the most masterly, impressive, and eloquent. A trade begun with savage war, prose-

cuted with unheard-of cruelty, continued during the mid-passage with the most loathsome imprisonment, and ending in perpetual exile and unremitted slavery, was a trade so horrid in all its circumstances, that it was impossible a single satisfactory argument could be adduced in its fayour." Fox applauded Wilberforce for proposing to do what he thought it their duty to do-completely to abolish the traffic in slaves. He was glad that the propositions were to be put upon the journals, for if, unfortunately, the attempt should fail, it might succeed another year. He felt certain that sooner or later it must succeed, and that our example would be followed by other nations. He reminded the House of the salutary changes which were now taking place in France, and which he seemed to consider as sufficient to remove former prejudices and antipathies, and to justify the most sanguine hopes. He said, "he had sometimes been thought to use too harsh expressions of France in treating her as the rival of this country. Politically speaking, France certainly was our rival; but he well knew the distinction between political enmity and illiberal prejudice. If there was any great and enlightened nation now existing in Europe it was France, which was as likely as any nation on the face of the globe to act on the present subject with warmth and with enthusiasm; to catch a spark from the light of our fire, and to run a race with us in promoting the ends of humanity. France had been often improperly stimulated by her ambition; he had no doubt but that she would, in the present instance, readily follow its honourable dictates." The House sat in committee for some days, hearing the evidence offered by the petitioners, and then adjourned the further consideration of the matter to the next session.

At the beginning of June Lord Sydney resigned, and was succeeded both as secretary of state for the home department and as president of the board of control by Mr. Grenville, who had so recently been nominated speaker of the House of Commons. Sir Gilbert Elliot was again proposed as speaker, but the ministerial nominee, Addington, son of the physician of that name, was elected by a majority of 73, the numbers being 215 against 142. On the 10th of June Pitt opened the budget, reviewing his financial career ever since he had been chancellor of the exchequer, and congratulating the country on the fact that his hopes of the efficacy of a sinking-fund, &c., had been proved to have been well founded. As, however, there had been several extraordinary expenses, such as paying the Prince of Wales's debts and the debts on the civil list, fitting out the armament in the summer of 1787, &c., it was now necessary to raise one million by loan, and to increase lightly some taxes or duties. Sheridan denied that the minister's hopes had been well founded, or his financial career a wise and prosperous one; and he asserted that there was in reality an annual deficit of two millions, and that

Octor George Protyman Tomlins, who had been Pitt's tutor, who obtained the See of Lincoln in 1787, and who was translated to Winchester in 1880.
+ Ann. Regist.—Gent, & Mag.—Tomline, Life of Pitt.

the minister's darling project, the sinking-fund, would never pay off the national debt. Exactly a month later, on the 10th of July, Sheridan moved "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the public income and expenditure, into the progress actually made in the reduction of the national debt since the year 1786, and into the grounds on which a reduction of the same may be expected in future, and to report the same, with their observations thereon, to the House; and that the said committee do consist of Henry Bankes, Esq., Daniel Parker Coke, Esq., George Dempster, Esq., William Drake, jun, Esq., William Hussey, Esq., Sir William Lemon, Bart, James Lowther, Esq., James Martin, Esq., Mr. Alderman Newnham, Edward Philips, Esq., Charles Anderson Pelham, Esq., Thomas Stanley, Esq., Sir George Augustus William Shuckburgh, Bart., Mr. Alderman Watson, and the Earl of Wycombe." Sheridan insisted that the report of the committee of 1786 was neither founded on fact nor verified by experience; that the minister, aided by that report, had deceived the nation; and that no rational expectation could be entertained that any progress could be made in the reduction of the national debt except by a considerable increase of the national revenue or a considerable reduction in our expenses. There was a long debate, but Sheridan's motion was negatived without a division, as was a motion to the same effect in the Upper House, made by Lord Rawdon and seconded by the Duke of Richmond. In the month of June Pitt had submitted to the House a plan for transferring the duties on tobacco from the customs to the excise, with the view of putting a stop to the contraband trade in that commodity. He had urged that one-half of the tobacco consumed in the kingdom was smuggled, and that the revenue was defrauded, by this means only, to the amount of nearly 300,000/. per annum. This tobacco bill was reported on the 15th of July, when the old jealousy as to any extension of the excise laws was revived in full force. Sir Watkin Lewes proposed a clause for checking abuses of authority on the part of the excise officers; and the debates were prolonged through several days. On the 16th Fox spoke at some length on the subject. He said he could not see without concern that many persons, blinded by a species of political frenzy, were thrown into so superstitious a reverence for the revenue that they would sacrifice everything for that object. thought it dangerous and unconstitutional to send bevies of excisemen to interfere on all occasions with manufactures, and invade the privacy of the houses of the people. When they talked in that House, day after day, of the birthrights of Englishmen, for which they had shed their blood, and were ready to shed it again, did they mean nothing but empty sounds? He could not but consider any extension of the excise laws as a very important matter; and that the bringing such a measure forward at that advanced part of the year, when it could not be properly discussed, as the House was

so thinned, was a proof of inexcusable indifference to the rights and liberties of their countrymen. On another day Fox compared Pitt's new excise bills to the excise upon cider, so unfortunately brought forward by the Earl of Bute. He said there had been a distinction taken—that excising cider was bringing the officers of excise into a private gentleman's house, and that an excise on a trade was very different. Fox declared that he saw no force in the distinction, and that the shop of the trader was as much his castle as the dwelling of the private gentleman. He admitted that, unless the expenses of government could be reduced, the revenue must be kept up; but he thought that this might be done in a manner less offensive to industry and the manners and feelings of the people. In the end several clauses were struck out or altered, and the bill was passed in a very thin House. It met with considerable opposition in the Lords, particularly from Loughborough and Stormont. Even Chancellor Thurlow, who found that his colleagues were not disposed to pardon his late tergiversations, treated the enacting part of the bill with great bitterness and contempt. He maintained that it was unnecessary thus to extend the vexatious precautions and preventive severities of the excise laws; that proper attention had not been paid to the interests and property of the tobaccomanufacturers; that the greater part of the clauses were absurd, contradictory, ungrammatical, and unintelligible. He hoped that the House of Commons, if they meant to preserve their right of having their money-bills untouched in that House, would not insult their lordships by sending up laws to them that would disgrace a set of schoolboys. [To the initiated all this was little less than declaring, "I have quarrelled with Pitt, and either he must cease to be prime minister or I must cease to be lord chancellor."] Although he by so doing exposed the minister's bill to the hazard of being upset for that session, the prorogation being now close at hand, Thurlow moved an amendment. He was, however, defeated by a majority of three, the numbers being 10 against 7. The Duke of Richmond then moved another amendment, which was carried, in the belief that the Commons would not object to it: but upon the third reading of the bill, which was on the very morning of the prorogation, the amendment was withdrawn and the bill was passed as sent up from the other House.

The occupation and excitement produced by the Regency Bill, and then by the recovery of the king, had proved very disadvantageous to the progress of Hastings's impeachment. Moreover, the grand spectacle in Westminster Hall had lost its attraction and novelty. On the 3rd of February Hastings had presented a petition to the Lords complaining of the great hardships to which the extraordinary duration of the trial had subjected him. He mentioned the death of several of his judges, the long detention of witnesses necessary for his defence, the probability of his being deprived of many of them by various accidents; and he speke

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of his health as broken and of his fortune as already wasted by the enormous expenses to which had been subjected. He reminded their lordthat only two articles of charge out of twenty had as yet been gone through by his accusers; that his expenses had already exceeded 30,0001.; and consequently, should his life be continued to be close of the trial, he might find himself destithe close of the means of defence and even of subsistence, and run the dreadful chance of having his character blasted by unrefuted criminations, there being no possibility of defending himself effectually without money. He implored their lordships to do what in them lay to expedite the trial. It was the 20th of April before the Lords could resume their court in the Hall; and during the prolonged and busy session of parliament they could not sit more than seventeen days. The charge opened to them on the 21st by Burke related to the corrupt receipt of money. In the course of his speech Burke alluded to Nuncomar, and, very indiscreetly, said, "that Mr. Hastings had murdered Nuncomar by the hands of Sir Elejah Impey." After Impey's triumphant defence, and the conduct of the House of Commons in regard to him, this was not only irregular, but unpardonable. On the 27th of April Major Scott presented to the Commons a petition from Hastings, who complained of the words used, and charged Burke with introducing a variety of accusations extraneous to the charges which had been found by the House, and by them inserted in the articles of impeachment.* Scott accused Burke of being guilty of cool, deliberate, systematic, and intentional misrepresentation, imputing to Hastings horrible crimes of which he well knew him to be innocent. Burke called the Major the systematic libeller of the House of Commons, said that no credit was due to his assertions, and that he ought to have been expelled the House long ago. The managers endeavoured to prevent the petition being received, contending that it was irregular and unprecedented; that, if every expression not agreeable to the feelings of the party accused were not fit to be used in a criminal prosecution, there must be an end to such prosecutions; that a practice of petitioning against the accuser would convert him into a apecies of defendant, and, by creating a diversion, defeat the presecution of crimes. Fox asked whether the House would suffer the culprit to come forward and object to the mode of procoeding against him? the accused to arraign the conduct of his accusers? Burke said, the power of prosecuting and enfeating the charges against Hastings under the strict injunction not to use one extraneous word, must be compared to the pomer given to Shylock to take a pound of flesh condition of his not spilling one drop of blood, a tack which neither Jew nor Christian could perform. Pitt, on the other side, urged that Hastings,

though the object of their acquestion, did not cease to be the object of their justice, and therefore ought not to be deprived of the right belonging to every subject, of preferring a petition and stating a grievance to that House. The petition was received without a division, and the subject of it was ordered to be taken into consideration on the 30th. In the meantime the Lords were requested to suspend proceedings on the trial. On the 30th several doubts and difficulties were started on the ministerial side, and had the usual effect of creating delay. Burke offered to withdraw and to cast himself on the honour and justice of the House: but in so doing he, in substance, repeated the accusation against Impey, and revived the whole story of Nuncomur's having been destroyed in order to screen Hastings. The debate was renewed on the morrow, the 1st of May. Mr. Montague produced and read, as part of his speech, a letter written by Burke to explain and defend his conduct in the Hall. Burke described himself as being, in his capacity of accuser, merely the servant of the House, who had put into his hands a sacred trust. Hastings's petition against the words he had used he described as a stratugem familiar to the politics of Calcutta, for turning the accuser into a defendant, and for diverting inquiry. His letter said, "The House, having, upon an opinion of my diligence and fidelity, (for they could have no other motive,) put a great trust into my hands. ought to give me an entire credit for the veracity of every fact I affirm or deny; but, if they fail with regard to me, it is at least in my power to be true to myself. I will not commit myself in an unbecoming contention with the agents of a criminal whom it is my duty to bring to justice. I am a member of a committee of secrecy, and I will not violate my trust by turning myself into a defendant and bringing forward in my own exculpation the evidence which I have prepared for his conviction. I will not let him know on what documents I rely. I will not let him know who the witnesses for the prosecution are, nor what they have to depose against him: though I have no sort of doubt of the constancy and integrity of those witnesses, yet because they are men, and men to whom, from my own situation, I owe protection, I ought not to expose them either to temptation or danger. I will not hold them out to be importuned, or menaced, or discredited, or run down, or possibly to be ruined in their fortunes, by the power and influence of this delinquent, except where the national service supersedes all other considerations. If I must suffer, I will suffer alone. No man shall fall a sacrifice to a feeble sensibility on my part, that at this time of day might make me impatient of those libels, which by despising through so many years I have at length obtained the honour of being joined in commission with this committee, and becoming a humble instrument in the hands of public justice." In favour of Hastings it was proposed that evidence should be taken to prove the words of which

Besides the death of Nuncomar, Hastings and that Burke had charged him with being conderned in a plot to assassinate the son of the Magul, with being equality concerned is another plus to murder the son of they Jaffer Kana, and with being accessory to the horrible gravities imputed to Deit Mag.

he complained in his petition; and after some contention it was agreed that evidence should be heard, and it was moved that the short-hand writer who had taken notes of the trial should be called in. Fox and Sir Grey Cooper objected that this last proposal was contrary to the uniform practice of parliament, and a very improper method of proving words spoken by a member of that House; that it was contrary to rule to permit words spoken by a member to be noticed in that House except by a member; and that such words must also be taken down at the moment, and the objection to them stated, in order to allow the person uttering them an opportunity of explaining his meaning. They said, the House was now for the first time going to call in a third party as witness of words spoken in their own presence, a precedent that might lead to the most serious consequences. These objections had so much weight that a motion was made and carried for appointing a committee to search for precedents. On the 4th of May the said committee reported that there were no precedents of any complaints of words spoken by managers for the Commons in Westminster Hall. The managers then objected as strongly as before to the examination of any short-hand writer; but they were defeated upon a division by 115 against 66, and the short-hand writer who had taken down Burke's words charging Impey again with the murder of Nuncomar, and other foul deeds, was called to the bar and gave evidence to that effect. There was then another debate as to whether all the particulars complained of in Hastings's petition should be inquired into, or whether the House might select any particular part. Pitt thought that no attention ought to be paid to any words spoken by Burke in Westminster Hall the preceding year, as the complaint had been so long deferred; and that they ought rather to confine themselves to the words recently spoken about Nuncomar. The managers complained that this would be unfair and arbitrary; but the House adopted the course recommended by the minister. Then a fresh difference arose as to the extent of the examination upon the particular point of complaint which had been selected by the House. Fox and the other managers insisted that the whole of that part of Burke's speech which related to Nuncomar ought to be produced, as necessary to elucidate the nature of the words complained of. The ministerialists, on the contrary, professed to be of opinion that it was only necessary to ask the witness whether Burke had made use of those express words. Fox, who seemed to put his whole soul into the cause of his friend, condemned in the most passionate manner the indignity and injustice with which the House were treating Burke. At length it was agreed that some part of the speech preceding the injurious words should be read. When this was done the Marquess of Graham, one of the lords of the treasury, moved "That the said words were not authorised by any proceedings of that House."

Fox said that he could not object to this motion. as it conveyed no consure, and as after it should pass it would be fully competent for him, Mr. Burke, or any other manager, to repeat the words complained of. Sheridan and Wyndham spoke to the same effect. On the other side it was represented by Pitt that, though the motion meant no direct censure, yet it implied that the managem had exceeded the powers the House had intrusts them with. This again called up Fox, who imtreated the House to deal with openness and earsdour. If they meant to censure the managers of the impeachment, the House, he said, ought to change them and appoint others. The House, he insisted, could not, consistently with its own hosnour, continue them in the management, nor would they consent to remain in that elevated situation under an imputed censure of their conduct. But, if the motion meant no more than the words conveyed, they should feel no hesitation to pursuit, upon any similar occasion, precisely the same line of conduct. In consequence of these declarations the Marquess of Graham rose to make the censure of the House direct and explicit, moving an addltion to his former motion, to the effect that the words used by Burke as to the murder of Nuncomar ought not to have been spoken. This roused all the passion of Fox, who, in a long and eloquent speech, denounced the conduct of the minister and his adherents as an iniquitous interference with the ends of justice, and an atrocious wrong done to one of the best, wisest, and greatest of men; and he moved as an amendment to the amendment the addition of the following words-"Although in the charge exhibited by the Commons of Great Britain, upon which the House voted the inipeachment, there are the following words, namely, 'That the evidence of this man (meaning Nuncomar) not having been entered into at the time when it might and ought to have been done by the said Warren Hastings, remains justly in force against him, and is not abated by the capital punishment of the said Nuncomar, but rather confirmed by the time and circumstances in which the accuser of the said Warren Hastings suffered death,' and to which charge the said Warren Hastings, at the bar of this House, made the following answer, namely, 'To the malicious part of this charge, which is the condemnation of Nuncomar for a furgery, I do declare in the most solemn and unreserved manner that I had no concern, either directly or indirectly, in the apprehending, prosecuting, or execution of Nuncomar; and although the managers who have been appointed by the House to arrange the evidence and enforce the charges against the said Warren Hastings are of opinion that the aforesaid declarations used by the said Right Hon. Edmund Burke were essentially necessary to the support of one of the principal charges voted by this House." Fox was answered by Pitt; and, after his amendment had been negatived without a division, Graham's mo-tion was carried by a majority of a little more than

Mr. Bouverie immediately moved That the thanks of this House be given to the Bight Hon. Edmund Burke, and the rest of the thenagers, for their exertions and assiduity in the resecution of the impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esquire, and that they be desired to persevere in the same." This was objected to by the master of the rolls, and the motion of course was lost ! That night the managers held a meeting, at which it was seriously discussed whether they should not throw up their charge altogether; and on the following morning they held another meeting, at which Burke, though not without difficulty, induced them to agree to proceed. Burke, it is said, represented to his colleagues that Hastings's petition, with all that had followed it, was nothing but a stratagem intended to drive them from their duty as accusers, and so to screen the accused. the next day he opened his speech in Westminster Hall with a comparison of the relative situations of himself and the prisoner at the bar; and related all that had passed in the Commons. He said that he did not mean to question the justice of the late votes and decisions of that House, although he must complain that those decisions went to narrow the line of their proceedings on the impeachment. He confessed that he had charged Mr. Hastings with the destruction of a witness (Nuncomar) whose evidence was necessary to the present charge; but he declared that in stating this he had said no more than he really believed, and no more than he hoped to be able to prove. He said he had used the word murder, perhaps not in the strictly legal, but only in the moral and popular sense, to denote a crime as enormous as any murder. He declared that this conviction could only be torn from him with his life. Several reports had got abroad, as that Fox was decidedly averse to proceeding with the impeachment; that sundry disagreements had broken out among the managers; and that the greatest personages in the country were very desirous the trial should stop. A few days after Mr. Marsham complained in the House of Commons of a paragraph in a newspaper, which said that "the trial of Mr. Hastings was to be put off to another session, unless the House of Lords had spirit enough to put an end to so shameful a business." A warm debate followed, in which great complaints were made of the scandalous licentiousness of the public press. Burke read from one of the newspapers a curious paper, purporting to be a bill of charges made by the aditor to Hastings's champion, Major Scott. The ditor to Hastings's champion, Major Scott. stems charged consisted chiefly of attacks and lampoons upon the managers. One was " for attacking the veracity of Mr. Burke, 3s. 6d.," which Burke said was but small pay for such service. A motion was made and unanimously carried for prosecuting the printer of the paper of which Mr. Marsham complained.

Meanwhile the trial went on languidly. The

great hall was no longer crowded—the seemingly interminable accounts of Hastings's corruption wearied and thinned the audience day after day. Legal doubts and difficulties occurred rather frequently, or were ingeniously suggested by the counsel for the prisoner; and, on nearly every one of these occasions, the Lords withdrew to their chamber of parliament to deliberate and consult by themselves. All these retreats and returns made Lord Stanhope say that the judges walked and the trial stood still. After one of these marches and counter-marches it was announced as the decision of their lordships, " that it was not competent for the managers to produce the examination of Nuncomar in evidence, the said managers not having proved or even stated anything as a ground for admitting such evidence." It seems difficult to conceive how the managers could have expected any other decision: the character of Nuncomar as a witness and maker of evidence had been fully ascertained; and the examination in question was what had been taken in the council at Calcutta by Clavering, Monson, and Francis when they were more powerful than the governor, and when their hatred of him was at its greatest height. The managers, however, in their turn, now desired leave to withdraw, that they, too, might consult apart. Upon their return into court Burke declared that it was with equal surprise and concern the managers had heard the determination of their lordships, which would exceedingly increase the difficulty of convicting the criminal; but that to this, as to other hardships, they must submit. A day or two after their lordships, under the guidance of the chancellor, resolved, after another walk to their own chamber, that certain evidence taken out of the minutes at Calcutta should not be admitted. Here Burke exclaimed that he gave joy to all Indian delinquents. "Plunder on," said he; "the laws intended to restrain you are mere scarecrows. Accumulate wealth by any means, however illegal, profligate, infamous. You are sure of impunity; for the natives of India are, by their religion, debarred from appearing against you out of their own country, and circumstantial evidence will not be received." Fox proposed reading some long consultations of the council at Calcutta as evidence. Upon this their lordships again repaired to their own chamber of parliament, and nothing more was done that day. On the morrow the managers were informed that the consultations could not now be read. Burke said that he felt consoled by the use of the word now, as it led him to hope that the evidence might be read at some other time. Before many more words had been spoken fresh doubts arose, and the managers begged leave to withdraw. When the managers returned and gave in their answer, the Lords adjourned to submit a question about the reception of evidence to the twelve judges. The opinion of the judges was unfavourable to the managers, who had wished to produce evidence which had not been given upon oath. The managers now bitterly complained that

^{* 135} against 66.
† The dispute in the House had occupied four days.

the opinious and decisions of their lordships were delivered imperatively, without any accompanying reasons or explanations; and that they were thwarted by forms of law in their search after justice. Burke again declared that the criminal was improperly screened. He said the decision " held out to future governors of Bengal the most certain and unbounded impunity. Peculation in India would be no longer practised, as it used to be, with caution and with secrecy: it would in future stalk abroad in noon-day, and act without disguise; because, after such a decision as had been made by their lordships, there was no possibility of bringing into a court the proofs of peculation." To prove the corruption of Hastings in his transactions with the Munny Begum, the managers desired that Philip Francis, Esq., should be called in. To this the Lords objected. There then followed warm disputes between the managers and the counsel for the defendant as to the production in evidence of some letters and papers said to have been written by the Munny Begum, and several days were spent in these discussions. The Lords then tadjourned to their own chamber to consult and deliberate; and when the Court next met, it was announced that the said papers could not be read. Burke argued that they were ruining his case by naked technicalities; and he claimed to know the opinions upon which their lordships' decision was grounded. His temper had already been repeatedly tried by Law, the best or the boldest of Hastings's counsel; and now another violent altercation took place between them. Law affirmed that to produce accusations against any man not capable of proof was to be guilty of a slander and a calumny. Burke replied, that, though some of his accusations might not be susceptible of strictly legal proof, they were supported by evidence that would convince men's consciences. Law was taxed with using insolent and indecent language; on which he excused himself by saying that he did not mean to apply the words slander and calumny to the House of Commons, but he had the authority of that House for declaring that the honourable manager had used slanderous and calumnious expressions not authorised by them. Here Fox rose with great indignation and exclaimed " that it was indecent and highly irregular, in an advocate, to allude to what had taken place within the walls of the House of Commons; that the learned counsel had done worse, he had misrepresented that to which he had presumed to allude; he had charged the whole body of the Commons with having sent up slanders in the shape of charges, and he had pronounced the deputies of the Commons calumniators, merely because they offered in evidence those very documents on the authority of which the Commons had pronounced the charges to be well founded, and sent them, as articles of impeachment, to the Lords." Law defended himself by saying that he alluded only to what the honourable manager himself had told them there of the proceedings in the Commons. Fox said that this was a

fresh misrepresentation, as his honourable friend, in describing what had passed in the Commons, had not made use of the terms slander and calumny, nor had stated that any words bearing such interpretation had been used in that House; and he refused to proceed until their lordships should give an opinion on Law's language. The words were taken down and read to Law, who acknowledged them as his. It was then proposed that their lordships should adjourn to their own charmber; but, after some discussion, it was agreed, without adjourning, that the Chancellor should reprimand Law for the improper language which he had used; and accordingly Thurlow made up his severe face, raised his sonorous voice, and told Law that it was contrary to order to advert to anything that had passed in the House of Commons; that it was indecent to apply the terms slander or calumny to anything that was said by their authority; and that such expressions must not be used. This was scarcely over when other difficulties arose about the reception of evidence. Their lordships again withdrew to their own chamber to consult the judges, and the judges demanded a little time for The trial was thus interrupted for consideration. seven days; and when the Court met again, in consequence of some new doubts, their lordships adjourned for six days longer. In the interval they had a long debate in their own House, in which it was voted, by the usual majority, that all their proceedings had been strictly according to precedent. On their again meeting the chancellor requested to know from the managers to what length of time it appeared to them their proceedings on this branch of the subject would extend. The managers replied that, even if no delay were got up by the lawyers, the proceedings must occupy several days. As the prorogation was at hand, this seemed to point to another session for the settling of this single charge. Hastings hereupon said that if the trial went on at this pace, his remaining life would not be long enough to see the end of it. He declared that if he had foreseen such an interminable process he would rather have pleaded Guilty at the beginning; and if he had done so he would certainly have been a gainer, at least on the side of the purse. He said he could not expect their lordships to spend many more days on the subject during this session; but, it any specific time could be mentioned in which this charge, which he had been informed was to be the last, would be finished, he would rather waive all defence than postpone the decision to another year. Their lordships adjourned to their chamber of parliament, and there decided that they would proceed on the trial on the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament. It is not surprising that the purse of Hastings and the patience of the public should by this time have been completely worn out, or that the whole subject should have been set aside as a specific for ennui.

On the 11th of August parliament was pro-

regard by commission, the king having gone to Weymouth for the benefit of his health. The clearing speech was delivered by the lord chancellor, who, in his majesty's name, declared that the steation of affairs abroad continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace. We shall, however, presently see that the state of Europe, in reality, promised nothing but war.

The king, it is said, resented the conduct of the Prince of Wales and the Whig party, during his malady, in a very decided manner. Three months after his convalescence he wrote a bitter letter to the Duke of Clarence, complaining more particularly of the heir-apparent. This letter was communicated to the Prince of Wales, who thereupon employed the pen of Sheridan to write a letter to his father, who had gone to Weymouth without seeing We believe that many other strong intimations of displeasure had been given; but the prince, in the letter which Sheridan wrote for him, said-"Your majesty's letter to my brother the Duke of Clarence, in May last, was the first direct intimation I had ever received that my conduct, and that of my brother the Duke of York, during your majesty's late lamented illness, had brought on us the heavy misfortune of your majesty's displeasure. I should be wholly unworthy the return of your majesty's confidence and good opinion, which will ever be the first objects of my life, if I could have read the passage I refer to in that letter without the deepest sorrow and regret for the effect produced on your majesty's mind; though, at the same time, I felt the firmest persuasion that your majesty's generosity and goodness would never permit that effect to remain without affording us an opportunity of knowing what had been urged against us, of replying to our accusers, and of justifying ourselves, if the means of justification were in our power. Great, however, as my impatience and anxiety were on this subject, I felt it a superior consideration not to intrude any unpleasing or agitating discussions upon your majesty's attention during an excursion devoted to the ease and amusement necessary for the re-establishment of your majesty's health. I determined to sacrifice my own feelings, and to wait with resignation till the fortunate opportunity should arrive when your majesty's own paternal goodness would, I was convinced, lead you even to invite your sons to that fair hearing which your justice would not deny to the meanest individual of your subjects. In this painful interval I have employed myself in drawing up a full statement of my conduct during the period alluded to, and of the motif and circumstances which influenced me. these shall be humbly submitted to your majesty's consideration, I may be possibly found to have erred in judgment, and to have acted on mistaken principles, but I have the most assured conviction that I shall not be found to have been deficient in that duteous affection to your majesty which nothing shall ever diminish. Anxious for everything that may contribute to the comfort and satisfaction of your majesty's mind, I cannot emit this epportunity of lamenting those appearances of a less gracious disposition in the queen towards my brothers and myself than we were accustomed to experience; and to assure your majesty, that, if, by your affectionate interposition, these most impleasant sensations should be happily removed, it would be an event not less grateful to our minds than satisfactory to your majesty's own benign disposition." Some months after this letter was written a reconciliation took place between the prince and his father, but on the part of the king it did not appear to be very cordial.

A few months before the dreadful malady of George III, Charles Stuart, the pretender, who had lived for many years in a state of insignificance, died at Rome. His death, hastened by excess in drinking, took place on the 31st of January, 1788. He was buried most royally, had the style and title of King of England engraved on his tomb, was regretted by few, and was soon forgotten. In every place in Italy where he resided tradition is unfavourable to his memory; and there are many more positive records of his vices, irregularities, and follies. He was married in the year 1773 to Louisa Stolberg, a young German lady of a very noble though not royal house. She was beautiful, graceful, accomplished, gentle, amiable, and about nineteen years of age: the young pretender was fifty-two years of age, bloated, carbuncled, coarse, capricious, brutal, and tyrannical. The fair German, who took the title of Counters of Albany, had not lived with him long before he endangered her health and even her life by his violence and brutality. When in her twenty-fifth year the lady became acquainted with Count Victor Alfieri, the distinguished Italian poet and dramatist, who conceived an attachment for her which ended only with his life. Some time after this the countess, who had no children, obtained a legal separation from her odious lord and retired into a Roman convent. But in a very short time the pope was graciously pleased to grant her permission to reside in the palace of Cardinal York, the pretender's younger brother, and a very joyous, good-natured, inoffensive prince of the church. Alfieri was so grateful that he offered to dedicate his tragedy of "Saul" to Pius VI., but the holy father excused himself from accepting this honour. To avoid being expelled from Rome, the noble poet took a voluntary but painful departure, and paid a second or a third visit to England. The Countess of Albany, having obtained the pope's permission to go to Baden for the benefit of her health, went to Paris, where she met Alfieri, never more to separate from him until he died in 1803. After the death of the pretender it is understood, though the fact is not mentioned anywhere by the poet, that the ceremony of a private marriage was performed. The union had the happiest effect on Alfieri's character, his genius, and his morals, which had been

. Moore's Life of Sheridani

unsettled, desultery, and somewhat loose before. The divine hereditary right which was supposed to be in Charles Edward Louis Casimer Stuart descended to his brother Henry Benedict, the Cardinal.

The war which the ambition of the Czarina Catherine had kindled in the East had spread from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and had been far from obtaining the grand results and the speedy termination which the empress had hoped for in first commencing hostilities against the Sultan. The Turkish empire in Europe, which had appeared in her eyes so weak and crazy as merely to require a shake to bring it to the ground, had withstood three campaigns, and resisted for two years the united efforts of two great powers, and that, too, without an efficient ally of any kind. It must, however, be admitted that the Turks were greatly indebted to the stupidity of the Russians and Austrians. Nothing else could have saved Constantinople even at this period. The Janissaries, who formed the great mass of the Turkish infantry, were little better than an undisciplined rabble. who not only refused to submit themselves to any change, but also prevented the introduction of any improvement in all the other corps of the army. They were more terrible to their own government and to the unarmed population than they were to the enemy. In the sixteenth century these Janissaries had been among the very best troops in the world, but they were now the worst. The very numerous cavalry was equally undisciplined and only fit to act as light cavalry. The artillery, in spite of all the efforts made by that ingenious and loquacious Frenchman the Baron de Toff, was in a pitiable condition. As to the commissariat, properly speaking, the Turks had none; their medical and surgical staff consisted of ignorant barbers from Constantinople and a few Italian quacks. The officers of the army, from the commandersin-chief down to the subalterns, were alike ignorant and obstinate. In the first campaign, in the year 1787, when they had to contend only with the Russians, commanded by Prince Potemkin, prime minister, commander-in-chief, and lover to Catherine, the Turks had been defeated in almost every encounter by the very imperfect science and tactics of the enemy. Still, however, the Russians had done little more than keep their ground in the Crimea; they had made no important advance in the direction of the Danube and Constantinople; and after every defeat the Mussulmans, who were not deficient in animal courage, seemed ready to fight again. It was in the course of the year 1787

George III.

The Combess of Albany survived the peace of 1815, and was a great object of buriosity with English travellers at Florence, her usual place of residence. Even in her old age she was uncommonly graceful and factinating.

that the old adversary of the English, Tippoo Sultaun, sent a splendid embassy to Constantinople to establish a league between him and the head of the house of Osman, which was to lead to a general union among all princes and potentates professing the true Mohammedan faith. mission 1100 of the faithful had started from the table-land of Mysore and the city of Seringapatara; 600 of them perished on their journey of the plague, and of the whole number, it is said, only 68 returned to India; and all that came of Tippoo's visionary scheme was a splendid show in the streets of the Turkish capital, when the embassy went in procession to have audience of the sultan and the grand vizier. In the spring of 1787, when the Emperor Joseph met Catherine at Cherson, he had pledged himself to co-operate; but it was not until the close of that year that the Austrians really entered upon the war by making an inglorious attempt to surprise Belgrade previously to any declaration of hostilities. The Austrians failed completely in this their dishonourable beginning; nor were they more successful in an essay which they soon after made to surprise the fortress of Turkish Gradiska. In fact, at Gradisks they were not only repulsed, but repulsed with great loss. After several humiliating failures of the like kind, the Emperor Joseph, on the 10th of February, 1788, issued at Vienna a formal declaration of war against the Ottoman Porte, assigning as the sole cause of his hostility the strict bonds of amity and alliance which united the courts of Vienna and Petersburg, and the conduct of the Porte towards Russia. Having gradually collected a great army on the Danube and the frontiers of Servia, the emperor took the field in person in the month of April. On the 24th of April he took the insignificant fortress of Schubatz. on the Danube; but nearly at the same time another part of the Austrian army sustained a defeat at Dobitza. In the war of posts and delachments which followed, the Austrians could beast of few advantages, and were several times defeated. The grand vizier was even enabled to make an irruption into the emperor's own territories, and to keep possession of the Bannat of Temeswar for several months. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg, who commanded one of the grand divisions of Joseph's army, having crossed the Dniester with the intention of establishing himself in Moldavia, and cutting off all supplies from the important fortress of Choczim, found himself obliged to contend during three successive days with a Turkish army; and if he was not defeated he could scarcely boast of more than a drawn battle. The Pasha of Bosnia defeated a large Austrian detachment on the river Seave. The siege of Choezim, an ill-constructed place, which ought to have been taken by a skilful enemy in less than three weeks, occupied the Austrians for more than three months, and it was not taken at last without great sacrifices. Belgrade could not be taken at all this campaign. Marshal Laudohn, who had proved himself worthy of com-

^{**} Life of Alsieri, written by himself.—In a visit to England in his wild days. Alfer: had obtained an unfortunate notoriety by an amount with a very fair but very frail cousin of William Pitt—Lady Ligentes—which ended in a duel (in which the post was wounded), a crim. con. trial, and a divorce. The trial, which is one of the most causalities of the kind, and the Memorier of Alferi, convey but a very indifferent notion of our morals in the earlier part of the reign of Geoure III.

teading with Frederick the Great, gained some successes on the side of Croatia, but they were mot very important; and even this able veteran was foiled more than once by the natural difficulties of the country. The miasmata of the Danube, its confluent stream, and the bogs and marshes, had proved more destructive to the Austrians than balls and scimitars; and the emperor had swelled the frightful list of disease and death by one of his philosophical innovations. Some physicians at Vienna had persuaded him that vinegar was not merely a specific for malaria fevers, but an absolute panacea; and Joseph had ordered as an experiment that in a part of his army the rations of wine should be stopped and the troops made to drink nothing but vinegar and water. The men died faster than before -they perished like rotten sheep. On the other side, the Russians, who were to descend from the Crimea to co-operate on the Danube, scarcely got beyond the Dnieper. They had deluded Joseph with other assurances, but their plan was-and it is a plan which Russia has steadily pursued for some generations-to make sure of every step of ground by which they were advancing, to enlarge and secure their possessions at the head of the Black Sea, and so gradually to extend and push forward the frontier of their empire. The means placed at their disposal were immense. By the month of June, from 120,000 to 150,000 men of all arms, with 130 pieces of artillery, besides a vast park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, appeared on the river Bog; and, while a portion of this force under General Romanzoff watched the frontiers of Poland and Lithuania, the rest, with the exception of some detachments, marched down to the mouth of the Dnieper under the command of Potemkin. The greater part of the country through which they passed was already laid waste by a barbarous and prolonged warfare, and was now feeling the double curses of plague and famine. Except the green forage for their horses, the Russians were obliged to bring every article of consumption from a great distance; and their convoys were not unfrequently intercepted and cut to pieces by the Tartars of the Crimea, who were generally well mounted, and rapid and expert as light cavalry. The grand object of the campaign—and none other was effected—was the siege of Oczakoff, near the mouth of the Dnieper. The Russians had been for some time labouring to create a navy in those parts; but the Turks had still the superiority on the Black Sea, and the capitan-pasha hastened to the Dnieper. But the mouth of that river, which spreads into a liman, or broad swampy lake, with mud-banks and sand-banks, is exceedingly difficult to pass, and in very few places affords water enough for ships of the line. The Russians, too, had supplied their deficiency in shipping by constructing a great number of immense flat-bottomed boats and enormous floating batteries, which could cross the liman in all directions, and, when necessary, retire to the shallows, where the fire of the Turkish ships could not reach them, for the liman is from six to seven miles broad. It was upon these floating batteries, which were put under the direction of the Prince of Nassau, who had served with the French and Spaniards at the siege of Gibraltar, and there witnessed the effect of English red-hot balls on much more stupendous constructions, that the success of the Russians in the siege of Oczakoff mainly depended. They were mounted with the heaviest of the battering cannon and with bombs, and were manned with artillerymen and the choicest part of the Russian line. There was a paucity of sailors, but little seamanship was required in such craft and in such waters. The combats which took place were not sea-fights, were not even river-fights, but fights among fens, bogs, and marshes. The Russians had, however, some sloops, frigates, and at least three large ships,* which were manned by sailors of all nations and by Greeks, who were well acquainted with all the difficulties and intricacies of the navigation. After a sangumary affair outside, for which the Russians sang Te Deum, the capitan-pasha resolved to enter the Liman. To this end he collected all the small vessels that were within his reach, constructed some rafts and floating batteries. armed all the boats and barges of his fleet; and then with these, some galleys, and some light frigates, he entered that dangerous water, leaving his ships of the line in the Black Sea. The Russian flotilla retired into shallow water, under the walls of Kinburn, which lies nearly opposite to Oczakoff, and which they had converted into a place of great strength, with tremendous batteries, à fleur de l'eau, to sweep the broad expanse of the liman. Nothing daunted-for, though he wanted every other requisite for the command, the old man had an heroic courage—the capitan-pacha advanced across the treacherous lake; but the Turks were ignorant of the depths and currents, and were, very probably, misguided by the Greeks, who were serving by force as pilots and sailors on board the Ottoman fleet, but whose hearts and sympathies were wholly on the side of their co-religionists, the Muscovites. The galleys and frigates got on the sand-banks, and lay there exposed to the fire of the Russian flotilla and of the land-batteries at Kinburn. The frigate in which the capitan-pasha had hoisted his flag stuck fast at a most dangerous point and could not be got off. The stupid, brave old man, whose white beard was seen by the Russians from the shore, would not abandon his ship until she was on fire and burning rapidly towards the water's edge and the powder-magazine. Five other Turkish vessels were lost in the same manner, two were taken, an immense number of lives were sacrificed, and the capitan-pachs withdrew with the survivors to the ships of the line, which fell down the Black Sea to Varna to refit and take in supplies. The Russians then remained masters

These three ships had been launched at the time of the ctarina's visit to the Black Sea the year before, and the Prince de Ligne had been launched in one of them. This gave the prince the opportunity of making a pun. He called the ship in which he was launched "pa vaisseau de Ligne."

of the water; and on the land-side Oczakoff was girt round by troops and works, and cut off from all supplies and succours. But the Turkish garrison was numerous, the walls were strong, and the Russians had experienced to their cost, before now, with what dogged obstinacy Turks would defend themselves behind even ruined and crumbling walls. Potemkin complained, in very coarse but expressive language, that the place embarrassed him. This embarrassment was made evident by the absurd orders and counter-orders he gave. Potemkin was no general, and a very little more science or a little less bad luck on their part would have enabled the Turks, even in the month of August, to have sent him back from Oczakoff covered with disgrace, and with an army demoralized and ruined. The capitan-pasha soon returned from Varna and again attempted to destroy the flotilla, and, though he failed in that object, he threw supplies and reinforcements into Oczakoff, and stationed some of his galleys, zebecks, gun-boats, and floating batteries in front of the town. The Turkish garrison, counted by the Russians at 20,000 men, and which probably amounted to half that number, made frequent sallies, and at times committed great slaughter on part of the enemy's line drawn up behind works of the most slovenly construction, or huddled into redoubts which were only redoubts in name. the same time the capitan-pasha landed bodies of Turks from his ships of the line on the coast, and these daring fellows, marching by night along the shore and across bogs and marshes, penetrated more than once into the heart of the Russian camp. In short, to use the words of a denizen of that camp, the Russians appeared rather besieged than besiegers. † A number of their officers of the highest rank were wounded before the least impression was made on the old Turkish town: among them was the Prince of Anhalt, the Prince of Nassau, the Count de Damas, and the famed Suvaroff, who, since his successes in the last Turk-1sh war, had taken to himself the name of "The Invincible." At last, when months had passed, five or six great batteries were erected to cannonade and bombard the place. In the month of October the season of snow-storms and tempests set in and obliged the capitan-pasha to quit that dangerous sea and take refuge in the Bosphorus. Potemkin then determined that he would make a general assault on the great festival of St. Gregory, as the Russian soldiers prefer fighting on the anniversaries of saints, martyrs, and apostles. But the day of St. Gregory came and went without any storming, except in the elements, which poured down sleet and snow, and blew a cold gale from the north which made even Russians shiver. Altogether the camp was in a wretched plight: there was no moving anywhere without sinking knee-deep in mud and still deeper in snow; there were no pro-

Lettres et Pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne. This man of wit and pleasantry, who was at the siege of Oczakoff, says, "Le prince (Februkin) me dit un jour, "Cette chienne de pince m'embarrasse," Je lui repondis, 'Eile vous embarrassera long temps, si vous ne vous y prenes pas plus vigoureusement."
† Le Prince de Ligne.

visions but of the worst kind, and even these were insufficent in quantity; the very water was brackish. Horses and men perished daily in great numbers, and every day the weather grew worse and provisions scarcer. Nassau had destroyed the Turkish flotilla on the Liman, and Potemkin's land-batteries had made some breaches in the walls; but the soldiers, famishing, sick, and weak had little heart for a storm, and their general could not contemplate without horror or without teams the carnage which must attend any attempt to storm.* This was perhaps an ill-timed humanity, as it was better to perish in the deadly breach than to rot and die piecemeal in that infernal swamp, as his men were doing, and had been doing ever since the middle of the month of July: but there is something so unusual in a Russian general shedding tears for his miserable soldiery, that the precious drops ought to be preserved in history; and the feeling Potemkin betrayed should be set off against the vices and monstrous follies of a corrupt, extravagant, and vain-glorious mortal, who had attained his greatness by making love to an old woman. The dispatches which Potemkin now received from St. Petersburgh were distressing in various ways: for they told him that, if he failed to take Oczakoff, the empress would consider herself disgraced, if not ruined; and the more private ones hinted that Catherine seemed to be selecting a new favourite to succeed him, as he, some years before, had succeeded Count Orloff. Potemkin must have felt, too, that to retreat in such a season -it was one of the severest winters ever knownthrough such a country, and with an army in so sad a state, would be as fatal as to remain where he was. Fortunately another saint's day arrived to put some heart into his army. The 17th of December was the festival of St. Nicholas, who is with them a much greater saint than Gregory, being the patron of the Russian empire; and on this great day a tremendous cannonade and bombardment was opened from all the batteries, in the hope that the protecting saint might take some of the balls and shells under his special protection, and so slaughter and scatter the infidels as to allow good christians to enter the place. And in the course of the day some shot or shell produced the desired effect : the chief powder-magazine blew up, killed a vast number of Turks, astounded the remainder, and made so broad a gap in the walls that a hundred men might have marched in abreast. As soon as the smoke cleared away, and before the first confusion was over, the Russians hurrahed for St. Nicholas, and rushed to the breach. Yet even now the Turks made a desperate resistance, fighting behind the breach and in the streets of the town until they were borne down by numbers and their powder was exhausted. According to accounts published at Vienna, 7400 Turks were slaughtered in the assault, besides those that were afterwards sabred in the houses; and about 2000 remained prisoners of war after the

oursign had ceased. The Russians gave all the honour to St. Nicholas; and as soon as the news arrived at St. Petersburgh an unusually grand Te Deum was ordered to be sung. A few more such siekes would have ruined the Russian army. Though Oczakoff remained to her, Catherine was discontented and irritated. She had been thwarted he her campaign by powers she could not reach, and by one in particular, which, if it had thought proper to put forth its strength and enter into the war as the ally of Turkey, might not only have saved Oczakoff, and caused the utter annihilation of Potentkin and his army, but might also have destroyed the whole navy of Russia in the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland. The domineering insolence of many years might have been chastised by one memorable blow; and in the course of a few weeks of no uncommon exertion the aggressive spirit of Russia might have been put back and curbed for many a year to come. It did not suit the temper of George III. and his present ministers to take such a decisive step; but, nevertheless, England, without entering on the war, thought to render some very important services to the Turks, as did also the court of Spain, who received an ambassador from the sultan, and promised to man their fleet in order to prevent the Baltic fleet of the empress from passing the Straits of Gibraltar if they should attempt it. It was the empress's design to send the whole of her naval force, with an army embarked in transports, into the Mediterranean and Archipelago, to revolutionize Egypt or Greece, or both, to seize upon Candia and the fairest of the Greek islands, to ravage the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, and to blockade, if it should be found impossible to force, the passage of the Dardanelles. Her emissaries had excited the Montenegrins to a fresh insurrection; the Greeks, forgetting how shamefully they had been betrayed by the Russians in the preceding war, were ready to rise upon the Turks; and in Egypt the Mameluke beys, who had only recently been subdued by the capitan-pasha, were supposed to be ready to join the empress, or Satan himself, in order to recover what they had lost, and gratify their revenge. Eighteen sail-of-the-line and a swarm of frigates and small ships of war were got ready at the head of the Baltic early in the spring of 1788, before Potemkin collected his army on the Bog. The command was confided to Admiral Greig, a Scotsman, who had served under Elphinstone and Orloff in the famous battle of Chesmé. Contracts were entered into with English merchants for the furnishing eighteen large British ships of 400 tons and upwards, which were to be armed to serve for the transport of the troops, artillery, ammunition, and stores. At the same time crimps were employed in engaging English seamen to serve on board this grand fleet. But Pitt could not forget the damage done to trade, and the frightful state into which the Mediterranean was thrown, by the Russian fleet in 1772-8; nor could he overlook the fact that Lord North's impolitic

acquiescence on that occasion had been followed by the armed neutrality and by several insults and attempted injuries on the part of Russia, both during the American war and since that period of disaster. Indeed, Catherine, considering the greatness of our naval power and the littleness and rawness of her own, had been unwisely haughty and flippant towards the British government: she had declared herself hostile on many occasions to our trade and flag, and, even at the moment when a signal communicated from the admiralty to Portsmouth and Plymouth was enough to defeat her great project, she had arrogantly refused to renew the old commercial treaties between the two countries. She afterwards said that, if she had gratified us in our mercantile pursuits, she would have been allowed to send round her fleet and make wars and revolutions in the Mediterranean at her pleasure; but we believe, without attributing too much greatness and spirit to Pitt, that he would not, upon any paltry conditions, have permitted a repetition of the disgraceful acenes of 1772-3, nor have made England stand by a quiet spectatress while Russia established a maritime influence in the Archipelago, and thereby dismembered the Ottoman empire. If there were any predilections in favour of the autocratess they were nourished rather by Fox than by Pitt. From France she had nothing to expect but enmity; for nothing but the deplorable state of her finances and the precipitate steps of the revolution prevented the French court from succouring their ancient ally the sultan: but Catherine applied to all the other maritime powers of Europe for assistance, or at least for a tacit acquiescence in her scheme. In Holland, as the stadtholder had been reinstated, the will and voice of England prevailed over her diplomacies, and she was refused any Dutch ships or Dutch seamen. Sweden would promise no more than to remain neutral—a promise not intended to be kept—and strict orders were issued that no Swedish ships or seamen should join the Russian expedition. Denmark was more favourably disposed towards the czarina, but she wished to avoid committing herself until it should be known in what light Great Britain would regard the armament collecting in the Baltic. The London Gazette soon gave the fiat by prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service; and this proclamation was accompanied by a notice to the contractors for English shipping that they must renounce their engagements; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality. About the same time that noted privateer or pirate, Paul Jones, arrived at St. Petersburgh. He had fought under the flag of the Americans against his own country, pretending a wonderful love of liberty and republicanism; but after that struggle was over he considered that the government and citizens of the United States were not sufficiently sensible of their obligations to him, and he now came to offer his services to Outherine,

to fight under the flag of the greatest despot in Europe against the Turks or any other enemy whatsoever-provided only he got rank and good pay. Catherine, who had been led to entertain the most extravagant notions of his nautical skill and bravery, promoted him at once to the rank of an admiral, and sent him down to Cronstadt to take the command of the fleet. At the end of the American war a considerable number of young English officers, destitute of patronage, and seeing no hope of employment or promotion at home, had been induced to enter the Russian service. Some of these had soon retired in disgust; but from sixty to seventy remained, and, after rendering most important assistance in training the Russian crews, were still serving on board the fleet. As soon as they heard of the appointment of Paul Jones these Englishmen quitted their ships, repaired in a body to St. Petersburgh, and laid down their commissions, declaring that they would never serve either under or with a pirate, traitor, and renegade. Catherine, accustomed to slavish obedience from her own subjects, was startled and exasperated; but she searcely dared to knout these Englishmen or to send them to Siberia; and if she should lose their essential services her ships of the line and frigates would be little worth. She therefore subdued her pride and her resentment, sent the Englishmen back to Cronstadt, with assurances that Greig should still command them, and hurried off Paul Jones to the shores of the Black Sea to serve under Nassau at the siege of Oczakoff, where the low-bred ruffian saw by far the strangest service and the strangest vessels it was ever his fate to see. But after the appearance of the London Gazette all serious thoughts of sending the Baltic fleet to the Mediterranean were given up. Many evils were thus undoubtedly spared the Turks; but, through events which happened very soon after, the detention of her fleet at home proved the greatest piece of good fortune that could have happened to the czarina.

Though the court of Stockholm had promised neutrality, they resented a long series of humiliations, calamities, and spoliations, and were eagerly looking for an opportunity of vengeance and reprisal. Catherine had done her best in bribing a portion of the beggarly and corrupt aristocracy of Sweden, who acted towards her as so many of the Scotch nobility had done towards Queen Elizabeth; but since the revolution of 1772 these Swedish nobles had lost their power and their influence, and had scarcely a voice in the state. The Russian minister at Stockholm contrived, however, to make a great party, and to set on foot a cabal or plot among the nobles, who only wished to reestablish the aristocratic constitution, which the reigning king had pulled down about their ears. These Swedes, who called themselves patriots, were ready to expose their country to its most powerfet and worst enemy-to lay it prostrate before the ukases of Catherine, provided only they should be enabled to humble their king and re-

erect their old oligarchy, which had been selfish, low-spirited, disgraceful alike to nobility, king, and people, to every one that bore the name of Swede. The almost absolute government which had been raised on their fall was in every way preferable to their old constitution. While the king was incensed by the discovery of the Russian intrigues. in his own capital he received overtures from Comstantinople, promising numerous advantages if he would make a diversion on the side of the Bultier As the constant enemy of Russia, the sultan was regarded as the natural friend of Sweden; there were ancient alliances between the two powers, and ever since the day when Charles XII., flying before the Czar Peter, sought refuge among the Turks at Bender, the popular traditions and feelings of the Swedish people had been highly favourable to the Ottomans. Moreover, a brave and most martial people could not ace the most fertile territories of the old Swedish monarchy occupied by the Russians without an ardent desire of recovering them by force of arms, or through the chances of war, by which the czars and czarinas had obtained possession of them. The flower of the Russian army was engaged far away on the frontiers of Turkey. One victory over the Russian fleet in the Baltic might possibly enable the Swedes to regain Finland, or to dictate their own terms in St. Petersburgh; while anything like a demonstration, made in time and with spirit, might induce the empress to recall part of her troops from the Turkish war. The Swedish government was hampered and checked by its poverty; but a Spanish ship passed the Sound, ascended the Baltic. and landed at Stockholm some chests well filled with gold and silver which the sultan had sent round from the Levant. The total amount was estimated at about 400,000/. sterling-a large sum for a country so poor as Sweden. The Swedish fleet was got ready for sea with all possible speed. and the army was recruited. To quiet the jealousies of his neighbour the King of Denmark, his Swedish majesty gave out that he was merely putting himself in a state of defence, which was rendered necessary by the formidable appearance of the Russian fleet, and by the vast preparations making by the czarina. "Could one have besaid the witty Prince de Ligne, " that this crazy old Ottoman empire would have been so near placing the empire of Russia in the saddest state? The plan of the Turks was a very fine one, for if the King of Sweden had commenced his attack three weeks sooner or three weeks later, and if the capitan-pasha had succeeded in destroying the wretched flotills in the Liman, the king might have gone to Petersburgh and the pasha to Cherson." And, if England and Spain had not stayed the fleet at Cronstadt, the first of these journeys might have been made, as there was little or nothing except that fleet between his Swedish majesty and the Russian capital. It was otherwise meent, but Pitt's cautious half-measures did, in reality, more good to Russia, and more harm to

those who were struggling with her, than almost enything else that could have been done. In the month of June Gustavus, with the van of his army, marched into Finland. He took several towns, the people declared for him, and the Russians were driven from the field. At the same time his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, took the command of the Swedish fleet; and, with fifteen sail of the line and ten frigates, appeared off Cronstadt. Petersburgh was thrown into extreme alarm and confusion; but, instead of venturing into the Neva, the Swedes bore away in quest of the Russian fleet, which was cruising in the Gulf of Finland. On the 17th of July, whilst cruising in the Narrows of Kalkbaden, in very foggy weather, the duke heard several guns fired to windward; and, soon after, the Russian fleet, commanded by Greig, was seen advancing through the fog with both wind and current in their favour. The Swedes failed in an attempt to get the weather-gage, and were obliged to form their line of battle to leeward. They had with them all their fifteen sail of the line, but only five of their frigates were at hand. The Russians had seventeen sail of the line, six or seven frigates, and two bomb-ketches: their ships of the line were much larger than the Swedes, and their number of guns and weight of metal greater by nearly a third. The largest ship under the Duke of Sudermania was a 74: he had three 68-gun ships, but all the rest were of 60 guns. Greig had one ship carrying 108 guns, eight ships carrying 74 guns, and all the rest were of 66 guns. The action began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and was maintained with the greatest fury until night, when the hostile fleets fell asunder, about equally crippled and damaged, and with a terrible loss in killed and wounded. Admiral Greig declared that he had never seen a fight better maintained than this was on both sides. Both Swedes and Russians claimed the victory; but the obstinate and sanguinary affair certainly ended in a drawn battle, or, if there were any slight advantage, it was on the side of the Swedes, whose force was so inferior. A Russian 74 struck to the Duke of Sudermania, and was taken; and a Swedish 68, with 300 killed and wounded on board, was captured by the Russians.* The engagement proved that the lessons of Greig and the other British officers had not been thrown away, and that the Russians were rapidly improving as sailors. Catherine wrote a letter of thanks to Greig with her own hand, and gave him a round sum of money and a good estate in Livonia; and Petersburgh, from a state of alarm and

depression, rose to triumph and exultation.

There were very soon other apparent cause for all this joy, for Gustavus, who was advancing as a conqueror through Finland, was obliged to halt and turn back by treachery and disaffection in his own camp. He had prepared his brave, well-disciplined, and well-appointed troops for an attack on the city of Fredericksham, the capture of

which might have opened to him the road to the capital of Russia, when several of his principal officers-men of the noblest families, whose nobility had been worse than plebenanized by Russian gold -refused to lead on the troops to the attack or to march beyond Finland, alleging as an excuse for this most unexpected conduct that the war had been undertaken without the consent of the Swedish states, and was being conducted in a manner contrary to the spirit of the constitution.* In vain the king remonstrated, and in vain he sent the most conspicuous of the malcontents under an arrest to Stockholm; he found that the disaffection was universal among his officers, and that nothing remained to be done but to march back to his capital. Apparently before he reached Stockholm, he received intelligence that his loving cousih, the King of Denmark, urged on by Catherine's subsidies and very prevailing diplomacy, had fitted out a great armament, which was invading the southern and most fertile provinces of Swcden, from the side of Norway. He had no army with him: the greater part of the 35,000 men, at whose head he had recently marched in the direction of Petersburgh, had laid down their arms, and the rest remained on the borders of Finland, under the command of his second brother, the Duke of Ostrogothia. He issued a spirited proclamation to his people, and flew to the bold miners and mountaincers of Dalecarlia, whose valour had first placed his family on the throne, and whose loyalty and attachment to the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa was unabated. These brave men armed as best they could, and followed their king. In the mean time the Danes, commanded by the Prince of Hesse, had found little or no resistance. They had gained possession of Stronstad and Uddewalla, had crossed the river Gotha, and were within sight of Gothenburg, the principal commercial town of Sweden. That important and almost defenceless place was on the point of capitulating when Gustavus and his Dalecarlians, on the 3rd of October, threw themselves into the town. There was no longer any talk of capitulation; but the means of defence were still so defective as to render the situation of the king very precarious. But at this moment the peremptory voice of Great Britain, which was well delivered by our ambassador at the Danish court, put an end to the danger of his Swedish majesty and his good city of Gothenburg. Mr. Elliot told

* Catherine, who had so delicate a regard for constitutional rights and national liberties, had introduced these questions into her correspondence and manifestors. When Gustavas was preparing his armament her ambassador presented a note, not to the king, but to the Swedish ministry, and which scaredy noticed his majesty at all, except to accuse him of treacherous and unfair dealing. In the note the greatest good-will was expressed towards the states and the people of Sweden. Gustavus ordered the ambassador to quit his deminions, and presented a circular note to the ministers of other powers at his court, in which he indignantly complained of the stempt made to distinguish between him and his nation, and of the system so leng pursued by Rusais to undermine his throne by sowing discussions in his country. When he entered Finland with his army the cuarina. In her declaration of war against him, inserted a clease to remind the Swedes that their king was bound by a solesse constitutional compact not to singage us any war without the consent of the Benedical State; and to his own subjects, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injustors might give rise.

^{*} Despatches of the Duke of Sudermania and Admiral Greig, com-

the crown prince, the son of the unfortunate Princess Matilda of England, who was ruling in the name of his insane or imbecile father, that Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland had united in a treaty of mutual alliance, and were determined to act as mediators; that a Prussian army was ready to enter Holstein, and that an English fleet would sail for the Baltic, unless the Danes immediately ceased their hostilities, and quitted the territories of the King of Sweden; and, under the dictation of the British ambassador, an armistice was concluded, and the Prince of Hesse retired with his Danes into Norway. The war between Sweden and Russia was left to itself. The Duke of Sudermania had found himself compelled to retire to the fortified harbour of Sucaborg; and the Russian fleet rode masters of all the seas within the Sound, until the annual freezing of the Baltic obliged them to go into port. All hostilities were interrupted by the dreadful winter; but there was no truce or intermission to Catherine's intrigues with the disaffected and corrupt Swedish nobles.

Late in the autumn the Emperor Joseph returned to Vienna in a wretched state of health. The fatigue and excitement of the Turkish campaign, his bitter disappointment, and a malaria, or marsh fever, had completely undermined his weak constitution, and he never again enjoyed a day's health. He was, however, induced by Catherine to reject pacific overtures which were made to him by the sultan, and to continue the joint war against Turkey. Before the winter was well over, new levies of troops were marched towards the Turkish frontiers, to supply the places of the veterans who had perished in the preceding summer and autumn. Fortunately for those whose lives and military character were concerned, the emperor's health did not permit him to take the field in person, and the army was thus freed from his perpetual and injudicious interference in all its movements, and in every one of its departments. The chief command was given to old Marshal Haddick, with the witty Prince de Ligne for his second. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg was intrusted with the corps on the frontiers of Moldavia and Wallachia, and was to act in concert with the invincible Suvaroff, whom Catherine had detached in that direction with a strong division of Russians. The Prince of Hohenlohe took the command of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Transylvania; and old Marshal Laudohn commanded on the side of Croatia. Collectively, all these corps d'armée exceeded 150,000 The most famed of the generals (Haddick and Laudohn) were so very aged and infirm that they could scarcely sit on horseback. The campaign was, however, on the whole, successful, if not brilliant. The Turks were discouraged and distracted by a great variety of causes. The loss distracted by a great variety of causes. of Oczakaff, after so long and gallant a defence, at the very moment when the Russian army was on the verge of despair and destruction, by the explosion of the powder magazine, filled their minds with superstitious forebodings. The hard service

they had undergone, and the inclement winter which had followed, had proved fatal to a vast number of their troops, who had been brought over from the warm plains of Asia Minor, and had killed or rendered useless many thousands of their horses. There was a scarcity of money and provisions even in the capital; but in the provinces which had been the seat of the war, there was deterlation and absolute famine. The turbulent jamiesaries and mob of Constantinople attributed most of these misfortunes to their ministers and generals. They made dreadful riots, committed many murders, and would have torn the grand vizier to pieces, but for his opportune absence from the capital, and the firmness and prudence of the sultan, Abdul Hamet, who, for a Turk, was both a wise and a good prince. But on the 7th of April (1789), before the campaign had well begun, poor Abdul Hamet fell down in a fit in the streets of Constantinople, and died that night or the following morning. His nephew and successor, Selfm, was young, rash, and wholly inexperienced, with an unfortunate turn for precipitating changes and reforms, and an impolitic disregard of the feelings and superstitions of the Turks. The Ottoman empire seemed doomed; and about this time an old and most mischievous prophery that the empire of the faithful was to be broken up by a vellowhaired, unclean race of Ghiaurs from beyond the Dnieper and the Bog, was revived and industriously propagated among the Turks. Selim, who began his reign by altering the whole scheme of government, and undoing nearly everything his uncle had done, lent a ready ear to the enemies of the grand vizier, whose greatest crime was his reputed wealth; for Yussuf Pasha's treasure was said to amount to several millions of Turkish piastres. He was seized at the head of his army at Rutschuk, on the Danube, and hastily conveyed to Constantinople. There he was deprived of his treasure and all his property, and sentenced to perpetual banishment in the interior of Asia Minor; but he had not gone far on his sad journey ere he was overtaken by a Bostanji-bachi, who took off his head, and carried it back to the seraglio gate in Constantinople. Other pashas, emirs, and effendis were disgraced, plundered, beheaded, or exiled; and a new set of men, and an entirely new faction, were placed at the head of affairs, and in command of the armies in the field. The late sultan and grand vizier had acted on the offensive against the Austrians, and on the defensive against the Russians; but now Selim and his new vizier changed the plan of the war, and determined to act offensively against . the Russians, and defensively against the Austrians. Old Marshal Haddick did very little on the frontier of Transylvania; but Landohn, advancing from the side of Croatia, drove the garrison, by a heavy cannonade and bombardment, out of Turkish Gradiska, and took possession of that town and fortress. Laudohn then prepared for the siege of Belgrade, to which Gradiska was a kind of outwork. He gained, without opposition, the heights of Dadina.

ment Belgrade, and there encamped, having the Aftermand of the old lines of circumvallation constructed by Prince Eugene in the far-famed singe of 1717. These lines were of the greatest the Turks, with their wonted indolence, having neglected to level and destroy them. In fact, half the work of the besiegers was done ready to their hands. In the mean while the Prince of Saxe Cobeling penetrated into Wallachia, and gained a complete victory over the scraskier pashs, who lost an immense number of men, and all his artilhery, baggage, and magazines. Favoured by the Greeks of those provinces, and by nearly the whole of the population, who were Christians of the Greek church, the Austrians easily overran the greater part of Wallachia and Moldavia. Being joined by Suvaroff and his Russians, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg attacked the grand army under the new grand vizier at Martinitzi, in Wallachia, on the 22nd of September, and gained, with very little loss, a most signal and complete victory. The janissaries and the other undisciplined infantry could not stand against the serried ranks and solid columns of Austrian and Russian foot; their cavalry could make no impression; their artillery was so unskilfully served as to be little better than useless; some were cut down and slaughtered in heaps on the field, many more cruelly butchered in their flight. The vizier paid for his folly in risking a general battle with the loss of his head, which was sent to fill the same niche, by the side of the seraglio gate, which had been so recently occupied by the head of his wiser and more skilful predecessor. The grand army of the Turks was annihilated or scattered without artillery or any of the materials of war by this one terrible battle; but another army was collected on the slope of the Balkan Mountains, at the redoubted pass of Schumla, and between that place and the right bank of the Danube. Shortly after the defeat of the grand vizier, Osman Pasha, left without succour, was reduced to extremities in Belgrade. A terrible cannonade and bombardment on the 29th of September was followed early in the morning of the 30th by a general assault on the suburbs and outworks, which were all carried sword in hand. The body of the place was then battered by heavy artillery brought within 150 yards of the works; shells and red-hot balls were thrown with extraordinary profusion; all the best houses and mosques were reduced to ruins; the Turkish guns were dismounted on nearly all the works, and two mines had been carried under the two principal bastions. On the 8th of October Osman capitulated upon honourable terms; Marshal Laudohn and the Prince de Ligne took meension of Belgrade for the Emperor Joseph. On the northern frontier the capitan pasha, who had taken the command of the army destined to oppose the Russians under Potemkin, grew weary of a war of posts, and boldly marched through Bessarabia to fight a battle for the relief of Bender. Potentien, with whom was Repenin,

had been greatly reinforced since the capture of Oczakoff, and, though very different accounts were published at Petersburgh, it appears doubtful whether, even numerically, the Russians were not superior to the Turks. The two armies met not far from the town of Bender-the old asylum of Charles XII. of Sweden-at a place called Tabac, early in the month of October. The capitan pasha, though nearly fourscore, was as brave as he had ever been; and as he had been a very fortunate commander, and could boast of numerous brilliant victories and successes, his followers had great confidence in his lucky star, and were animated by his high spirit. The despondence which had been common everywhere else during this fatal campaign was not visible among the troops of the white-bearded Hassan. They began the battle as if confident of victory, and their onset was so impetuous and terrible as really to have given them a chance of it. Even when repulsed by the solid formation of the Russian infantry. and mowed down by their tremendous artillery, they fought on and scarcely yielded a foot of ground for several hours. But, towards evening, they were driven back pell-mell; horse and foot were broken and dispersed; and then there followed the ordinary consequences of defeat to an unskilful, undisciplined army: their artillery, ammunition, and stores were lost, and the scattered fugitives were cut to pieces in small, helpless parties. Old Hassan tore his beard, but preserved his life and his liberty by the speed of his horse, On the following morning, excepting the heaps of the dead, and of the wounded that were left to die on the field without any surgical aid, or without any merciful assistance of any kind, there was scarcely a trace to be seen of the capitan pasha's army. Potemkin then sat down before Bender. With all their deplorable stupidity, with all their barbarism and their vices—though in truth they were scarcely more barbarous, and in many points less so than their enemies, who possessed only that part of civilisation which enables men to destroy their fellow-creatures with most effect-it is impossible not to admire the indomitable courage and constant fortitude of the Turks. The garrison of Bender was a small one; the fortifications of the place were contemptible; after the destruction of Hassan's army there was no hope of succour or relief of any kind; and yet the place was defended almost as long as a stone stood upon another: and when the Russians, about the middle of November, got possession of the ruins, it was not without a very serious loss of life. Before winter set in the Russians gained possession of Bialogrod, or Ackerman, at the mouth of the Dniester, of Kylia Nova, on the northern mouth of the Danube, and of several other places on the shores of the Black Sea. They had been gradually extending their frontier to the left bank of the Danube; and they had actually reduced every important place between that river and the Bog and Duisper. Some trifling combats had taken place en

the Black Sea between the ships of the capitan pashs and the exarina's flotilla or flotillas: the Russians here felt their inferiority, and only escaped destruction by running into mouths of rivers, or to other shallows, whither the Turkish ships of the line could not follow them. If Catherine had possessed in the Black Sea a fleet equal to that which she had in the Baltic, the passage of the Bosphorus, with its then contemptible batteries and fortifications, might have been forced with little difficulty or danger, and the proud mosques and serais that stand on the seven hills of Constantinople, and the arsenal and dockyard on the Golden Horn, with all the shipping in that port, might have been bombarded, battered, burned, and destroyed.

The Austrians undertook the siege of Orsova soon after the reduction of Belgrade; but the Turks covered and maintained their works with such desperate valour that the besiegers were checked until the setting in of winter obliged them to suspend operations altogether. After a mighty consumption of shells and red-hot balls, the Austrians raised the siege, and thus caused as much disappointment and pain as the capture of Belgrade had given joy and satisfaction to their susceptible and fast-declining emperor. On the side of Servia they retook the town of Cladova, which had been taken from them by the Turks in the preceding campaign. These were the chief

events of the Turkish war in 1789.

Ever since the close of the preceding year a certain Baron de Thorus, formerly Russian consul at Alexandria, had been labouring in secret to excite the Mamcluke beys to a fresh insurrection against the Porte. He had been a principal promoter of the former Mameluke rebellion which the old capitan pasha had quelled; and he was now provided with money and with ample powers from the czarina to conclude a permanent treaty with the beys, who were to enjoy the sovereignty of Egypt in perpetuity, upon condition of their throwing off their allegiance to the sultan, and placing themselves under the protection of the empress, whose fleets and armies were to be ready to support them. But the Russian fleet was still kept in the Baltic by the hostility of the King of Sweden. On his return to his capital at the close of 1788, Gustavus, although relieved from the Danish invasion, found himself surrounded by cabals, intrigues, and difficulties of almost every kind. The nobility seemed set against him as one man; the army left in Finland had despised his authority, and had concluded a truce with the Russians without his consent and even without his knowledge. Confident, however, in the steady attachment of the Swedish people. Gustavus summoned a diet to meet in The northern liberty had taken Stockholm. various forms. In Sweden it exhibited itself in four separate orders, sitting in distinct houses or chambers. Before these four orders assembled, the king had consulted with the magistrates and principal citizens of his capital: he had explained

to them how his bright hopes had been blighted by the intrigues of his inveterate enemy, and by the mutinous spirit of his officers, and he had succeeded in convincing them that neither he nor any other sovereign would ever be able to govern the kingdom with honour, and recover all it had lost, unless some material alterations were made in that part of the constitution which hampered the reval prerogative in the declaration and conduct of war. The diet of the states assembled on the 26th of January (1789), when the king delivered a very long speech to the four orders. The order of nobles, and all who had formerly belonged to, or been connected with, the senate, displayed a decided hostility to the king. They began by accusing him of designs against the constitution, in bringing into the capital, without their consent, some of the brave Dalecarlians, who had flown to arms at his call, who had followed him to Gothenburg to face the Danish invaders, and who had attended him to Stockholm. The nobles pretended that the presence of these free companies overawed their deliberations: the friends of the king affirmed that through the cabals of the nobles and the Russianbought disaffection of the army, his majesty's life would scarcely be secure without the faithful Dalecarlians. Several of the nobles absented themselves from the diet for many days; they affected to be moved only by a delicate regard to the old constitution-which was eminently a bad one, and required repairs—but the other orders of Swedes accused them of being solely influenced by Russian gold. Another great subject of quarrel arose out of the appointment of Count Lowenhaupt, a personal friend of the king, to be president or marshal of the diet. The nobles treated Lowenhaupt with the greatest indignity, and with a vulgarity of demeanour and language not very becoming to their high caste. Every proposition that came from him was rejected with contempt, and without any discussion. A crowning insult of the grossest kind drove the count altogether from the diet, and his absence rendered the order incomplete and incapable of acting. The three other orders, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants—for even the peasantry formed a state and were represented like the rest-were apparently as much devoted to the king as the nobles were opposed to him, and their loyalty was notably increased by his proposing a law, which was afterwards carried, for extending certain privileges; hitherto possessed exclusively by the nobility, to all the other orders, to all classes and conditions of Swedes, and even to foreigners who became permanent inhabitants of the country. But this was, of course, considered as a fresh injury by the aristocrats, who understood by Swedish liberty merely that part of it which secured them in the enjoyment of their old privileges and immunities, and who were determined to make or allow no saprifices if they could possibly avoid it. On the lith of February Gustavus went in person to the dist to complain of the insults which had been

offered to Count Lowenhaupt, and to demand mathematican. A fierce and most unmannerly alterbutton followed his majesty's speech; the nobles, who had repeatedly done the same thing when he was not present, reproaching and reviling the king to his face, and treating his character and his abilities most contemptuously. Gustavus, irritable, and, if not proud, excessively vain, was stung almost to madness, and, rising, he declared, with a loud and threatening voice, that there were men among them who in their hearts would rather wish to see a Russian army at Stockholm, and the Russian ambassador dictating laws to Sweden, than sacrifice their own selfish and ambitious wiews, their jealousies, animosities, and revenge. The nobles all rose and immediately quitted the diet in a body, leaving the king and the other three states together. To this friendly audience Gustayus continued his discourse. He disclaimed in the most solemn manner all intention of aiming at, or wishing for, absolute sovereignty; and declared that, if the continuation of the present disorders and difficulties should compel him to assume, for a time, a dictatorial power, it should certainly be but for a very short time, and should cease with the necessity: but he concluded by declaring, that, out of the duty which he owed to his country as well as to himself, he would not permit those who would have wrested the sceptre from his hands to pass unpunished; and that he would not suffer a faction to favour the views of the enemy, by the constant interruption they had been endeavouring to give to the public business, and to the means and supplies by which alone the nation could hope to defend herself. For three days Stockholm was greatly agitated, and so incensed were the people against the nobles, that it required great care to prevent their falling upon them with arms in their hands. This feeling was by no means confined to the mob or to the inferior grades of society; the clergy, the most respectable of the burghers, were quite as favourable to the king, and almost as much incensed against the aristocrats, as were the common people. On the 20th of February Gustavus received a deputation from the three remaining states of the diet, and, while he was imparting to them the bold measures he intended to take against the refractory and unpatriotic nobles, those measures were actually in process of execution; for the armed burghers of the city and detachments of light cavalry from the king's guard were surrounding the houses of the principal nobles, seizing their persons, and sending them off prisoners of state to the castle of Frederickshoff. These violent proceedings were plauded by the populace, and warmly approved by the three remaining states. Twenty-five individuals, the heads of ancient families, and including Counts Brahe, Fersen, Horn, and others of equal name, were thus shut up in the castle. Even before taking this decisive step the king had succeeded in winning over the lately disaffected army of Finland, and in arresting and securing those com-

manders and officers who had been most active in exciting the mutiny and stopping his march to the Russian frontier. These military prisoners were brought into Stockholm a few days after the twenty-five nobles had been carried out of it; they were committed to close and strict imprisonment. and ordered to prepare for their trials before a court-martial, upon the general charges of disobedience, disaffection, mutiny, and treachery, and the particular charges of treason and a treasonable correspondence with the Russians, which applied more directly to some of the superior officers. Some of these traitors had saved themselves by a timely flight, and were now living at St. Petersburg under the special favour and protection of the empress; but one lieutenant-general, one major-general, a brigadier-general, six or seven colonels, and a vast number of majors, captains, and subalterns, were secured for trial. As the army was officered almost exclusively by members of the aristocracy, these arrests were followed by an almost universal resignation of commissions; and at the same time nearly all the noblemen serving on board the fleet or in the civil departments of government threw up their appointments and quitted the service. This was intended to perplex and alarm the king; but Gustavus thought it very possible to re-officer the army and the navy, and to fill up the civil offices of the state without the aristocrats; and he persevered in his bold scheme, being heartily seconded at every step by the rest of the nation. The three states of clergy, burghers, and peasants readily assented to his proposition—that, as the fourth state, the nobles, had factiously withdrawn from the diet, the constitutional power centered in themselves, so that the public business might be carried on in the diet by the three states without the concurrence of the fourth. After this decision, it followed almost as a consequence, that the aristocratic senate, which had been abridged of its powers in the revolution of 1772, should now be entirely suppressed. To supply its place Gustavus instituted a new commission or council modelled after the Cour Plénière, which had recently been devised by the royalists in France as a mode of preventing the march of the revolution, but which had there been rejected as an impracticability. The powers granted to this new court in Sweden were in some respects extensive; but, the most powerful of the aristocracy being rigidly excluded from it, and the whole being subjected to the immediate control of the king, it became in its operation little more than a mere council of state, after the fashion of those which existed in absolute monarchies. It was doubtful whether, without the weight of the aristocracy, the Swedes would be able to balance the royal power and preserve a constitutional form of government; but such was the hatred against the nobles, that every measure adopted with the view of reducing them to a political nullity was highly popular. The clergy, the burghers, and the peasants hailed with delight a very compre-

hensive act called the Act of Safety, which, among other things, conferred on the king the prerogative of declaring war and making peace—a prerogative which had always been attached to the constitu-tional crown of England. These three states also voted supplies for carrying on the war against Russia with the utmost alacrity. The nobles showed their ill-humour by deserting the capital and the court and shutting themselves up in their All places of public own houses in the country. amusement were deserted by them; and scarcely a gentleman or a lady belonging to the high nobility would appear in the king's drawing-room. In the month of March the trials of the officers of the army of Finland were commenced. They lasted many months, and the sentences were so severe that they were said to have been written in blood. Gustavus was not a cruel prince; the Swedes as a people were averse to cruelty and bloodshed on the scaffold, and only a few of the sentences were carried into execution. The twenty-five nobles arrested in Stockholm appear to have been liberated after a short confinement. A fresh army of 50,000 men was raised with all possible speed, and some supplies and reinforcements were sent to the fleet. But Gustavus still apprehended that as soon as he should take the field in Finland the Russians would again bring the Danes upon his back; and, as he was playing the part which the three allied courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague would have prescribed for him-as he was keeping up a very important diversion, highly favourable to the sultan—he considered that those three courts ought not merely to guarantee his safety on the side of Denmark and Norway, but also to furnish him with subsidies and other assistance. But Pitt, who was the main director of the triple alliance, had only made up his mind to half measures: he wished to preserve the Turkish empire without breaking with Russia; and so timid and cautious was he in the latter respect, that he had not even issued an order of council to recall the British officers serving on board Catherine's fleet in the Baltic; and thus, though ostensibly favoured by the English government, Gustavus had the mortification to know that brave and skilful English officers were fighting against him under the flag of Catherine, and teaching and training her boors and land-lubbers in all the arts of navigation and naval warfare. This was anomalous and unjustifiable; and it was disgraceful in the minister to stand in so much awe of the termagant of the North, who had become arrogant and overbearing in proportion to the timidity and condescension she had met with from other powers. Besides, Catherine was not a person to be satisfied with compromises and half measures; she knew that England, at the close of the preceding year, had sent back the Danes and preserved Sweden from a devastating invasion; she knew that it was through England that Gustavus had been again enabled to make head against her both by land and sea with a certainty, if not of naval victories,

at least of keeping her fleet fully occupied where it was; and accordingly her hatred and malice against England must have been extreme. bolder and nobler course, or even some indirect assistance lent to Gustavus at this crisis, might have checked and humiliated Russia, and have restored to Sweden that balancing power, extent of dominion, and high consideration in the north which she ought to possess, and to which, in most respects, the manly, martial character of her subjects entitles her. But all that Pitt would do was to procure and guarantee a strict neutrality from Denmark. Prussia and Holland were of course parties in this guarantee, and the Crown Prince of Denmark was again assured that if he touched the Swedish frontier, or joined his forces either by land or sea to those of Russia, they would give to the King of Sweden their speedy and efficacious assistance. It was not, however, without much difficulty and long hesitation on the part of the court of Denmark, then wholly subservient to Russia, that this agreement was concluded, and in its conclusion there was one of the strangest modifications ever introduced into a diplomatic paper of the kind. In the preceding summer a Russian squadron of six sail of the line and some frigates under the command of Admiral Dessein, a Frenchman, had come round from Archangel to the Sound, and had ever since enjoyed the free use of the port of Copenhagen. This squadron had occasionally blockaded Gothenburg and other Swedish ports, and had committed terrible depredations on the mercantile shipping. If it should be enabled to ascend the Baltic and form a junction with the grand fleet at Cronstadt, it would give a decided superiority to the navy of Catherine over that of Gustavus-a superiority which might prove destructive to the Swedish Yet, according to the modification introduced into the diplomatic arrangements, the Danes were to be allowed to take the Archangel squadron under the protection of their own very respectable fleet, to cover it from the attack of a Swedish squadron which was cruising to prevent its junction with the Cronstadt fleet, to convoy it to a certain defined distance - which, however defined upon paper, was not likely to be adhered to by the Danish ships at sea-and then to leave it to pursue its course. This was, in fact, licensing Denmark to do one of the greatest mischiefs which could possibly have been done to Sweden. Hostilities recommenced in Finland as soon as the severity of the Towards the end of May climate would permit. several severe and bloody actions took place, the Russians being commanded by Mouschkin Pouschkin, and the Swedes by General Meyersfeldt. In most of these affairs the Russians were defeated by the brilliant valour of the Swedes; but the empress whipped in fresh recruits and powerful reinforcements. The nature of the country, full of forests, rocks, mountains, bogs, and lakes, and cut into ribands by numerous deep inlets of the sea, was peculiarly favourable to a defensive war.

Early in June Gustavus arrived and assumed the command of his own army. Only a few days after his arrival in Finland a desperate battle was bught, and the Russians, though far the more numerous, were thoroughly beaten. Gustavus displayed as much bravery as Charles XII. could have done. At one moment, when a part of his line seemed yielding a few paces to a terrible bayonet-charge made by the Russians, he sprung from his horse, threw himself into the line, and so revived the spirits of his men that they drove back their assailants with terrible carnage. His brother, the Duke of Sudermania, continued in the command of the fleet, and endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Russian forces. For some time the Cronstadt fleet lay inactive at Revel. Admiral Greig, who had fought the duke in the last summer, was no more; he had died a few months after receiving his high honours and rewards, and had thus escaped the perilous chances of Russian intrigue and jealousy, and of womanly caprice; but the English officers remained and managed the ships with very admirable dexterity. On the 26th of July, the Cronstadt fleet having ventured to sea in order to meet the Archangel squadron, which was protected by nearly the whole navy of Denmark, a running fight took place, and was continued at long-shots for several hours. The Duke of Sudermania could not bring the Russians to close action; the combatants separated during the night, and, favoured by the winds and by the other accidents of tides and currents, the Russians succeeded in effecting their junction with the Archangel squadron, which had come up from Copenhagen. The Danish fleet then saluted the flag of the empress and retired. The Swedes, with indignation and rage, which did not spare the name of the English minister, retreated before the far superior force to their own shores. while Gustavus continued to be victorious by land; but every battle cost him many of his best men, and as he advanced into Russian Finland his difficulties increased greatly. In this part of his progress he was attended by a fleet of galleys which moved along shore and co-operated with the army. But Catherine had collected in the Gulf of Finland a far more numerous galley-fleet, and a tremendous engagement, in waters where no large ships could approach, took place on the 25th of August, and lasted from noon to midnight. Though the Russians were in the number of their galleys as nearly two to one, and though their proportion in men was still greater, it was not without extreme difficulty nor without several chances of defeat that they gained a victory. The result of this day of carnage was, that the King of Sweden was obliged to evacuate the Russian territories and retreat across his own frontier. His fine army had suffered most severely, his treasury was exhausted, and on the part of the nobility of his kingdom he saw nothing but gloom and discontent. The Russians, however, were not in a condition to follow him; and, earlier than usual, both armies went into winter quarters.

Ever since the accession of the Emperor Joseph. the Hungarians, who had shown such an heroic devotion to his mother, Maria Theresa, who had given that empress an asylum when all her other states seemed disposed to submit to her conquerors. and who had restored her cause, and built up the fortunes of the house of Austria when they seemed desperate and in ruin, had been irritated, dissatisfied, disaffected, and at times in a state of open insurrection or rebellion. All this arose out of the same intermeddling, rash, innovating spirit which had raised such a storm in the Austrian Netherlands. Joseph had paid no more respect to the Golden Bull of Hungary than he had paid to the Joyous Entry of the Low Countries; and the one was far more important, more a matter of national right, and far better supported by arms and men than the other. The Joyous Entry was a thing octroyed by the sovereign; the Golden Bull, which the Hungarians compare to our Magna Charta, was a constitution—a charter proceeding from and enforced by a great and warlike nation, which, though it made no allowance for the improvement of ages, and the progress of the common people from the condition of serfs to the condition of freemen and a great component part of a third estate, was still an object of reverence with the Hungarians, whose national pride, moreover, is both an ardent and steady passion. The first innovation Joseph made, with regard to these susceptible and high-spirited men, was to lay his hands on the ancient crown and regalia of the kingdom, and to carry them off from Buda, the ancient capital of Hungary, to Vienna, instead of going to be crowned at Buda by the archbishops and magnates of the realm, as his powerful progenitors had been wont to do. The abstraction of the dark old stone and of the insignia of royalty from Scotland, made by our great Edward, scarcely excited more bitter feelings than did this most injudicious act of the weak and wavering Joseph. Being fully aware of the prevailing disaffection, the grand vizier, in the course of the campaign of 1788, when he was sweeping, as a conqueror, some of the frontiers of the Austrian empire, and occupying the Bannat of Temeswar, which had once formed a part of the separate and independent kingdom of Hungary, issued a manifesto and sent emissaries among the Hungarians, inviting them to rise in arms against the emperor, and assuring them of present aid and assistance, and constant protection from the sultan, who would, it was said, guarantee all their rights, liberties, and privileges whatsoever. Fortunately the Hungarians were wise enough to decline this dangerous connexion; and their most powerful magnates, and not the least patriotic, were inclined to moderation and conciliation. And now, in the course of a few months, when the Emperor Joseph was lying upon his death-bed, he not only repented of what he had done, but made reparation for it. Immediately after the sultan's manifesto, he had

hastily issued a proclamation, binding himself to restore to the Hungarians the full enjoyment of their ancient constitution, liberties, and laws; and a few days before his decease he ordered the ancient crown and regalia to be sent back from Vienna to Buda. These reparations gave entire satisfaction, and the Hungarian people grieved at the premature death of the son of Maria Theresa. But in the same interval the troubles in the Netherlands had broken out afresh, and were not destined to come to the same peaceful and satisfactory termination. Joseph's pride was hurt by the accommodation of 1787; and, as soon as he imagined he had means sufficient so to do, he rashly resolved to annul all the concessions which he had made to the Flemings and Brabanters, and to carry into execution every part of his original scheme of reform. Above all things, he determined that the Capuchins should not be allowed to triumph over him, nor the doctors of Louvain be permitted to teach philosophy and theology in their own old With too credulous a reliance on the emperor's good faith, the Netherlanders had disbanded their young and spirited militia, and set aside their badges and their bands of military distinction and union: they had even resigned their arms to the officers and representatives of the sovereign. The first intimation of Joseph's design was seen in the recall of Count Murray, and the substitution of General Dalton. Murray was a man of a lenient, conciliating temper: Dalton, an Irishman by birth, but who had grown grey in foreign service, was exactly the reverse in character and disposition. He was thoroughly a man of the sword, and one that thought the sword, in all cases, the best instrument of government. He had been employed before by the emperor in quelling a rebellion or insurrection which had broken out on the eastern frontiers of the Austrian empire, among the mountaineers of Transylvania; and in the performance of that office he had committed atrocious cruelties. He was now named commander-in-chief of the imperial forces in the Austrian Netherlands, where his nomination sounded like a sentence of proscription and death. At the same time, Count Trautmansdorff was appointed to the civil government of those dominions. They arrived at Brussels at the end of 1787, or carly in 1788. The first renewal of discord was on the subject of the University of Louvain. Count Trautmansdorff sent peremptory orders, in the emperor's name, to the rector, heads, and doctors of the university, to submit without deliberation, delay, or remonstrance, and to enregister in their archives every item of their sovereign's system of reform. The old theologians as peremptorily declared that they would do nothing of the sort; and they pleaded their long-established rights, confirmed by the solemn sanction of many successive sovereigns, insisting also that their university was an integral part of the constitution of Brabant, which could not subsist if deprived of so important a member; and in the end they boldly appealed to that constitution, to the laws, and to the people of

the country, for protection against injustice and oppression. This appeal went to the hearts of the orthodox and devout Brabanters. Trautmansdorff, relying more on the sword of Dalton than on his own arguments, replied to the doctors that the university was neither part nor member of the constitution, that the sovereign had the supreme right to modify the university as he pleased, and that it was disloyal and absurd to suppose that the ordinary courts of law could control or interfere with the will of the sovereign. He then commanded them thoroughly to cancel and annul their late resolution, so that no trace of it should remain on their records; to submit and conform, one and all of them, to the emperor's wise decision; and never more maintain, either by word of mouth or in writing, the pretended right of their university, which the emperor had fully and irrevocably cancelled and annulled. He told them that whoseever should dare, in the slightest degree, to disobey these orders should be prosecuted and punished as refractory and disobedient subjects. He further warned them to send no more representations, deputations, or protests, as, if they should presume to send any such, ministers were bound, by his imperial majesty's orders, to consider and treat them as formal acts of undutifulness and disobedience. As a climax, the count enjoined the rector to cause this declaration to be read in full convocation of the university, to have it entered in the registers, and to certify the execution of all the orders contained in it within twenty-four hours. In order to obtain the appearance of some legal sanction to these high and arbitrary proceedings, Trautmansdorff applied to the grand council of Brabant, the supreme judicature of the country, which possessed many privileges, prerogatives, and powers, and which was the final resort in all cases of appeal. But the grand council were not to be moved either by menaces or flattering promises: they refused to sanction the war upon the university; and they complained, in spirited language, of the violence offered to their honour, and to the free constitution of Brabant, by the count's letter to themselves—a letter which, they said, was founded on an ignorance of their laws and liberties, which had a tendency to despotism, and which therefore ought to be instantly revoked by the minister who had sent Trautmansdorff, in an unstatesmanlike fury, threatened to banish the grand council, as his pre-decessor, Belgioiso, had banished the Capuchin friars, if they presumed to print and publish their inflammatory letter. Doubting whether this threat would have any effect on the members of the council, he took measures to secure all the types and presses in Brussels; but these precautions proved as useless as his threats: the letter of remonstrance was printed and widely distributed by the very next day. Count Trautmansdorff's next step was to send a still more arbitrary letter to the grand council, reminding them of his former orders, and telling them that they must now be executed without further loss of time:--the rest of the letter was

nothing but threats of pains and penalties—a complete anathema-maranatha. This letter was enclosed in a long dispatch to the chancellor, which was stuffed still fuller with the menaces and terrors of despotism. The count told the chancellor that he was irrevocably determined to execute the whole of the scheme, even though he should be compelled to proceed to dire extremities; that, it being his imperial majesty's absolute determination, his dignity required that nothing upon which he had signified his will should be made a subject of doubt by his subjects, or altered in consequence of any representation or remonstrance on their part. He referred the chancellor to the last dispatches received from the emperor, for proofs that matters admitted of no longer delay; and he told him that he had, the day before, given the grand council twenty-four hours to determine, but that now, if what he required from them was not done within two hours, he would compel them by force, even though he should be obliged to invest the council-house with troops, and have recourse to cannons and bayonets, as his imperial majesty had most expressly prescribed. The grand council, who received these dispatches while sitting, displayed a spirit worthy of their ancestors in the old free times: they betrayed no timidity or emotion of any kind; they took no further notice of them than to order the precise moment of their delivery to be entered on their journals, and they continued sitting in their places to wait the event. In the mean while, General Dalton had drawn out a regiment of infantry and a strong squadron of cavalry, with several pieces of artillery, in a square not far from the council-house; and had sent the junior ensign of the regiment of Prince de Ligne with a company of soldiers to patrol the streets of Brussels, to intimidate the citizens, and watch their countenance This ensign, a forward, preand movements. sumptuous youth, found the streets and squares crowded with an anxious and greatly excited people. He alleged (and the fact is neither improbable nor unpardonable) that some stones were thrown, and that one of them grazed his own cocked hat: he formed his men in platoon, and poured a murderous fire into the thickest of the crowd. Six persons were killed outright, and a great many more were badly wounded. The soldiers were terrified at their own deed, and the yells and shricks of the multitude; and, instead of reloading their pieces, and keeping their ground, they fled confusedly to seek protection from the main body. Horror, resentment, and the cry for vengeance rose to such a height that Trautmansdorff and Dalton, who had intended to terrify the grand council. came terrified themselves; and the troops and artillery were either withdrawn from the square near the council-house, or had orders not to act. In the evening, Trautmansdorff wrote another letter to the chancellor to express his astonishment at the obstinacy of the council, and to impute to them " the death of some wretches" in the affair with the troops. The young ensign who had taken upon

himself the responsibility of commanding the troops to fire on the people was forthwith promoted. The emperor extolled him for the exploit; and in an autograph letter desired Dalton to inform him that he was very well pleased with his presence of mind, and the manner in which he had conducted himself. His imperial majesty hoped that the moderate execution which had been had on the people of Brussels would produce a proper effect; but he repeatedly urged Dalton, who wanted no such spurring, to persevere in the same course. Joseph was not naturally cruel-he was far indeed from being fond of blood-but his passionate fondness for reforms and innovations, and an exalted sense of what was due to his sovereign rank and will. certainly made him indifferent to the loss of a few lives more or less, and drove him into courses by which many thousands of lives, and the well-being of many thousands of families, were put in jeopardy. With his usual inconsistency, the emperor was at this very moment endeavouring to negotiate a large loan among his rich subjects in the Low Countries, in order to enable him to carry on his unprovoked, rash, and ruinous war against the sultan. Flemings and Brabauters taxed him with treachery and perfidy, and now not a man among them would have anything to do with the loan, or lend him a shilling upon any terms. Dalton let loose all the troops he had upon the towns, and several encounters took place, in which blood was drawn on both sides. If the militia and volunteers had retained their organisation and their arms, the emperor's army, not very considerable in number. might have been destroyed in detail or driven out of the country, and Dalton might have decorated a gibbet. Trautmansdorff declared at his levees, that, if the forces now in the country should not prove sufficient to accomplish the emperor's purposes, he was empowered by his majesty to draw 40,000 more men thither on the shortest notice: and the brutal Irishman threatened to erect in the great square of Brussels a gallows as high as one he had previously set up in Transylvania for hanging the insurgents there. The archduchess and her husband, the nominal governors-general, arrived at Brussels in the spring of 1788, and endeavoured to recommend more gentle measures. But the prince and princess, though amiable and well disposed, and rather favourites than otherwise with the Netherlanders, were destined to feel the ill effects of their brother the emperor's unwise proceedings. The states refused to vote the subsidy for their maintenance and the support of the The archduchess and her dignity of the court. husband thercupon quitted Brussels in great disgust. But the refusal of the money became exceedingly unpopular; the states repented and relented, and, having first unanimously voted the subsidy which they had so lately refused, they sent a deputation to the prince and princess at their country seat to apologise for what had happened, and to entreat them to return to Brussels. Their imperial highnesses received the deputation

in a very flattering manner, and soon afterwards returned to the city. The emperor seemed to be equally gratified; and in a letter, dated the 27th of May (1788), he made his brother and sister, as governors-general, his organs through whom he declared that, from the emotions of his heart, and from the sentiments of the affection in which he held his faithful subjects, he joyfully seized on the first expression of their goodwill, and that in order to promote their happiness he would give a full and perfect restoration of his favour, benevolence, confidence, &c. Yet, almost at the same moment, Joseph censured a major in command at Mons for not firing upon the people; and in the course of a few weeks several sanguinary orders were not only issued but also executed in different parts of the country. Early in the year (1788) Dalton had put a strong garrison into the town of Louvain to overawe the inhabitants and terrify the university into submission. But doctors, professors, and students adhered as obstinately as ever to their old institutions, tenets, and rights, and declared that they would not yield except to military compulsion, which they had no means to resist. In the month of June the Irish general drove them all out at the point of the bayonet, and put the keys of the university in his pocket. By the emperor's express orders the rector was banished from the Netherlands and from all and every part of the Austrian dominions for ten years, and several of the refractory doctors and students in theology were put under arrest or a strict surveil-lance. The city, which had owed its existence and its ancient prosperity to the university, showed its strong sympathies in street riots and in other demonstrations; but Dalton, for the present, broke the spirit of the citizens by platoon fires and a considerable slaughter. Joseph's German doctors and professors from beyond the Rhine, who had been expelled with all their theology in 1787, were now recalled and replaced in their chairs: but it was beyond the power of Austrian bayonets and cannon-balls to make the students of divinity attend the lectures of these German doctissimi, who were left to occupy vast unpeopled halls and empty schools, while out of doors they were regarded as foul heretical intruders, whose mission was to destroy alike the liberty and the religion of the country. They were continually insulted, and their lives would scarcely have been safe without the protection of Dalton's grenadiers and The divinity students called the doctors grenadiers, and the grenadiers doctors; and the fusilades in the streets they styled Dalton's lectures in theology. Next to Louvain, the most considerable school of divinity was that of Antwerp. Here, too, nothing was professed or tolerated but the philosophy of the schools, the theology of Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, and both professors and students were as impatient of innovation and as sturdy in their orthodoxy as those of the sister university. In many respects the college of Antwerp was even more odious to the emperor

than the theological schools at Louvain, for many of its alumni had wielded the pen and employed the printing-press very actively, and in their various productions they had not only accused the emperor of tyranny and oppression, but had also held up to contempt the many foibles, whims, and vacillations of his life and character. It was, therefore, resolved to change the philosophy and theology of the place by the same sort of logic and demonstration which had been employed at Louvain; and a day being fixed-the 4th of August, 1788—for clearing the college of all its members, students as well as professors, and for shorting it up entirely, the necessary preparations were made early in the morning : several pieces of cannon were drawn out in the public square and loaded with uncanonical balls in the sight of the people, and 400 infantry were drawn up, with muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, to cover the artillery. The people of Antwerp, men, women, and children, gathered in crowds in the streets, on the quays, and in the public places or squares; they were warned to retire to their houses, but they replied that they were unarmed, and had neither the means nor the intention of offering any resistance; that being thus peaceably inclined they had an undoubted right to walk in their own town, and that they would walk and stand as they thought fit. A captain of grenadiers felt, or pretended to feel, a stone grazing his cap, and, like the young ensign in the streets of Brussels, who had been honoured and promoted for the deed, he gave the word of command to fire. and the grenadiers fired into the midst of a dense and promiscuous crowd. From thirty to forty men and women were shot dead on the spot, and a still greater number were wounded. A cry of horror and indignation was raised all over the Netherlands; many of the nobility and gentry fled from the country to seek a temporary refuge in Holland or in France; the massacu, of Antwerp was represented in the darkest colours in every part of civilised Europe, and men who most disliked their bigotry and their obsolete doctrines sympathised with the doctors, professors, and students, who, in addition to their own privations and misfortunes, had to bear the conviction of being the cause of the slaughter which had taken place. The college was shut up, but so also were the hearts of all the emperor's subjects in the Netherlands to any return of good feeling or recon-While blundering through ciliation with him. his campaign on the Danube, and allowing his fine army to be repeatedly defeated by the undisciplined, unskilful Turks, Joseph found time to write letters to the Netherlands, expressing his perfect approbation of Dalton's vigorous proceedings at Louvain, and still more at Antwerp. He indulged in the confident hope that these acts of vigour and the flight of the principal mal-contents would re-establish order and a perfect submission to his will. He could not, or he would not, perceive that these exiles might soon return with

foreign armies at their backs, and that the Flemings, Brabanters, and the rest might rise to a man and join any standard rather than submit again to his rule. For the present the whole of that fine country wore the aspect of sullen gloom and discontent; the prisons were crowded, the manufactories were left empty, the emigration continued, and a stop was put to nearly all trade and industry. Many of the emigrants threw themselves into the political clubs and all the revolutionary commotions at Paris, imbibing new, extreme, and violent notions of politics, and of the rights of man; and from this time clubs and secret societies began to be formed in Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liege, and most of the principal cities of the Austrian Netherlands, and ideas and aspirations received birth and encouragement, which were not merely incompatible with the sovereign rule of the emperor, but with any monarchical government or any known and settled constitution. Frenchmen of ready wit and still readier tongues went from place to place as political missionaries and prophets, and these visitations were extended into Holland and the other united provinces, where the democratic party, who had been put down by Prussian bayonets and cannon, were quite ready to rise again if they could only see a good prospect of support and success. These French propagandists carefully veiled one important part of their grand theory for regenerating the whole political and moral world, for the Flemings and Brahanters, though eager for liberty in this world, were strongly attached to a belief in the next,-were devout and bigoted Catholics;—and the Dutch were, as a people, believing and hoping Protestants. If the Frenchmen had preached the whole of their doctrine in either country they would have lost their converts, and would have disgusted men with a liberty which was to be based not merely on the overthrow of thrones, but on the overthrow of all altars, the extinction alike of Popery and Protestantism, the rejection of a God of any kind, and the denial of the soul's immortality. It was only to a few esprits forts that these arcana were revealed north of the Meuse, or Maes; and the French publications, the printed oracles of the new philosophy, were little known to the mass of the people. In the emperor's dominions the Catholic clergy continued at the head of the liberal or patriotic party, and their political feelings were sharpened by a continuation of hostility and sequestration, which threatened to reduce them from the condition of the richest to that of the poorest churchmen in Europe. By one edict Joseph sequestrated all the remaining abbeys of Brabant. The states of Brabant now refused vote any subsidies whatsoever; and at the beginning of the year 1789 Joseph recalled his oath to observe the terms of the Joyous Entry, ordered fresh arrests and banishments, and intimated in the most unequivocal manner that he intended to establish by military force an absolute government in the Netherlands, to correspond with the despo-

tism of all his other states and possessions, excepting Hungary and the Tyrol. His agents became the objects of so much odium that a plot was formed for blowing up the houses of Count Trautmanadorff and the still more detested Dalton at Brussels. As additional objects, the conspirators proposed getting possession of the arsenal and opening the gates of the city to a body of the emigrants, who were to return from the French frontier with a good number of French patriots to cooperate with them. These designs were discovered just in time to prevent their execution, and they were represented as the desperate machinations of a set of lawless ruffians who had neither character nor property in the country. But, in a brief space of time, nearly all the nobility, gentry, and clergy, nearly all the manufacturers, merchants, burghers, and substantial farmers, openly declared against the emperor, who was so occupied by the war on the Danube, and so impoverished by it, that, instead of 40,000 men which Trautmansdorff had spoken of, he could scarcely spare 1000 to send into the Netherlands. He had goaded his subjects there into universal insurrection at the very moment when his means of coercing them were at the lowest, and their hopes and encouragements at the highest pitch; for the French revolutionists were now advancing a pas de charge. The Duke d'Aremberg and other great nobles, the Archbishop of Mechlin, the head of the clergy, with numerous bishops and lord abbots, the members of the states of Brabant, and the members of the now suppressed grand council, assembled at Breda in the course of the months of August and September, 1789, and on the 14th of September they constituted and declared themselves to be the legal assembly of the states. In that capacity, and supported by the almost unanimous voice of the country, they issued a strong remonstrance, and told the emperor that nothing but the immediate revocation of his illegal edicts, and the reinstatement of the provinces in their ancient rights, could possibly relieve them from the cruel necessity of appealing to God and the sword. A few weeks after the militia and volunteers assembled in many towns under their old officers, and bands of insurgents, well armed and not unprovided with artillery, took the field and drove the emperor's garrisons out of forts Lillo and Liefenshoeck. Dalton sent against them a strong division under General Schröder, who retook the two forts. But a few days after, when Schröder ventured to follow the insurgents into Turnhout, he was defeated in a street fight and driven out of that town with great loss. After this success the insurgents took the name of the patriotic army, and were joined every day by great numbers of returning emigrants, who, if they came from the south, brought with them French democrats, and if they came from the north, Dutch democrats. In addition to other incentives, many of the French were impelled by want and hunger, for in their own country there was a suspension of peaceful occupation, and a

scarcity of provisions amounting almost to a famine, and the granaries of Flanders and Brabant were comparatively well filled, and the fat beeves on those rich pastures still temptingly abundant. If Dalton had ever been fond of fighting, he certainly showed no such propensity on the present occasion: he kept away from the field and intrusted the command of the troops to others. Being informed that the patriots were making head at Tirlemont, he sent General Bender against them, and Bender, imprudently engaging in the streets of the town as Schröder had done before him, was thoroughly defeated and driven out of the place with great loss and shame. This was at the beginning of November. Within a very few days after General Arberg was routed and compelled to retreat behind the Scheldt; and the banner of independence was raised in Louvain, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other important cities. The emperor now fell into an agony of alarm and suspicion. The letters from his sister Maria Antomette conveyed dismal accounts of what was passing and plotting in France. He began to suspect almost every man that was anywise connected with the Netherlands, and he even doubted for a moment the fidelity of the brave and witty Prince de Ligne, who had hitherto been an especial favourite with him, but who, as a native of the Low Countries, and as one having great estates there and high consideration among his countrymen, now became an object of suspicion. And in fact the chiefs of the insurrection had applied to de Ligne, who was then commanding a part of the emperor's troops at the siege of Belgrade, to take the command of the patriot army in the Netherlands. The prince was not the sort of man that could break through the ties of allegiance, the obligations of a soldier, or the habitudes of a whole life; he was moreover personally attached to the emperor, who had many qualities proper to conciliate friendship and esteem; and de Ligne, who was quick-sighted and sagacious beyond most of his contemporaries, clearly foresaw the anarchy to which the French revolution must lead, and the identification which must take place between that revolution and the insurrection in his own country if not checked in time. He removed the emperor's doubts and suspicions by some of his familiar and witty letters; but under his pleasantry and badinage appeared in sober sadness his forebodings and apprehensions. He earnestly recommended the emperor to put an end to the ruinous war on the Danube, to content himself with the towns and the fortresses he had taken, to make peace with the Turks, and to apply himself with all his power, and with the least possible delay, to extinguish the flames in the Low Countries and to prevent the spreading of the great fire kindled in France; and if Joseph had followed his advice some of the earlier stages of the French revolution might have been less ruinous and disgraceful to the old monarchies and despotisms of

· Leitzei et Pennies.

Europe. If nothing more had been done, the quieting of the Low Countries and the return of the people to their former tranquillity and attachment to the House of Austria, which might have been brought about without armies and without any bloody contention, might have closed the gates to the neighbouring French, instead of leaving them wide open, and the minds of the Flemings and Brabanters in a state to receive the republicans as friends and deliverers. The first outpouring of the French was sure to be towards Flanders and Brabant, the old battle-fields of Europe-every motive, nearly every possible consideration, ought to have urged the emperor to make himself strong on this side; but he, on the contrary, had been throwing down every rampart and barrier, had been labouring, as if purposely, to facilitate the first movements of the French, and possibly even at the first moment on which the Prince de Ligne offered his good advice it was too late to follow it with effect. De Ligne says that he was himself oppressed with summonses and propositions to go and place himself at the head of the Flemish insurgents; that he was called upon to defend the rights and privileges of his country, and menaced with confiscation in case of his delaying any further to take that decisive patriotic step. To Vandernoot, who conducted this correspondence for the patriots, the prince returned no answer; but he wrote to others of his countrymen to assure them that there was more to be gained from a reconciliation with the emperor than from a perseverance in revolution and war, which could only be maintained by a union or alliance with the French, whose present temper and views he considered as perilous in the extreme, not merely to all crowns and sceptres, but to all nobles, to all men possessing property, to the entire aristocracy of Europe.*

In the month of November the emperor ad-

dressed a conciliatory declaration to all his subjects in the Low Countries: he expressed a deep sorrow for the troubles which had broken out, but he still clung to his high imperial dignity, and offered a redress of grievances only upon condition of their first laying down their arms. Having already been deceived in this way, and having been exasperated and maddened by Dalton's military executions, the people would not trust Joseph again, nor rely in any degree on the paternal affection which he boasted. states of Flanders, on the 20th of November (1789), assumed the style of High and Mighty States; and they asserted their independence by passing and issuing various resolutions and manifestos declaring the emperor to have forfeited, by tyranny and injustice, and the invasion of their privileges, all right or title to the sovereignty, and ordering the levy of an army of 20,000 men, and a close union with the states of Brabant. In Brabant, and particularly in Brussels, the patriots proceeded with increasing vigour and vehemence, for every day brought the most encouraging news

* Lettres et Pensées du Prince de Ligue.

of the emperor's illness and political weakness, of the irresistible might of the mother revolution at Paris—and many of the aristocracy of the Low Countries were not so quick-sighted as de Ligne in discovering the tendency of French democracy, and its inevitable consequences if once allowed to get the ascendancy. Dalton, after all his bravados, had been compelled to shut himself up in Brussels. The patriots soon rose upon him there and attacked him unexpectedly at a moment when conciliatory negotiations were carrying on. All the unscrupulous conduct was not on one side, and in the Low Countries, as elsewhere, patriots could be guilty of treachery and deception as well as kings, ministers, and courtiers. The Irish soldier of fortune was so completely taken by surprise, that he was obliged, on the 9th December (1789), to sue for a capitulation. The patriots granted him leave to withdraw his troops into Luxembourg; and they then remained in undisputed possession of all Brabant as well as Flanders.

The applications of the Belgic patriots to France had commenced in the earliest stages of the French revolution, and before the character of that phenomenon could be ascertained. They gave birth to a strange variety of schemes and intrigues at Paris. One party thought of getting the Duke of Orleans appointed ruler of the emancipated states, which were to be formed into a separate kingdom with something like the same limits which belong to the present kingdom of Belgium. Emissaries had been dispatched to Brussels, to Ghent, and to other cities, in order to work out, or prepare for, this project; and it is even said that the Duke of Orleans opened the scheme to the British government, and endeavoused to obtain their concurrence or acquiescence on the ground that the Netherlanders would never again submit to the emperor.* This intrigue failed, as might have been expected. a last resource, the emperor Joseph dispatched Count Cobentzel, a practised and able diplomatist, to Brussels, with full powers to treat with the insurgents. Cobentzel offered to restore all their privileges and rights; but the states now haughtily demanded many new privileges and an extension of their rights, together with a better security, properly guaranteed, for the enjoyment of them. And on the last day of the year 1789 the states of Brabant bound themselves, in presence of the citizens of Brussels, by a solemn oath, to preserve the rights, privileges, and constitution of their country; and they administered the same oath to the members of the restored grand council, also in presence of the citizens and populace of Brunels, who rent the air with their acclamations, swearing in their turn to support the states and the council, and to live free or die. Shortly afterwards they formed an offensive and defensive league with the states of Flanders. By this time the King and Queen of France were little better than state prisoners in the Tuileries. The National Assembly

• Memoirs of Dumouries.

was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the scene of famine and almost daily insurrection. The arena was now full of combatants, the combat was considerably advanced, the stakes or prizes for which men and parties were contending were pretty openly laid down; and at this point a sketch of the events of the last few years in France becomes necessary, together with a summary of the constitutional or political history of that ill-governed country from early times—ill-governed, as we believe, quite as much from the incapacity of the people for a rational liberty as from any superiority of their sovereigns in the arts of despotism and oppression.

Even when England and France were both occupied by a Celtic population, some few and essential forms of liberty were cherished in the one country and neglected in the other, without any very visible external cause for the difference. After the overthrow of the dominion of the Romans in the two countries there were causes to account for a greater fondness and aptitude for liberty in England than in France, and, perhaps, for the production of a physically superior race in our island. The Saxons and the Danes, and all the tribes from the north included under those two general denominations, were the most free people in Europe, and wherever they fully established their dominion they introduced the spirit and the habit of freedom. Their conquest of Britain was so entire, that, except in the mountains of Wales and in the highlands of Scotland, the Celtic race entirely disappeared, being either exterminated or absorbed into the conquering race. In spite of the dreadful stories of massacres, and accounts of wholesale emigrations, it should appear that the absorption of the old inhabitants was very considerable; and, though the unmixed Celtic blood is not of the best kind, some infusion of it may have modified and improved the Anglo-Saxon stock. From their first settlement in the island, down to the Norman conquest, the Saxons, whose blood even now may be said to form nine-tenths of the blood that flows in English veins, preserved the spirit of a free people, carefully guarding a rude representative form of government and their municipal rights, which they possessed in a far more perfect degree than any other people. The Franks, who conquered the Gauls and gave their own name to France, were as free and as fond of liberty as the Anglo-Saxons, being only a branch of the same great northern family; but their conquest was far from being so complete: they left the Celtic race unmixed, and almost untouched, in vast tracts of the country; and, when an intermixture took place in the course of ages, the superior blood of the Franks did not absorb, but was absorbed by, that of the incomparably more numerous Celtic race, whose most marked features and characteristics are to be traced in the Frenchmen of our own day. The Franks long continued to represent an armed and alien aristocracy settled among a race of slaves: the Anglo-Saxons, on the contrary, formed one

nation, one people, without any helots or inferior race; and such liberty as they had-making deduction for the domestic slavery—was common to the whole stock. The conquest of our island by the Normans bore a closer resemblance to the conquest of Gaul by the Franks: like the Franks, the Normans were comparatively few in number, and for a time-but for a much shorter timethey kept themselves separate and distinct; but their blood soon mingled and was lost in the great Anglo-Saxon stream: they could not materially change the character of the vast majority, or uproot customs and usages which had lasted five hundred years; and the Normans themselves had preserved some of the free institutions and customs of the north, though they afterwards let them perish and go out in Normandy. Under the feudal system there was tyranny in England as well as in France; but, bad as it was, as soon as the two races became mixed and identified, the tyranny on this side of the Channel was of a far milder nature than that on the Continent. The English or Anglo-Norman baron could be cruel and oppressive enough, but the municipal spirit elevated and gave strength to the burghers, and even the serfs could hardly be regarded as belonging to a separate race from that of their lords; but the Frank or French baron and the serfs of the old Celtic blood really were distinct and antagonist races, and continued to regard themselves as such down to a comparatively recent Thus in France the spirit and habit of freedom resided in the incomparably smaller number, while in England it extended in a manner through the entire nation: - in the one country the complexion and constitution, both moral and physical, continued to be Celtic in the masses, and in the other Saxon. In England there gradually grew up a kindliness of feeling between the barons and the commons, between the lords and their vassals; but in France this feeling was of very slow and very imperfect growth, and pride and oppression on one side was often revenged by horrible cruelty on the other. Even the forms of civil liberty, which the Franks had introduced for their own use and exclusive enjoyment, began to be abandoned at a very early period. An assembly of the nation was called from time to time, but no regular period seems ever to have been fixed for its meeting, nor were its powers and attributes properly defined. In general it was summoned by the king on some great emergency; but many kings ascended the throne and descended into the grave without once convening any such assembly. During ux centuries, or from the year 613 to 1230, here were only about thirty-five assemblies of the kind, and they were composed solely of the great barons and clergy. Louis le Gros enfranchised the commons about the same time that our Henry I. granted his charter, which became the groundwork of our constitution. A third order was thus added in France to the nobles and clergy; and the assembly, which, on the rare occasions when it met, sat all in one house, took the form and name of

STATES GENERAL. But there was neither unanimity nor equilibrium between the commons and the other two orders; and the commons of France, though nominally enfranchised by the sovereign, continued to be browbeaten and oppressed by the aristocracy; and, what was worse, and far more hopeless, was, that, in wanting the habit of any free institutions, they lacked that passionate and universal love for them which alone can give them efficacy and durability. The commons of France, who were far more oppressed at the time of their enfranchisement than were the commons in England, continued in the same condition of inferiority, whereas the English commons no sooner found their way into the national parliament than they began notably to improve their liberties and their well-being in all respects. There was a wonderful difference between the food, clothing, and lodging of the English burghers and yeomanry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the townspeople and peasantry of France of the same periods; and this difference was a principal, though certainly not the sole, cause of the almost constant superiority of the English in the field. The battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt were won by the high hearts and muscular arms of our yeomanry a class of men which the French monarchy could scarcely be said to possess at all. There was another difference arising out of the original national character of the two people: the English commons plodded slowly but steadily on in the intricate and thorny path of constitutional freedom; if they stumbled or fell, or were driven back one year, they renewed their efforts in the next, rarely desponding and never despairing; they were neither discomfited by bad fortune nor over elated by good, and they kept themselves in a wonderful degree, considering their imperfect civilization and the provocations to which they were occasionally exposed, free from violence, vindictiveness, and blood-shedding: the French commons, on the contrary, had very little of the patience or moderation which are essential to achieve, and equally so to preserve, liberty; they were disgusted and irritated at every failure or check they received; any continuance of failure or disappointment made them indolent and indifferent; and whenever, by some sudden snatch, or some strange combination of events, they were enabled to get power into their hands, they abused it through the impatience and violence of their passions, and disgraced their cause and estate by revenge and cruelty. The States General, although they sometimes deliberated in separate chambers (the nobles in one, the clergy in another, and the commons in a third), formed in fact but one body or chamber, or, as we call it, House, and presented the results of their deliberation as one; thus acting as a council of state, but not composing anything like a real political power, or a sufficient legal balance in the constitution. Their attributes could not be called legislative; and they formed no steady counterpoise to the power of the crown, for there was no amalgamation, or any balance of power,

or proper division of power, among themselves. It was a one in three, and a three that did not make a one. The notion that the commons, who paid all the taxes and imposts (both nobles and clergy being exempt), should exercise an exclusive control over the public purse, seems never to have been entertained for a moment by the States General, although the commons of England had at an early date secured that vital privilege. They never had any right of redressing abuses except by petition; they never had any share, indeed, in that sovereignty which belongs to the legislative power. Even in their proper department—the imposing of taxes and subsidies—they were not considered capable of binding their constituents without the specific assent of those constituents. If either of the orders considered that their representatives had been over liberal at their expense, they refused to pay or acknowledge the tax imposed. And it happened frequently that the necessary subsidies, after being provisionally granted by the States General, were rejected by their electors in many parts of the kingdom, and at times in every part of it. It was the binding nature of a moneyvote on their constituents and the whole kingdom that endeared the English House of Commons to our early sovereigns, who certainly had no greater abstract love of liberty than the kings of France, but who perceived that the readiest and surest way of procuring money, and that too in the largest quantities, was by and through their parliaments. Whenever they attempted to impose a tax, or raise money in any other way, the amount received fell far short of their expectations, and at times the money was nearly all absorbed by the expense and enormous trouble of the collection. But it was far otherwise in France, where the contributions levied directly by the sovereign were generally more productive than the subsidies granted by the States; and this gave their kings a reasonable pretence for dispensing with the States altogether. Many of the deeds sanctioned by the States General were of a most sanguinary and atrocious kind. The acts would probably have been done if no such an assembly had been convened, but then it might have been possible to throw the odium from the nation upon the sovereign and the government, although, in fact, no tyrant or no government whatever can persevere in such deeds, unless the mass of the nation approves of them. In 1312, just ten years after the formation of the States General, they were convened in order to abolish the order of the Knights Templars; and they proceeded against those unhappy men in the most inhuman manner, making a greater use of rai torture, of stakes and penal fires, than was ever known to the inquisitors of the worst times. Some cruelties were exercised wherever the Templars existed; but when torture was prescribed for them in England no racks nor any instruments of the kind could be found—so different were the tempers, laws, and practices of the two peoples. In 1355, under the reign of the unfortunate John, the

States General were assembled for the fifth time. to provide or to assist in advising some remedies for the deplorable state of the kingdom. They made some attempts towards the establishment of a regular and fixed constitution; they procured a declaration of rights, which has been compared to our Magna Charta: but they adopted no means for carrying it into execution and preserving and improving the advantages it contained; and thus the declaration remained little more than a dead letter, and the great body of the people not only did not understand it, but never heard of, or cared for, its existence. After the battle of Poitiers, which left King John a prisoner in the hands of the English, the Dauphin (afterwards Charles V.) convoked another assembly of the States General, in order to enable him to ransom his father and make some provision for the very distressed state of the monarchy. Before offering any assistance they demanded a redress of grievances, and before doing anything to obtain a redress of grievances they quarrelled among themselves, and fell upon one another as wild beasts might be supposed to do if abandoned by their keeper and let loose in a me-It cannot be said that the commons exclusively were fierce and bloodthirsty, for princes, lords, bishops, and abbots were partakers in the fury and in the cruelty; but it must be nevertheless admitted that the commons had their full share in the guilt, and that the world has not often seen two greater monsters than Robert le Coq (a man of plebeian birth, who had been made by King John Bishop and Duke of Laon) and Stephen Marcel (Prevôt des Marchands, and the great favourite and champion of the commons). For this time the dauphin succeeded in dissolving them, but he was compelled by his necessities and the discontents of the people to summon them again at the beginning of the year 1357. Then Marcel and Le Coq succeeded in obtaining the publication of an ordinance binding the dauphin to a reform of abuses. These abuses were frightful in their extent; but, not satisfied with providing against them, the States General introduced clauses and restrictions which tended to reduce the royal prerogative to a mere shadow, and to place the whole power in the hands of the States. So immoderate were they, that they would not so much as leave to the crown the prerogative of mercy, the choice of its own ministers, or the free enjoyment of its own landed estates. Modernise the language, change a little the phraseology, and some of the propositions of the States General of the fourteenth century might be mistaken for arrêts of the States General of the eighteenth century, or decrees of the National Assembly. The commons or bourgeois faction, led on by the Prevot des Marchands, were the most forward in these attacks on the crown; and when the States General rose they succeeded in forming a standing committee of thirty-six deputies, with Stephen Marcel for their real head, for the prevot had an absolute control over the bourgeoisis and the mob of Paris. The nobility became jealous and alarmed at this truly fierce democracy, and devised several measures for checking Marcel and his faction. But the prevot formed a close league with the king of Navarre, a most turbulent prince, who was brother-in-law to the dauphin, and who had been one of the chief sources from which the calamities of the country had flowed; and in the month of February, 1358, when the States General were reassembled in Paris to the number of some 800 or 900 deputies, Marcel, with a troop of ruffians, burst into the royal palace and massacred Robert de Clermont (Marshal of Normandy) and the Sire de Couflans (Marshal of Champaigne) in the dauphin's presence, and so near to him that his clothes were stained with the blood of those two friends. At the same time the Paris rabble murdered in the streets another great officer of state, and Marcel carried the dauphin to the Hôtel de Ville and exhibited him there to the people, with his head covered, not with a bonnet rouge, or red night-cap (for that was a symbol reserved for more modern and more civilized days), but with a capuchin, or hood, which was half red and half blue, and worn by all true patriots. Many of the nobles and clergy now fied from the States General and the good city of Paris, and the provost filled up the vacancies they had left with deputies of his own choosing. This man disgraced what had been originally a good cause—a laudable attempt to elevate the people and restrain the crown-by his ferocity and mad impatience; and the people of Paris, who were his instruments and more ignorant than he, thought that liberty was only to be obtained by massacres. The dauphin withdrew from the capital, which was running with blood, to the provincial states, who were far more loyal or more moderate, and who furnished him with money and other means for putting an end to the excesses of the Parisians. Marcel occupied the royal chatcau of the Louvre, provisioned Paris, erected barricades and bulwarks, and resolved to stand a siege; but he was duped and betrayed by his ally the King of Navarre, and then butchered in the streets, together with many of his friends and adherents, by the mob who had so long obeyed The dauphin then re-entered Paris and made bloody reprisals, the aristocracy being just as savage, when excited, and as ferocious as the mob, and holding, as a fundamental article of faith, that a hundred plebeian lives were not sufficient to atone for that of one great noble. these horrors in the capital were accompanied or followed by still worse in the provinces, where the peasants rose against their lords, burning and destroying their houses and their property, and murdering them wherever they could catch them, together with their wives and children. Other crimes were perpetrated more horrible than murder—perpetrated, too, with a ghastly gaicté de cœur. This Jacquerie, as it was called, almost facetiously, was

The superior orders had been accustomed to call the peasant or serf Jacques Rophomme—James Goodman or Goodfallow—and from Jacquesie.

a very different affair from the insurrections of the English peasantry, which took place a few years later, and the difference arose entirely from the different characters of the two peoples. Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and their poor ignorant followers, were angels of mercy compared with these French insurgents, who shed more blood in one day in one little corner of France than was shed by the English peasants and rabble in the whole course of those two great risings. And when the Jacquerie was put down, it was only by butchery and a war of extermination. The aristocracy hunted the insurgents and struck them down like beasts, and the slaughter was only stayed by the consideration that if they killed all their villeins their lands must remain untilled. Other features of the national character were displayed in strong relief: atrocity was mixed with a levity which made it the more horrid; there was piping and dancing, and fiddling and buffooning, in Paris and all the great towns in the midst of all these bloody doings. Their old historian, Mezeray, represents them as dancing over the dead bodies of their relations, and as seeming to rejoice at the burning of their houses and castles and the deaths of their friends. "While some," says he, "were getting their throats cut in the country, others amused themselves in the towns; the sound of the violin was not interrupted by the blast of the trumpet; and the voices of those who sang and rejoiced at balls and festivals, and the pitco: s cries of those who perished in the flames, or by the edge of the sword, were heard at one and the same time." It is true that at this crisis, as at later periods, France was overrun by invading armies. But we must not transpose The anarchy and the frenzy cause and effect. did not happen because the English were conquering the provinces of France; but the English happened to be there in the character of conquerors and destroyers because the anarchy and the madness existed before their coming, and had, in fact, invited them thither. This was equally the case with our two great French conquerors—with Henry V. as well as with Edward III. An invading and conquering army always carries fresh horrors in its train; yet, where a nation is not thoroughly disorganized, and its factions of the most savage kind, the advance of such an army generally has the effect of producing a reconciliation and a union for common defence or the preservation of the national independence. The surprising and almost incredible histories of our wars in France will show how backward the French were in this ordinary, instinctive wisdom, and how slowly they settled their own savage feuds and factions in order to make head against the invaders. Nothing seems to us more true than that the depravity of the nobility fully equalled that of the people. Some glimmering of wisdom and moderation broke upon the States General that assembled after all these horrors in 1359; but all kinds of inconveniences arose from their sitting as one anomalous body, and no attempt was made to remedy

that capital constitutional blunder. Many years passed before the States were convoked again. In 1380, when the uncles of Charles VI., a sickly minor, were disputing and cutting throats for the regency, the States made a faint attempt to assert the rights, and liberties, and privileges of the nation; but they could not act or move steadily and soberly together to one great end, and scarcely a, man among them had any definite notion what the end ought to be. They, indeed, compelled the government to revoke all taxes, aids, subsidies, and impositions whatsoever that had been imposed since the reign of Philip the Fair, and to decree that the privileges and liberties of the people should be re-established in as full a manner as they had enjoyed them in the reign of that king, or at any time since; but the overbearing, coercive spirit of the court and aristocracy, and the rash turbulence of the Parisians, destroyed all the rational hopes which might have been derived from this famous ordinance. A fresh civil war and a servile insurrection more terrible and bloody than the Jacquerie broke out and drove the whole nation back into an utterly hopeless anarchy. The Tuchins, as the revolted peasants were called after their leader, ravaged the southern provinces, massacring their lords and superiors. The Maillotins, so called from the weapon they used, which was a great club loaded at the head with lead or iron, beat out men's brains in Paris and all the surrounding country as far as Roucn, breaking open the prisons and releasing all classes of prisoners, murdering all the tax-gatherers and collectors of duties, and threatening every citizen that was in any way connected with government or possessed of property. These frightful excesses were put down by excesses equally atrocious on the part of the government. A terrible carnage without any legal procedure was committed in Rouen; and in Paris the detestable practice of secret noyades (drownings) was unscrupulously resorted to. Men, and women too, were tied in sacks and thrown by night into the Seine, and the practice was continued until the bed of the river was encumbered by the bodies of the victims. Persons who have not reflected on the old history of the French seem to have imagined that the noyade was an invention of the great revolution; but, like almost every other atrocity then practised, it had its precedent, the savages of former times having left little that was new to be discovered or invented by the savages of later days. In the noyades at Paris, which were executed under the immediate direction of the Duke of Anjou (the king's uncle) and other royal or most noble heads of the government, there was no more form of law or trial than there had been at Rouen. In the 1413, when Charles VI. was labouring under a confirmed insanity, the States General met again; but they merely harangued upon the necessity of doing something to lighten the public burthens that were grinding the commons to the dust, without proposing any distinct, practical scheme; and they separated without doing anything, leaving the

business of reform to be taken up by a butcher and the mob. The Cabochiens, so called from Caboche, the butcher, after hanging some ministers and committing numerous other murders, compelled the court to enregister what were called the Cabochien ordinances. Favoured by the mad dissensions which raged among the nobility and the different princes of the blood, by the helplessness of the sovereign, and by the deep and universal feeling that an extensive change in the form of government was indispensable, the French people at this time seemed to be in possession of the best chance they had ever had for obtaining their proper degree of weight and ascendancy in the state. They were, de facto, a power in the state, for the contending factions had been compelled to seek their aid and to make terms with them; they had arms in their hands, and both skill and courage to use them, and what little money was left in the distracted, impoverished country was mostly in the possession of the bourgeoisie; but, unhappily, they still lacked not only the habit of liberty, but the true knowledge of what liberty really was. Their political philosophy scarcely extended farther than the substitution of an unlimited democracy for the fitful despotism and crushing aristocracy which had hitherto prevailed in the land; and, instead of advancing to a moderate but permanent freedom, they fell again into a horrible anarchy, which could only be ended by a return to the old despotism. It is a significant and lamentable fact, that this the period of the greatest power of the French people is also the period of their greatest cruelty. It was at this time that the Armagnacs and the Bourguignons deluged the kingdom with blood and converted the whole of Paris into one great slaughter-houses committing horrors and abominations which make those of the Marats and Robespierres appear mere trifles. It was this state of things that made the English conqueror, Henry V., exclaim as he was advancing to the siege of Rouen, "God has led me hither by the hand to punish the sins of this land, and to reign in it like a king. There is now no king, no government, no law in France!" The Bourguignons, the Cabochiens, and all the populace of butcherly minds, declared, at one time, that there could be no peace or safety so long as a single Armagnac remained alive in Paris; and, breaking open the prisons where the members of that faction were confined, they slaughtered of them, in one Sunday, no fewer than 1600, not sparing even the babe at the breast. The Count of Armagnac was slaughtered with circumstances of peculiar atrocity, and his naked and disfigured body was dragged about the city by women and children for three days, during all which time the murders were continued more in detail. The total number of victims was estimated at from four to five thousand. The mob of Paris and the canaille of the neighbourhood were the acting exterminators, but they were guided and directed by men, and by women too, of much higher rank, so that there is no shifting the whole atrocity on the people. "The Septembrizers of the fifteenth century" were applauded by the chiefs of the nobility of the Bourguignon faction, some of whom are said to have gained more than 300,000 crowns by their exploits; and, while the streets were literally wet with blood, the heads of the Bourguignon party, with the Duke of Burgundy and the Queen of France, rode into the good city of Paris, where the people made a great festival and rejoicing, and strewed the streets with flowers. The feast of the day, and the dancing and singing at night, were followed by fresh executions on the morrow, for the queen and the duke had victims of their own choosing to be sacrificed; and when all this work of blood was done they contrived to restore something like tranquillity by murdering the murderers. By a craft and perfidy that was very successful, but truly infernal, they rid France and the world of the leaders of the butchers. Famine and pestilence ensued; and wherever the Armagnacs had power so to do, they retaliated on the Bourguignons with equal atrocity. With intervals between, these butcheries continued for more than thirty years, and the main actors in them were not a soldiery, but a people—were not organized armies, but the commons of France. In 1439 and 1440 the States General met again, but did little besides establishing or confirming a perpetual tallage. Charles VII. and Louis XI. levied money and taxes by their own authority, and treated the States as an improper and indecent restriction on the power of the crown. Louis XI., the most astucious of tyrants and the real founder of the monarchic absolutism in France, only assembled the States General twice during his long reign; and on neither of those occasions did he consult them about the granting of money, or permit them to interfere with his levying taxes, tallages, and all kinds of contributions, by royal ordinance. As his tyranny and diabolical craft were exercised chiefly against the aristocracy-about the most factious and turbulent and least patriotic of any then in Europeas there was a system and a regularity in his administration and in his exactions, it does not appear that the people had much reason to complain of the disuse of the States. Indeed it rather appears, on the contrary, that the old fox was a favourite with the herd, and that the common people of France loved him all the better for his proceedings against the nobles. In 1483, when Charles VIII. succeeded his father Louis, the States General were convoked at Tours, and from a variety of concurrent circumstances, one of which was the minority of the new king, great things were expected from this convocation. The deputies from all the three orders-nobility, clergy, and commons—were so numerous that they could not debate in one body; they therefore resolved themselves into separate bodies to meet in different halls; but a very strange and unwise rule was adopted to regulate the separation or division: they resolved themselves, not into three chambers, representing the whole of the kingdom, according

to the three established orders, but into six nations -a fanciful division of old France. to commit a greater blunder would have been to resolve themselves into tribes, as the country was divided in the time of the Celtic rule. These six nations, as they were called, debated in separate chambers, in each of which nobility, clergy, and commons were heterogeneously mixed; and the nations only consulted each other upon the result of their respective deliberations. The component parts of each nation could not, without difficulty, agree among themselves, and the nations could not all agree with one another on some important and constitutional topics. Two of them, the Norman and Burgundian, reflecting that the greatest calamities had befallen the kingdom under minorities and regencies (which latter had hitherto been appointed by court-factions or decided by an appeal to arms), boldly asserted that the right of appointing a regent resided in the States General; and in virtue of this right they proposed to form a council, not only of the princes of the blood, but of certain deputies to be elected by the several divisions of the States. But the other four nations-Paris, Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Languedoilrejected this regency scheme altogether. With more unanimity, however, the States at Tours discussed the necessity of some redress of grievances and of some limitation of the power of the crown in taking the people's money. The princes of the blood and the great nobles, who had lived in almost constant fear and trembling under the astute old tyrant who had lately gone to his account, were not only desirous but impatient to undo much that he had done, to retrieve the fame and the property of many of his noble victims, and to wreak their vengeance on the instruments and agents of his tyranny; but few or none of them were disposed to go much farther than this, and they all shrunk instinctively from propositions made by the commons to relieve the distressed and overtaxed people by reducing the expenses of the court, the amount of pensions paid to courtiers and others, and the number of the standing army, which was exclusively and solely officered by men of noble birth. princes and the aristocracy, which may be said to have included the clergy-for the rich and high posts in the church were, with very few exceptions, reserved to the nobility—had weight enough to crush these propositions; but they, nevertheless, concurred with the commons in several wise, spirited, patriotic, and constitutional resolutions which would have been of inestimable benefit to the country, if, through a want of steadiness and perseverance on the part of the deputies and the people, and a want of good faith on the part of the government, they had not been left to remain as mere declarations upon paper. The States General, for example, resolved that the tallage and all other arbitrary imposts should be abolished; and that from thenceforward, "according to the natural liberty of France," no tax whatever should be

levied in the kingdom without the consent of the states. The court was so alarmed that it resolved never again to call the States General together if it could possibly be avoided; and the nation had not spirit, wisdom, and unanimity sufficient to support the declarations which had been made and enforce the regular convocation of their representatives at fixed or close periods of time. Another most favourable opportunity—perhaps the last—for obtaining a constitutional liberty was thus thrown away, and the gradual increase of standing armies made by Charles VIII. and his successors seemed destined to establish and prolong an absolute monarchy, until, by means which then could scarcely have been dreamed of, the popular feeling should be infused into those armies and the soldiers won over from the king and the aristocracy, who had the command of them, to the democracy, from which they themselves sprung, and to which they were condemned for ever to belong, seeing that no service, no valour, no genius could efface their plebeianism or raise them to the rank of gentlemen and officers. Under Louis XII. the States General were summoned only once, and that was solely to perform a not very honourable office: they helped him to break his royal word and a treaty of marriage which he had entered into for his daughter; they gave him the title of "Father of his people," and were then dismissed to obscurity and contempt. In 1558 Henry II. introduced a fourth estate, which bore the name of the Estate of Justice (L'Etat de la Justice), and which consisted of the chiefs of the magistracy of the kingdom. The four estates all sat together, or at least deliberated as one body, just as the three estates had done before. But they were not more fre-quently convened, and by degrees they all sank into a mere meeting of Notables, who were not so much deputed by the orders they represented, as summoned and selected by the sovereign for the sole purpose of giving him advice or countenance, and without the shadow of a legislative or even a restrictive power. In this mutilated form, though they made one or two efforts against the prerogative, they sanctioned some of the worst acts of the crown. Thus under Henry III., when they met at Blois, they chimed in with the mad factions of the court, connived at the assassination of the Duke and the Cardinal de Guise, and countenanced the king in proscribing nearly a fourth part of his subjects. In 1614, when Louis XIII. came of age, they met for the last time previously to the revolution of 1789, and nothing could well be more contemptible than this their last appearance on the stage. We quote one of the millest secounts of their acting and behaviour:—"They were convoked in a hurry, and were dissolved in the same manner. Efforts were witnessed on the part of the clergy to obtain in France the recognition of the temporal authority of the pope, and of the Council of Trent; but no other important discussion occupied the States General. The orders assembled separately, paying visits to each other

by means of commissaries, and occasionally sent their orators to one another. All the rules of etiquette were scrupulously observed; they counted the precise number of steps which ought to be made by each when they went to meet at conferences. The Tiers Etat, or commons, had to make so many steps in advance, the clergy so many, and the nobility so many, and no more; and all this was entered on their registers. They also entered their harangues; and these harangues resembled theatrical declamations rather than serious debates. But in the midst of the most fastidious compliments there arose sharp quarrels about inconsiderate words and phrases; and these quarrels were to be settled only by many long negotiations and interviews. This was particularly the case when an orator of the Tiers Etat called the nobility "worshippers of the goddess Pecunia." Afterwards they counted their complaints and grievances, hoping to receive some redress before the meeting should be dissolved; but the dissolution was ordered at the very moment when they were about to present their reports. The deputies of the commons appeared humiliated and disconsolate at being obliged to return home without having obtained

anything for the public good."*

Besides the States General there were provincial States, which occasionally showed more wisdom and more spirit (mixed with more moderation) than the greater assemblies; but the times of their meeting were irregular and uncertain, their attributes were still less defined, and they gradually died out altogether, or became simple provincial councils to advise with the king's licutenants, governors, and magistrates. There were Parlemens, but the parlemens of France were scarcely more like the parliament of England than a London court of common council is like the senate of ancient Rome. These parlemens also differed widely in their composition and functions from the States General as originally framed. They represented no part of the nation, for they were not deputed by any order, neither by nobility nor clergy, magistracy nor commons, but were selected and appointed by the crown. In course of time they were permitted, by the extravagant and impoverished court, to purchase their places; and this gave them somewhat more boldness and power than they had originally possessed, as even under despotisms public opinion will support men in maintaining that what they buy they ought to be allowed to keep. The Parlement of Paris appears to have been first instituted by Louis IX., about the middle of the thirteenth century, to assist the illiterate, careless, and impatient barons, who formed a sort of royal council or court of peers; and to have consisted chiefly if not entirely of churchmen, possessing a knowledge of civil as well as canonical law, and of other branches of state learning which men of the sword despised. These priest-lawyers decided cases of appeal, or gave to the court of peers advice whereby to decide

· Necket, Revolution Française.

upon them. They had no deliberative voice in the council or anywhere else; but they became important as their opinions and superior learning were known to influence the voice and decisions of the peers. They appear also to have acted from the first as a court of registry; and when all constitutional sanctions were done away with by the growing absolutism of the crown, it was considered that every royal edict or ordinance, to have the force of law, ought previously to be registered by the parlement. By degrees priests became less, and regular lawyers more numerous in this body. As a general rule, they implicitly obeyed the crown, to whom they owed their appointments. In cases of appeal and in other judicial cases, ifas rarely could happen—the crown was indifferent or impartial, they might use their own judgment and superior legal science; but when the king sent them down an edict, let its tenor be what it might, they had nothing to do but to cross themselves and enregister it. Now and then, indeed, favoured by some peculiar circumstances, they ventured to delay, to remonstrate, and even to refue.* Thus they refused to enregister an edict to abolish the pragmatic sanction, and refused to contribute taxes in the same proportion as the people. Among the innumerable edicts they did enregister without hesitation or murmurs, among the legal decisions they gave, and the other deeds they did,

* When the opposition of the parlement of Paris appeared to be unusually serious, the king had two ways of getting rid of it,—he held what was termed a Lit de Justice, or Bed of Justice, wherein by his own royal lips he odered lips chits to be regulatered, and the parlement was bound to ohey, without debate or remonstrance; or he held what was termed a Séance Royale, or Royal Siting or Session, where the parlement, though allowed the liberty of speech, were equally bound to enregister the ediets he presented These Lits des Justic and Séances Royales were very showy affairs, as the king wont in state, accompanied by the princes of the blood, the peers of the realim, a cardinal oi two, a selection from the architecture, history, and lord abbots, the great officers of state and of the household, and an interminable retinue, but they were only speciacies, got up by absolutism to assert its will, and awe tho only body of men that seemed to retain a flagment of constitutional freedom.

were some of the most execrable ever heard of in any country. They enregistered an edict establishing the inquisition; they condemned Anne du Bourg to death as a protestant, and shortly afterwards the good Colign; they instituted an annual procession and thanksgiving for the protestant massacre of St. Bartholomew; and in times of faction and civil war they repeatedly made themselves instruments of vengeance to the prevailing party. At times when the government was weak-in the hands of a woman or some perplexed regent—they could assume a high tone and a prepotent bearing; but down to the threshold of the great revolution they quailed before the sovereign power whenever it was held by a firm hand. They had more than once terrified his mother in the days of his minority, but Louis XIV. made them crouch before him like a pack of trained hounds. He ordered and ordained, in his ultraabsolute manner, that they should not presume to intermeddle in matters of state or finance; call in question the ministers of his choice: visit the great; or receive presents for the administration of justice. Being informed one day while hunting in the wood of Vincennes that they were showing symptoms of contumacy, he galloped away to their place of meeting, and suddenly appeared among them booted and spurred, with his couteau de chasse by his side, and his heavy whip in his hand, and forbade their proceeding any further. Their submission and timidity ought to excite no surprise and no severity of censure, for there was nothing between them and the king's wrath-they had no broad rights of their own to stand upon-and they could look for support neither from the aristocracy, who had dwindled down into a set of valets de cour, nor from the people, who seemed now confirmed in their habits of slavery, and to be hugging the chain which Richelieu and then the grand monarch had



Vinceprius. Rose à Proposi Point.

lengthened and strengthened for them. Louis XIV. said that he was the state (L'état, c'est moi), and all France scemed willing to believe him and to submit to the monstrous dictum. He virtually cashiered the parlement of Paris by forbidding them to deliberate on any matter whatsoever, and depriving them of the right of presenting remon-The Regent Duke of Orleans restored to them the right or faculty of remonstrance, for his government was beset by factions and cabals, and he wanted all the support and sanction he could procure: nor was the regent, with all his vices, anything like a thorough-paced despot. They became refractory under Louis XV., whose government betrayed very striking symptoms of weakness and decay-for despotism had overleaped itself, and was now fast falling "on the other side." They were, however, exiled for their disobedience, and were not recalled till the birth of Louis XVI. On their return they entered into a league with the other parlemens of the kingdom, in order to form one body, which might have strength and consistence enough to oppose some barriers to arbitrary power, and, at least, preserve the members of that body from punishment and exile on a royal or ministerial rescript, without process or any kind of examination. The people of Paris, in whom a few years had wrought a wonderful change, now rallied round them as bold and virtuous patriots, and a very near approach to an insurrection was the consequence of this popular sympathy. Yet it was soon after this that the parlement of Paris passed their irregular and iniquitous sentence of death on Lally. In almost the last days of his life Louis XV. quarrelled with them again, and again exiled them, together with several of the provincial parlemens. There was, however, a loud and almost universal outcry; and Louis XVI. recalled and reinstated them all, immediately upon his accession to the throne in 1774. Under the new reign they enregistered all the edicts that were sent them down to the year 1785, exercising neither less nor more authority than they had done for ages preceding, but enjoying somewhat more of popular respect and support, which rendered it dangerous for a king like Louis XVI., and situated as he was, to try to ride over them booted and spurred, and with whip in hand, as his great-grandfather had done over their predecessors. The provincial parlemens appear to have been as ancient as that of Paris, and to have risen like the provincial States General in the periods when those provinces were separate sovereignties, or principalities held under the little more than nominal suzerainty of the King of France. There were, for example, the p ment of Toulouse, the parlement of Grenoble, the parlemens of Dijon, Rouen, &c.

The Assembly of Notables, or what the French historians particularly designate by that name, had met altogether four times, and no more—in 1558, in 1596, in 1617, and in 1626. It was composed of a certain number of individuals distinguished by rank, character, ability, and experience—of men of

note, or " notable" men. They, too, possessed no legislative power, or constitutional, representative capacity; they were chosen by the king or his ministers, and they formed only a temporary council of state, to assist in some great emergency, to deliver their opinions upon plans communicated to them by command of the king, and to offer such advice as to them might appear most conducive to the welfare of his majesty and the nation. The most and the best, we believe, that can be said of the assemblies of the Notables is, that if they did no great good, they likewise did no great harm, leaving the government and institutions of the country just as they found them. So long as there was victory and glory abroad, and much corn and little reading at home, these institutions, radically bad as they were, seem to have suited the French people passably well. At certain intervals, even under the most powerful and popular of their monarchs -and in France the most powerful king was always the most, popular—there were mouvemens, emeutes, insurrections, and downright civil war: and what is remarkable is, the unquestionable fact, that in all these scenes there was the same horrible mixture of levity and atrocity, of sensuality, lust, and cruelty, that is observed in their earlier annals. Other nations in becoming more civilized had become less and less cruel, and this should seem to be the natural course of things; but it was not so in France, where the massacres of later times have been as pitiless as any that occurred in the most barbarous periods. There were frequent occasions when the aristocratic and priestly and popular excitement subsided into a sudden calm. ending, as it had begun, in words and clamour; but, if once blood was drawn, the tiger part of the national character displayed itself, and they seemed never to know when to stop. In the civil wars of the Fronde, "the last campaign of the aristocracy," during the minority of Louis XIV., the levity, the gallantry, the intrigue, and the debauch, were greater than they had been in earlier times, and the cruelty was not less: they killed one another singing songs and making bon mots; and after the day had been spent in fighting and bloodshed the night was devoted to all the pleasanter vices. The highest and noblest in the land were the actors in these excesses, which lasted for years, and a prince of the church, that lively profligate, the Cardinal de Retz, was the real hero of the Fronde. The people of Paris, indeed, took an active part in them, but it can hardly be said that the plebeians, the gens de la roture, the canaille, were more vicious or bloodthirsty than the noblesse or than the clergy, several of the most conspicuous members of which latter body, besides de Retz, were engaged in the contentions. Even under the vaunted reign of Louis XIV. the French rendered themselves notorious by their cruelty both abroad and at home. There is nothing in modern history more horrible than the havor they committed in the Palatinate; and the dragonades against the Hugonots or protestants of the

south of France, ordered by Louis XIV., his mistress, his ministers, and his priests, and executed with alacrity and exultation by the troops and the Catholic part of the population, were but little inferior in atrocity to the grand massacre of St. Bartholomew itself, while the proscription and perpetual banishment of so many thousands of peaceful and most useful subjects, by which the dragonades were accompanied, might be compared to the expulsion of the unhappy Moors from Grenada under that bigot and tyrant, Philip II. of Spain.* It is a most hopeless effort in French writers of a later day to attempt to throw all this damning guilt on kings and priests, for the people of all classes partook in the savage frenzy that prompted the proceedings; they were national deeds—they were approved of and were highly popular with the French nation, who never reached the healing philosophy of toleration in matters of religion until they had thrown off and utterly renounced all religious belief-and then we shall find their philosophism, their materialism, or atheism, just as intolerant as the ancient Romanism, or as any other church that ever pretended to infallibility. Regent Duke of Orleans, who carried debauchery, obscenity, and irreligion to a monstrous excess, had, however, the merit of being averse to blood, except when shed on the field of battle; and, though passionately fond of war, and not without genius for the conduct of it, he kept France at peace during the whole of his regency; and perhaps it will not be easy to find in French history a similar length of time so entirely free from cruelties and massacres. But under Louis XV., who had all the bad qualities of the regent with only a few of the redeeming ones, the nation was plunged into ruinous, sanguinary, and, for the most part, unfortunate wars, and many savage acts were perpetrated in the interior, sometimes by the people, de proprio motu, sometimes by the government, with or without the sanction of the parlemens and courts of law. The horrible executions in cases of high treason, once common to all Europe, were gradually falling into disuse, and were repulsive to the feelings of most communities; but in the year 1757, when Louis XV. was stabbed and only slightly wounded by Damiens, an insane fanatic, who ought to have been sent to a madhouse, like Margaret Nicholson, he was condemned by the Grande Chambre of the parlement, from whom the king, by letter, had demanded "a signal vengeance," to be broken alive by horses; and this sentence was executed in a public square of Paris, the Place de Grève, with numerous additional atrocities. Before being put to death by having the four horses attached to his four limbs to pull them asunder, he was tortured for one hour and a half on the place of execution with redhot pincers, molten lead, and other detestable contrivances. All Paris flocked to the horrid

^e It was under the same reign that Paris witnessed the bloody and indiscriminate slaughter at the Hôtel de Ville, when the people, too impatient to distinguish between friends and floe, fell upon all they could reach, and messacred alike Frondous and Masarins.

spectacle; the windows and roofs of the houses around the Place de Grève were crowded with spectators, men and women, and among them were many ladies of the highest rank. This was, indeed, one of the most disgraceful exhibitions that ever took place in a civilized country. It was under this reign, and at a time when the labours of the Encyclopedists and philosophists were beginning to produce their effect on the national mind. that Calas and la Barre were immolated by courts of justice at the shrine of superstition, as Lally was sacrificed to the Compagnie des Indes and to selfish cabals. It was under this reign that 60,000 lettres de cachet were granted, that went and absolute famine raged in the greater part of France, that a harem far more revolting than that of eastern sultans was formed for the king in the Parc aux Ceris, and that a common prostitute, Madame du Barry, was almost enthroned as principal mistress, being made the companion of the king's own daughters, and the place-dispensing idol to which the proudest of the land, princes, dukes, marquises, with their wives or their daughters, marshals, generals, admirals, chancellors, judges, nay, abbés, almoners, bishops, and archbishops, offered their incense. It was under this reign that the court, the capital, and most of the great cities of France, became demoralised to a point beyond which all the horrors of the coming revolution could scarcely carry them. There were great and glorious exceptions among all classes, and in every part of the kingdom; in many of the remote and rural districts a simplicity and innocency of manners still reigned; there were generous sentiments and aspirations in a very large part of the nation, and existing even in the breasts of men to whom vice and sensual indulgence were most familiar; there was bravery to do and dare, for that essential quality never yet was wanting in the French; there was an abundance, or a superabundance, of talent, ingenuity, wit; but there was no political experience, no caution or moderation, no patient perseverance, no toleration for the errors or passions of others, no sympathy or friendship, but a deadly hostility between all the different ranks or classes of society, at the moment when Louis XVI. and his young wife became king and queen, with the touching exclamation or prayer uttered on their knees, and with streaming eyes, "Oh, God guide us, protect us; we are too young to reign!"

The new sovereign, a weak but amiable man, and not without acquirements and abilities which might have rendered him a good and useful king in a different country, or even in France under less numerous and fatal difficulties, found the people discontented, impoverished, suffering, and mutinous; the government embarrassed by an enormous and still increasing debt; the credit of the state destroyed by a bankruptcy profligately perpetrated by the Abbé Terray, the precious finance-minister of Louis XV.; the army disorganised, the navy almost annihilated, and all classes and conditions of his subjects calling for reform—for an immediate

and sweeping reform, without being in the least agreed as to where it was to begin and where end, or as to the means to be employed in procuring it. At first, however, there seemed a fair prospect of contentment and tranquillity: the king chose for



Louis XVI. From a Portrait by Duplessi Bertaux.

his premier the octogenarian Count de Maurepas, who had grown old without growing very wise; but he appointed Turgot, the most distinguished of the economists, and a virtuous and philosophic man, to be comptroller-general of the finances, and the wise and good Malesherbes to preside over the department of justice. The exiled parlement was recalled, and reinstated with honour. Turgot and Malesherbes, who knew the temper of the times, and that some grand changes were inevitable, wished the king to take the business of reform into his own hands, whereby, they calculated, he might be enabled to retain the direction of it, and prevent the extremity of a revolution—an extremity fearful even among a better trained and more phlegmatic people, but trebly dangerous with a people like the French. They proposed that the king should begin with some of the gross and monstrous burthens that ground the commonalty, that he should suppress the internal duties which weighed heaviest on articles of food, and above all the detested gabelle; that he should abolish the corvées, and the other tyrafinical usages which had arisen out of the feudal system; that he should subject the nobility and the clergy to pay taxes as well as the tiers état, or common people; and that he should convert tallages and other services, which excessively harassed and distressed the country people, into a fixed territorial impost. They also recom-mended the abolition of torture; a total revisal of the old criminal code; the compilation of new and uniform civil code; full liberty of conscience, and the recall of the Protestants; the gradual suppression of the greater part of the convents and monasteries; the emancipation of the civil power from ecclesiastical jurisdiction; a proper provision for the parochial clergy and country cures, who did all the duties of religion that were performed in France, who possessed all the religion that was

left in the French clergy, and who were and had for ages been condemned to starve or languish upon miserable pittances, while the dignitaries of the church -excessively wealthy and luxurious, and as dissipated and unbelieving as the lay aristocracy-were spending the money of the church at Paris. They further recommended the redemption of all feudal rents and obligations; the suppression of all the existing impediments to trade and industry, of everything which separated the provinces of France from one another, and checked the commercial intercourse of the kingdom; the formation of provincial administrations, to be composed of the great landed proprietors, who were to unite and give strength to the powers and spirit of the municipal bodies, to superintend the construction of roads and canals, in which France was miserably deficient, and to attend to a variety of important affairs too apt to be overlooked by the central government, residing continually in the capital. Turgot was intimately connected not only with the political economists, but with the whole body of philosophes, whose free notions in metaphysics and in religion he participated in : he therefore suggested, as important parts of the reform, that the philosophes should be retained for the government by proper fees and emoluments, in order to furnish "the tribute of their philanthropic observations;" that thought should be rendered free as trade; and that a new system of public instruction should be established, from which " all the old prejudices" should be weeded and excluded. As Louis XVI. was not an esprit fort, as he loved the old religion much better than the new ethics, as, like his grandfather Louis XV., he suspected and dreaded the philosophes, their converts and partisans, there was much in the scheme proposed that was in the highest degree distasteful to him; and other essential portions of the project were still more odious to the aristocracy and the clergy, who exclusively surrounded the king, who already raised a loud cry about vested rights and ancient privileges, and who expressed, in the most determined manner, their intention of yielding nothing to the people. Deafened by these clamours, the young king threw out all the vital parts of the project; and agreed with his premier, old Maurepas, an aristocrat himself, that nothing ought to be done that tended to disgust and alienate the nobility and the clergy, the real supporters of the power and splendour of the throne. Turgot, however, succeeded in inducing Maurepas and the king to consent to the abolition of the corvée, of the interior custom-houses between province and province, and of various other vexations and abuses, which collectively formed no insignificant instalment towards better government. But the French people and the philosophes were far too impatient to whit for what could not possibly be well done except with time and caution; and the other orders were variously dissatisfied even with the little that was thus done in the way of reform. The courtiers complained bitterly of the rigid economy which Turget had introduced; and the parlement of

Paris resented several measures which went to interfere with their old jurisdiction, functions, and profits. The patriotism of the latter body seems to have evaporated from the very moment they discovered that their purses and their influence were to be touched. Turgot's ministerial life of two years was a very uneasy one. The wisdom and the boldness with which he opposed the mad war party that drove Louis XVI. into the American war-predicting, as we have seen, so many of the fatal consequences of that rash step-put the capstone to his unpopularity at court; and he was driven into retirement in 1776. It is said that the king, who had not energy enough to support him against the united cabals of nobles, clergy, and the great officers of the crown, exclaimed, in parting with him, that there were in all France only Turgot and himself who really wished the good of the people! The personal virtues of the man had extinguished his dislike of the philosophe.

Turgot was succeeded as comptroller-general of finance by Clugny, who, after holding office about six months, gave place to Necker, from whom nothing less than absolute miracles were expected; and that too by a people who believed not merely



NECKES. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

that the age of miracles was over, but that it had never existed. The prevalence of the new ideas was seen in this appointment, for Necker was not only a plebeian, but a foreigner and a Protestant. He was a native of Geneva, and the son of a professor of law in that little republic. He went to Paris in his youth to seek fortune or employment; and he found both in the house of Thellusson, also a Genevese, and at that time the greatest banker and capitalist on the continent. His steadiness and perseverance, with some abilities, soon raised him from the condition of a clerk to that of a partner, and in the course of twelve or thirteen years he realised a very large fortune. His enemies -chiefly the French ultra-royalists, who attributed to him a revolution which must have happened, a little sconer or a little later, if he had never been born-accuse him of adroit if not fraudulent operations with the French Best India Company, and in the English funds, at the time of the peace of 1763, of which, they say, he was advised beforehand by Favier, an employe in the office of foreign affairs at Paris; but it may very reasonably be doubted whether Necker ever exceeded the tolerably wide limits of financiering and stock-jobbing morality. He retired from business in 1774, when he was only forty-two years of age, and in possession of a wonderful reputation for industry, energy, and ability, in all matters connected with finance and public economy. He, no doubt, owed part of this fame to his large fortune and the liberal uses he made of it, and to his charming and spirituelle wife, who collected in her salons and at her dinnertable all the distinguished men of France, with every foreigner of any celebrity that visited Paris. Necker, however, was an author; and at this curious transition period celebraties were not to be acquired and kept in France except by the pen and the press. He had written upon the French corn laws and upon the French East India Company; and his cloge on the great finance-minister Colbert had procured him a prize of honour from the French Academy. At the moment when old Maurepas was perplexed in the extreme, by difficulties which increased after the retreat of Turgot, Necker sent him a long memoir upon the French finances and the best means of paying off the national debt, and making up the enormous defi-ciency in the revenue. The light-hearted and sanguine old marquis was delighted with the production, and with a scheme which he fondly fancied would remove every difficulty without imposing a too rigid economy on the court. He had some difficulty in overcoming the religious scruples and the national scruples of Louis XVI., who thought that his finance-minister ought to be a Frenchman and a Catholic; but, in the end, the alien and Protestant Necker was admitted to the most difficult office of the state, without, however, having the honour of a seat in the council.* He refused the ordinary pay and emoluments of office, declaring that his only object was to benefit the people of France, and save their government from bankruptcy. Men, however, who knew him well, and who even respected the many good qualities that were in him, thought that it would have given him some pain to see France saved by any other hand than his own, and that, though not covetous of money, of which he had already more than enough, he was covetous of distinction and glory as a statesman, and singularly ambitious of being thought the only regenerator of an undone kingdom. If Turgot's schemes had in some degree smelt over-strongly of the new philosophism and of the coterie of encyclopedists and economists, Necker's certainly savoured too much of the banking-house and the stock-exchange. He considered that the salvation of this ricketty, worn-out monarchy might be found in public leans adroitly managed, in the introduc-

Necker was not at once made comptroller. A new office—that of, "Drester of the Treasury"—was made for him, and Thoureau de Réaux; a conneillor of sate, was comptroller-general. But this quiet, ufficeaming than tel Norter do se he cheer, end in a few mouths he resigned his affice. It June, 1777, Socket was appointed compareller, with a little disnige in the official little, being called Drestor-General.

tion of a better system of collection and bookkeeping, and in a very little economy on the part of the court and the various departments of govern-Loans, new loans, were to supply the place of new taxes; for the people, the Tiers Etat, were already so overburthened that they could bear no more, and the nobility and clergy had secured for a little while longer their exemption from all taxes. No doubt there was service to be done by a good banker and stock-broker, and Necker did, honestly and with spirit, just as much as was to he expected from a man in that capacity; but he did, and could do little more, for Necker was scarcely a statesman at all, and the crisis required the greatest of statesmen. Nor is it at all improbable that the greatest statesman that ever has lived, or that ever shall live, would have utterly failed in that chaos and pandemonium. Necker's prospectuses and conditions of loans were drawn with a practised, and, in that line, an able pen; the bankers and merchants of Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Genoa were tempted to give more credit to their old correspondent, the late partner of Thellusson, whose speculations had all been so successful, than they would have reposed in the French government, which had already more than once defrauded its creditors by bankruptcy: they speculated pretty freely in the French funds and in these new loans, and for a time all went smoothly, and old Maurepas continued in his ecstasies. As for Necker's economy, or reduction of expenditure, it was too insignificant in amount to have saved a little Swiss canton. He would have made it more, but he was thwarted by the young queen, who naturally loved pleasure and expense, by the whole household, and by nearly every aristocrat that had place, appointment, or pension, or was living in the hope of obtaining it. The more thoughtful part of this high, and privileged, and separate world agreed that some retrenchment might be necessary or expedient, but they never could agree as to the places where the retrenchments ought to be made, and every one of them thought that he, his own connexions or particular department, ought to be spared. And Necker, afraid of making enemies, afraid of offending the queen, carefully abstained from any bold attempt. If it had been a time of peace his financial operations might have produced some more lasting benefit; but nearly all the money he could borrow was swallowed up by the American war, and he found himself incapacitated from alleviating the crushing burthens of the people. He went on adding loan to loan: the necessities of the moment were met, and that was all; and by degrees both the country and the foreign creditors begin to entertain some doubt whether France was not borrowing more than she would ever be able to pay under her present unreformed system, which left nothing to be contributed by two of the three orders of the state. In the year 1781 he was permitted to publish his famous Comptes Rendus, or regular account of the finances of the kingdom,

which disclosed for the first time the state of the revenue and expenditure—things which had hitherto been considered as sacred arcana of government. of which the people were never to have a glimpse. Although he was only half a philosophe and half a liberal, that party highly applauded this disclosure, declaring that it would render impossible the return of the dld secret and absolute system. But, on the other hand, his disclosure made him many powerful enemies, and united against him a legion of placemen, pensioners, contractors, and others, who loved to live upon the public purse without the public having any knowledge of the The Comptes Rendus certainly contributed somewhat to the great change that was approaching, and which was driven on by causes innumerable. Necker, assailed on every side at court, now declared that all his endeavours to retrieve the affairs of the country must prove ineffectual unless the king allowed him to change a part of the cabinet and to have a place at the council table. The king refused even the seat in the council, and thereupon Necker tendered his resignation, which was accepted in May, 1781, not many weeks after the publication of his Comptes Rendus. He was succeeded by a mere tool of the court, who never whispered the word retrenchment. Old Maurepas died shortly after, and, instead of the middle course which he had pursued by alternately conciliating the aristocracy and the popular party by concessions and promises, it was resolved at court to present a bold front and refuse any further concessions or reforms. The Count de Vergennes, an experienced diplomatist, and one who thought that diplomacy alone might rescue a universe, obtained the high post vacated by Maurepas. The war was prosecuted with some increase of vigour; and Lafayette, who constantly corresponded with the new minister, flattered him with hopes and assurances that his glorious administration would witness the humiliation and ruin of Great Britain. If the American war most materially contributed, when it was over, to the overthrow of the French throne, it certainly, during its progress, diverted attention and occupied the popular mind too much to allow it to dwell upon state matters at home. Always fond of excitement, the French, in spite of their poverty, had rejoiced at the commencement of hostilities, for the disgraces and defeats they had sustained in the Seven Years' war preyed upon their minds, and the humiliation of England was a pleasure to be purchased at any price. They concluded that the dismemberment of the British empire and the independence of the United States of America must infallibly ruin their old rival for ever; and thus even the court, the aristocracy, and the most passionate of the royalists joined the philosophes and the liberals in taking the young republicans of the West to their hearts, and declaring that no sacrifice was too great to be made for them. The sacrifices actually made were enermous; and when the bustle and excitement of the war were finished and a review was

taken of all that it had cost, of all that it had added to the national debt, the government was mortified and astounded; and all those parties that were looking forward to innovations and aweeping changes became convinced that the whole strength of the monarchy was gone, and that the day was at hand for making a revolution by a coup de main. Every effort was, however, made by a half-informed ministry to keep the court ignorant of these fatal secrets. After another change a finance minister was found perfectly to the taste of the court. This was Calonne, a bold, dashing, brilliant, self-confident man, who had a great deal of wit and a wonderful fertility of invention, and who would have saved France, if wit and impudence and wild schemes could have done it. Instead of recommending an extensive and statesmanlike economy as Turgot had done, or practising a paltry economy like Necker, he boldly declared that no economy was necessary, and that the gaiety and splendour of the court ought to be supported. He entirely captivated the suffrages of the court by the urbanity of his manners, the facility with which he granted favours or money, and the charming tone and tenour of his political philosophy. He was regarded as the best comptroller of finances that God had ever made for courtiers. The presence of his predecessors had cast a gloom over every court fête, for they always seemed to be summing up the total of the expense; but the presence of Calonne made still gayer the gayest parties, for it was one of his well-known axioms that too much money could hardly



CALCHNE. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

be spent in this way, because costly entertainments were conducive to national prosperity, by encouraging various branches of trade and manufactures which might otherwise languish. This political economy, besides pleasing the princes, lords, and high dames at Versailles, was very grateful to the marchands des modes, the tailors, jewellers, and a hundred other classes of tradespeople and artisans in the capital; and, though his doctrines did not go down so well among other classes of the community and in the provinces,

Calonne was for a considerable time a very popular finance-minister in a good part of Paris. If any of the princes or princesses wanted a supply, Calonne had always the golden louis ready for them in a pretty box or silken bag: if the queen wanted a place for one of her friends, he had always some appointment which he had kept vacant for that very person. Deprived of their ornaments. their wit, and their gallantry, his speeches at court amounted simply to this-take as much money as you please, and spend it as fast as you can. As he, no more than Necker, could venture to lay on any new taxes, duties, or imposts whatsoever, and as the expenditure continued far to exceed the diaposable part of the revenue, he had nothing for it but to make fresh loans; and he borrowed and borrowed until the sensitive money-market of Europe took the alarm, and nearly everybody but himself shrunk back in affright from the abyss he had made. He ventured to prolong a few taxes that ought to have expired, he anticipated some parts of the revenue, he even imposed some trifling new duties; but it was not by expedients and petty operations like these that he could prolong the happy illusion he had raised in the high places: a sum of money which, in francs, fills the breadth of a page, must be raised immediately, and an enormous addition must be made to the annual taxation of the country, or bankruptcy, ruin, anarchy, must ensue. He felt, as a man that had bowels and sense, that it would be cruelty and madness to grind the people any further; and, after revolving many schemes, he determined to make an appeal to the nobility and the clergy, and he obtained the reluctant consent of the king to convoke an Assembly of Notables.

Besides other and more serious consequences. this measure was attended with the ruin of Calonne. His system, founded on prodigality, must end upon his having recourse to the purses of other men. A minister who had raised himself by giving could not sustain himself by asking.* He hoped that an assembly of notables chosen by the government would be easily induced to adopt the views of ministers, and that men who owed so much to the monarchy would be disposed to make some sacrifices in order to relieve it from its present difficulties and the perilous chances of an entire subversion. If ever there was a time for proving the truth of the axiom, that the nobility and clergy were the true friends and defenders of the throne, this was it. The Notables assembled at Versailles on the 22nd of February, 1787. The old courtiers were horror-stricken even at a deliberative, powerless, and most imperfect popular assembly like this; and the profligate Duke of Richelieu asked one of his friends what punishment he thought Louis XIV. would have inflicted upon any minister that had presumed merely to propose such a dangerous measure? These notables were almost to a man members of the privileged orders, and were exempted either by birth

· Mighet.

or by profession, or by both accidents, from contributing to the wants of the state; but many of them were known to entertain the new notions, and to have expressed an eagerness for reform and . the correction of abuses. It was, in fact, upon these grounds that they had been selected from among thousands and hundreds of thousands, and Calonne was credulous enough to imagine that they would display a perfect disinterestedness, and forward the liberal principles they professed at the expense of sacrifices from themselves and the orders to which they belonged. He thought, too, that if selfish men should be found among these notables of the land they would, from their very selfishness, be ready to sacrifice a part to save the large remainder, to resign their exemption from taxation in order to keep their great estates and their rich benefices.* It was therefore with his ordinary gaiety and vivacity that Calonne explained in detail the motives of their being called together, and the healing schemes which he had to propose for their consideration. These schemes consisted, first, in a new distribution of taxes, by which the revenue would be materially increased, and the expenses of collecting it materially lessened; and secondly, in the abolition of the invidious privileges of the nobility and clergy, which provoked a perennial jealousy and animosity on the part of the Tiers Etat, and which opposed an insurmountable barrier to permanent improvement of any kind. But his illusion was presently dissipated. Instead of approving his plans, the notables pointed out their defects and their very dangerous tendency. By a proposed land-tax, his subvention territoriale, no privileged class was to be exempted, but noblemen, clergy, members of the parlemens were all to pay like the plebeians, whom they had hitherto been used to tax without mercy, and without taking a doit from their own purses. The notables declared that the project was monstrous, and that the enormous deficit which had impelled Calonne to offer so dangerous a proposition had been created by his own prodigality and mismanagement. Some of the body went still further, and accused him of peculation. In defending himself Calonne referred to the old state of the finances, to the enormous dilapidations which existed many years before he entered upon their management, to the exhausting expenditure caused by the American war; and he criticised the operations of many of his predecessors in office, not excepting even Necker, who had palliated the evil without removing the sources from which it sprung, and who had first introduced the system of frequent loans. But the notables were not dis-posed either to excuse him by admitting the units of others, or to allow that any extremity of national distress ought to confound the privileged orders with the unprivileged; and with a very few ex-

ceptions they announced their determination of contributing nothing. Besides the opposition of particular and individual interests, many objected to this land-tax, or subvention territoriale, as a direct infringement of the rights of whole provinces, and a violation of the original capitularies or compacts which they had entered into with the crown when they first became integral parts of the kingdom. These capitularies, they said-and said truly-guaranteed to the said provinces all their ancient immunities; and these immunities were not to be destroyed without violence, war, and revolution. Such a storm was raised as completely overwhelmed even the bold and readywitted comptroller-general; and, though warmly supported by the queen, Calonne was dismissed on the 10th of April. If there had been peculation it had not been committed by him or for his own profit: he was penniless on quitting office, and might have starved but for a financier's rich widow in Lorraine, who, captivated by his gallantry and wit, married him in the hour of his need, when the courtiers, upon whom he had rained gold, were turning their backs upon him as a broken, disgraced, and dangerous man.

During the discussions in the notables, a forward, fashionable, self-confident dignitary of the church, Loménie de Brienne, had attracted considerable attention by organising or directing the opposition of the clergy, and by making himself their chief mouthpiece. This aspiring churchman had been a college companion of Turgot, and had set out in his college with the resolution of becoming an archbishop and prime minister.* He had so far succeeded that at the meeting of the notables he was archbishop of Toulouse. He had studied men more than books, he was thoroughly a man of the world, and, with infinitely less knowledge, philanthropy, and patriotism than Turgot, he had great industry, and no inconsiderable practical, working ability, which, together with his other qualities, might have rendered him a tolerably popular minister in less difficult times. He accepted the post of Calonne with an appearance of confidence, and was shortly after translated to the much richer archbishopric of Sens. At every change wonders were expected; but it soon became visible that Lumenie had no plan, and that no plan was possible. The notables who had joined him in making war upon Calonne abaudoned him the very moment he showed a disposition to resume and carry into effect a part of the projects which had been proposed by that minister and first contemplated by Turgot. He could neither continue the profusion of Calonne, by which alone the court was to be retained, nor fall back upon the saving system of Necker, which might have amused the people yet a little while: the loan-market was shut against him, and neither nobility nor clergy would open their purses to contribute. There was no hope for him or in him. He could scarcely dare to speak against the privi-" Mismokim de l'Abbé Merelief, de l'Asidémie Probenies ...

[.] The notables consisted of 144 persons, seven of whom were princes of the blood, and the rest peers, nobles, heads of the church, law, and gray, ministrates of the cown, deputies of the Prys of Enais, and magnetrates of the principal towns in different parts of the kingdom.

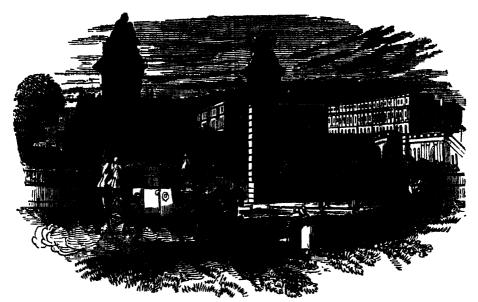
leges and exemptions which he had so recently ! defended; and, when two or three of the notables hazarded reflections upon the amount of untaxed property, tithes, &c., they were put down by loud and indignant voices. The national violence was enlivened as usual with the national wit and readiness at repartee. The archbishop of Alz, in a pathetic tone, described tithes as being the voluntary offering of the piety of the faithful. " Tithes." rejoined the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in a simple and quiet manner, "tithes, that voluntary offering of the piety of the faithful, about which forty-thousand law-suits are now pending in the kingdom." In the course of the sittings more than one hint was given as to the necessity of convoking in some form or other the real representatives of the three orders of the nation. demand the convocation of the States-General," said the new minister with an air of alarm and astonishment. "Yes," said Lafayette, whose revolutionary ardour had not excluded him from the resumbly of notables, "Yes, and something more than that " The secretaries were ordered to take down these words as improper and dangerous; and Lomenic, who had very recently complimented Lafayette, and been in return complimented by him as a man of the most upright honesty and shining abilities, now declared in the king's council that the friend of the Americans was a most dangerous man, and much too apt to put his logic into action. † The notables, who were not incorrectly designated by Lafayette's pun Not-able, were rigid in their parsimony, and not very submissive in other respects. They, however, sanctioned the formation of provincial assemblics, which, with time and patience, might have been productive of great good, if only in accustoming the French to a little self-government; and they also approved of the ministerial plan for regulating the internal trade in corn. They agreed to the total abolition of the corvée, and to the imposing a new stamp-tax; and here they halted. court and the new minister of finance were about equally afraid of what they might do and of what they had left undone; and it was resolved to put an end to a meeting which had disappointed all parties. On the 25th of May, 1787, the king, who had opened their session in person, dissolved them with another speech, in which, with hollowness and sadness of heart, he went through the formula of thanking them for the attention and zeal they had displayed.

The notables had scarcely got back to their homes ere Lomenie indeed found himself not able to carry on the business of government without having recourse to the old arbitrary system of taxation—of a taxation still to be borne solely by the Tiers Etat. The parlement of Paris, which had taken part in the wordy war for the defence of privileges and exemptions, and which had mate-

Souvenira sur Misabeau et sur les Deux Premières Assemblées Législatives, par Etienne Dumout, de Genève. † Membire, sec., of Laisystes, petilished by his family. 'Toulou-geon, Hist. de France, depuis la Réveiution de 1789.

rially injured by its determined hostility not only Calonne, but his reforming predecessors Necker and Torgot, now resumed its patriotic or opposition attitude, and began by refitsing to enregister even the new stamp-tax which the notables had sanctioned. Upon this subject the parlement, about the middle of July, presented an address to the king, strongly objecting to the tax, and requesting his majesty to communicate to them a full account of the real state of the finances, and of the manner in which the money demanded was to be applied. Louis, following the advice of his ministers, and still more the impulses of the arbitrary instinct which, of necessity, had been made a part of his very nature, by birth, education, habit, and every circumstance of his life from his cradle downward, and for which he was not, morally, more responsible than is the man that inherits acrofuls, insanity, or consumption answerable for the malady that destroys him, declared his determination not to furnish them with the information they required without any precedent for their demand. The parlement, who were impelled by la Rochefoucauld and d'Espréménil, and who did not foresee that they were calling not merely for the extinction of their own cherished privileges and faculties, but for the extinction of their very being as a body, now put forth an exciting remonstrance, in which, after inveighing against ministors, they entered into a discussion of the fundamental principles and real objects of national taxation; broadly asserted that neither the king nor the parlemens, that no other body of men whatsoever except only the three estates of the kingdom collectively assembled, possessed a right to lay a permanent tax upon the people; and they therefore recommended and requested that his majesty would be pleased to convoke the States-General, as they used to be convoked in former ages. This paper completed the excitement of the people and frightened the courtiers and the old placemen almost out of their senses. The king replied to it that it was for him to judge of the proper time for assembling the States-General; and that it was for the parlement to enregister the edicts he sent to them. But finding that the parlement continued resolute, and that the people of Paris were enthusiastic in their adhesion to it, Louis and his ministers, as the only remaining resort, decided that the stamp-tax edict should be enregistered in a Lit de Justice, or Bed of Justice, a fushion which had been introduced in the course of the gradual growth of despotism and disuse of even deliberative assemblies, and which had often. been resorted to before, when parlemens proved refractory.

This Bed of Justice was held at Versailles on the 6th of August, 1787. Before the parlement quitted Paris to attend it they entered a protest against anything that might be done or attempted contrary to the Jaws of the kingdom. At Versailles they were compelled to be silent, and to witness the registering of the edict at the express command of



PALACE OF VERSAULES; THE ORANGERY GATE. From a French Print.

the sovereign; but on the next day, when they re-assembled in the Palais de Justice, at Paris, they declared, in a formal protest, that the edict, having been registered against their approbation and consent, was null and void; and that the first person that should attempt to carry it into execution should be judged and treated as a traitor. They well knew that the other parlemens of the kingdom would follow their example, and that the tax and duty payers—the great body of the people, who already paid too much-would not, with such encouragements, submit to the stamp-tax. Altogether, a more unlucky choice of an impost could not have been made. The history of the stamptax in America was very generally known, and there was Lafayette, with Jefferson, and a knot of Americans, to endoctrinate the French people. The very name of the tax was enough to forbode mischief. At this time of ferment all the printing presses of Paris worked night and day, pouring forth, for the most part, nothing but eulogiums on the patriotic parlement, anathemas on the government, libels on the king, and libels still more atrocious on the queen." The Count d'Artois,

* Jefferson, still minister plenipotentiary, writes—" In the mean time all tongues in Paris (and in France, it is said) have been let loose, and never was a licence of speaking against the government exercised in London more freely or more universally. Caractures, placarity, bons most, have been indulged in by all ranks of people, and I know of no well-attested instance of a single punishant. For some time mobs of ten, twenty, and thrity thousand people imby collected daily, surrounded the parliament house, huzz ed the members, even estered the deers, and examined into their conduct (a prelude to what the mob did afterwards in the national assembly and convention), "took the horses out of the carriages of those who did well, and drew them hope. . . The queen going to the theatre at Versailles with Madame de Poliquac, was received with a general hiss. The king, leng in the habits of throwing his cares in wine, plunges deeper and desper. The queen circs, but sins on."—Programs Tacker, Life of Jefferson. Selectemined republicanism made him a prejudiced judge of kings and queens; his lishitual associates in Paris were revolutionists, and he seems to have adopted the very worst stories told by them of Louis and Marie Antoinetie.

the king's younger brother (afterwards the illstarred Charles X.) was grossly insulted in the strects of the capital, for having told the parlementers that if he were king he would compel them to be more obedient. At court, with an excessive irritation, there was much indecision; for Louis, though claiming absolute power, had in reality little taste for absolute measures. But, about a week after holding the unpropitious Lit de Justice, he assented to the proposals of his ministers for employing force and intimidation. With full confidence that an army of 12,000 men now collected in the capital would be sufficient to repress any popular movement, the ministers gave their orders, and at a very early hour one morning, beginning between light and dark, an officer of the French guards, attended by a few soldiers, went to the house of each member, to signify to him the king's command that he should instantly get into his carriage and proceed to Troyes, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house pre-viously to his departure. The old words of terror, " de par le Roi," had still power enough in them to enforce obedience, and before the city of Paris was well awake all the parlement men were considerably advanced on their journey. When their departure became known there was a loud uproar; but the soldiers, who were not yet won over to the popular side, patroled the streets and restored quiet by breaking a few heads and conveying some of the noisiest to their corps de gardes or to prison. But the king had not armies in every part of France, and at nearly every great town where there were no troops or only weak garrisons a spirit of riot and resistance was manifested. Even at this very early stage there were symptoms that the people would make a wild and immoderate use of their power whenever they should be enfranchised, and that the revolution, like all its predecessors, would be a bloody one. But men would not permit their extravagant hopes to be overcast by these sad



COMIZ B'ARTOR (APPERWINDS CHARLES X). From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

signs. Lafayette, who appears to us to be about the most inept men that ever meddled with the mainsprings of revolutions, wrote in an ecstasy of joy to his old friends on the other side of the Atlantic-" Notions of liberty have been spreading very fast among us ever since the American revolution. The combustible materials have been kindled by the assembly of notables and by our parlemens. . . . Liberty is cantering and prancing from one end of the kingdom to the other." Prancing, indeed! a wild unbroken colt, beating her unshodden hoofs to pieces on rough ground, where no roads as yet had been made, without bit or rein to curb and guide her, and with a crowd of selfconfident but bad riders like Lafayette, each jostling the other and fighting to be first, fondly fancying that they could vault upon her back without saddle or stirrup, guide her as they list, and put her through her paces like an old manège Flanders mare. But, if Lafayette was deficient in all the high qualities which make a statesman or a political philosopher, he was gifted with a wonderful share of activity. He attended the notables; he was in constant communication with the leaders of opposition in the parlement of Paris and in nearly all the other parlemens of the kingdom; he voted and harangued in the provincial assembly of Auvergne, his native province, and in a trice he was back in the capital, consulting with Jefferson and other American republicans as to the best means of making and conducting this revolution. + Other men of less name, but of infinitely more ability, were as active as Lafayette, for the revolutionary party comprised the young and middle aged, whereas the monarchy was defended by the old only — who, as Jefferson complacently remarked, must be less active and be diminished daily in the usual course of nature. Lomenie de Brienne, who had to bear the

Letters to General Washington, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., of General Laffyctics; published by his family.

† Memoirs of Laffyctic—of Governmen-Morris—and of Jay.

whole weight of government, and who was distracted by conflicting schemes and intrigues at court, not knowing what to do, did scarcely anything at all, beyond ordering the suppression of the political clubs, and causing the streets of the capital to be patroled constantly by strong parties. Troubles and even open insurrections broke out in Dauphiny, in Britany, French Flanders, Provence, and Languedoc; and the provincial states, nobility, clergy, and Tiers Etat united in determined opposition. In Paris the chamber of accounts and court of aid, the two courts next in rank to the parlement, protested against the new taxes, and petitioned the king to recall the parlement and summon the States General. Even an extraordinary assembly of the clergy which the archbishop-minister had convoked at Versailles, in hopes of obtaining some money of them, had no sooner met than they drew up an address to his majesty, imploring him to think no more of beds of justice, which could do nothing, but assemble the States General, which could do everything—repair the disorder in the finances, give security for the public debt, restore credit, and put an end to the present chaos. Various other public bodies concurred in addresses or petitions of the same kind; and the people were led to believe that the assembling of the States would not merely decrease their burdens, but raise them, one and all, to the summit of prosperity and happiness. Thousands of pens. that had energy, life, and eloquence, were employed constantly in discussing these subjects; and, notwithstanding the occasional exercise of arbitrary power against printers and publishers, the press in Paris and all the great cities continued to pour forth the most stirring productions. Mirabeau wrote his celebrated essay to expose the iniquities and horrors of lettres de cachet, and succeeded in inducing the parlement of Dauphiny to protest against that unconstitutional power, that most terrible engine of despotism, and further to pass a decree by which it was rendered a capital crime for any person or persons, under any authority whatsoever, to attempt executing lettres de cachet within their jurisdiction. parlement and provincial assembly of Britany, assembled at Rennes, joined those of Dauphiny, and that assembled at Grenoble, in declaring that they would not permit any further collection of taxes of any sort until the parlement of Paris should be reinstated in all its rights. In this state of the public mind ministers could not venture to attempt levy ing the stamp-tax or carrying into effect the subvention territoriale; and the president of the parlement, without any permission from the king, or previous notice given, was emboldened to quit Troyes and repair to Versailles. On the 13th of September (1787) M. le President obtained an audience of Louis, who had been for some time in a most painful state of poverty, doubt, and vacillation, not knowing whether to persevere in hostilities or to attempt a reconciliation. He told his majesty-what all the world had been telling him

for months—that the kingdom would be absolutely ruined unless the present system was abandoned, the parlement reinstated, and the States General convoked. The boldness of his language had an instantaneous effect on the timidity of the king, and decided his wavering mind—at least for a few Louis engaged to give up the stamp-tax and the territorial impost, to recall the parlement, and to give them satisfaction in some other respects; while all that he required from the president was, that they should register the patent by which Lomenie de Brienne was recently appointed first minister of state. The parlement returned in triumph to Paris, and, though they considered his conduct as proceeding from nothing but weakness and fear, they conveyed to his majesty their acknowledgments of their grateful sense of his equity and justice, and of his affection for his people in withdrawing the edicts for the stamp-tax and the land-tax, accompanied with assurances of their concurrence in all his beneficent views for relieving the people and rendering them the happiest in the world. But Louis, unfortunate in his own character, unfortunate in his advisers, and in all those who surrounded him, changed his mind and his system within a very few days, and acted in a manner that gave rise to or confirmed suspicions that he was not to be trusted—that his promises were meant to entrap, and that his concessions were only the preludes to fresh aggression. At a very early period of these contentions some of his subjects had begun to compare him with the unhappy Charles I. of England, and his acts now seemed to justify the comparison. With somewhat unusual noise and publicity the 19th of November was fixed for a grand Royal Hunt; and on the morning of that day, when the parlement thought that the king and court were chasing deer in the forest of St. Germain, Louis, attended by all the princes of the blood, the great officers of state, the peers of France, and a long retinue besides, drove into Paris and suddenly appeared at the gates of the Palais de Justice, wherein the parlement was assembled. This was a poor and weak parody of the feat of Louis XIV. The time was gone by for such feats, and Louis XVI. was neither shaped in body and feature, nor framed in mind, to play, theatrically or otherwise, the part of an off-handed His most unexpected arrival, however, produced no inconsiderable sensation, and, as Paris was still well filled with troops, there was some appearance of consternation as he entered the great hall. The speech he delivered was not calculated to remove these impressions; it was ultra-absolute in its tone; putting the sovereign will ab all other powers, interests, and considerations. "I am come," said he, "to recall to this assembly those principles from which it ought never to deviate, and to hear what you have to say upon two great acts of administration and legislation which to me have appeared necessary. The principles which I mean to recall to your recollection constitute a part of the essence of the monarchy, and I

will not suffer them to be forgotten or changed." Alluding to the outcry for the convocation of the States General, he said, "I alone am to judge of the use and necessity of those assemblies, and I will not suffer myself to be indiscreetly importuned for that which ought to be expected from my wisdom and the love I bear to my people." He then mentioned two edicts which were to be registered—one for a succession of loans for five years, amounting altogether to about nine millions sterling; and the other for fully emancipating and restoring to their civil rights the protestants of his dominions. This emancipation of the protestants had at last become a popular measure in France. and had even been recommended to the king by the parlement some time before. It has, therefore, been thought that it was introduced on this occasion to reconcile both the public and the parlement to the successive loans. Louis, however, appeared to speak feelingly on the subject of religious tole-"I will ever maintain," said he, "the holy religion in which I have the happiness to have been born, and I will not permit it to suffer any diminution of its pre-eminence in the kingdom; but I am of opinion that this same religion commands me not to leave a part of my subjects deprived of their natural rights." In concluding his address he said-" My parlement ought to depend upon my confidence and affection, but they ought to merit them, by confining themselves within the functions confided to them by the kings my predecessors; being careful not to depart from, nor refuse to recognise, these limits. and more particularly never to fail in giving to the rest of my subjects an example of fidelity and sub-mission."

It was quite clear that the parlement had been assuming functions to which they had no manner of claim; but this was not the proper manner to address them, when the great body of the nation were passionately attached to whatever checked the old absolutism, and were impatiently calling for a real representative body, with far higher powers than any the parlement pretended to. As soon as the king had finished his speech, Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, explained his majesty's intentions and views in a long oration, and permission was given to every member to deliver his sentiments in the royal hearing. There were fiery men there, who neither cared for this permission, nor would have cared for a prohibition, as imposed in the late Bed of Justice. There instantly followed a hot, loud, and passionate debate, which made the king red and pale alternately. The great theme was the necessity of immediately assembling the States General, in order to achieve a rapid and universal reform. D'Esprémenil, and still more impetuously Sabatier de Cabre and Fréteau, called upon his majesty to be the saviour of France by convoking the States General. These harangues lasted six or seven hours: it was growing dark, and was far beyond the hour at which royalty and the great world then dined. Louis, whose good appetite no

troubles or saxieties could depress, was hungry, faint, exhausted. At last, on a hint given him by Lamoignon, he rose to put an end to the sitting by declaring, as imperiously as he could, that he must have his successive loans edict registered without further talking. A short silence followed, and men gazed at one another as if each expected that some one else would reply. The personage to rise and break this silence was the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood next to the king's bro-



DUC B'ORLEANS. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

thers, who had led one section of the opposition in the assembly of notables, and who had been for several years in fierce hostility to the court, to the king, and still more to the queen. Looking full at his majesty, Orleans inquired whether this was a Lit de Justice or a Seance Royale? He was answered by the king and many of the court, all in a breath, that it was a Seance Royale. Even under despotism certain little forms and rules of etiquette had been observed, and the duke now quoted one of these to the king's face. Orleans said it was an old rule that edicts could not be registered by order in a Séance Royale; and that he, for one, must enter his humble protest against such registry. "You may do as you choose," said the king, who repeated his order, saw it obeyed, and then departed with the same state in which he had come, attended by the princes of the blood, the peers, great officers, and the rest. But his Highness of Orleans accompanied his majesty no farther than the gate, and, returning instantly, entered his stinging protest, which was adopted as their own by such members of the parlement as had remained behind, and who declared the loan edict to be null and void, and Orleans to be the greatest of princes and the best of patriots. They then separated. Next morning the Duke of Orleans was commanded to quit Paris, and confine himself to his château of Villars-Cotterets; and, by lettres de cachet, Freteau was consigned to the dreary castle of Ham, and Sabatier de Cabre to the still drearier fortress of Mount St. Michael; the other members of the parlement being ordered at the same time to repair to Versailles with their journal or register, in order to have the protest crased. If they were rebuked and brow-beaten at court, the parlement were honoured and applauded by the people of Paris, by the people of Versailles, and by all the people on the road. They returned to the capital bolder than ever, entered a fresh protest, and demanded the immediate recall and liberty of the Duke of Orleans, Fréteau, and de Cabre. king, through his ministers, ordered them to rescind their resolutions, but they only confirmed When this contention had lasted several months the parlement became aware that a regular plan was secretly forming, and almost matured, at Versailles, for depriving them of their existence as a body. This scheme was framed by Loménie de Brienne, or rather, perhaps, by Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, who was considered a bolder man, and one more proper for daring coups d'état. The parlement was to be for ever suppressed, as no longer suiting the monarchy and the exigencies of society; and it was to be succeeded by an entirely new court, to be called Cour Plenière, and to consist of princes of the blood, peers of France, great officers of the crown, the higher orders of the clergy, marshals of F. ance, governors of provinces, knights of the different orders, and a deputation of one member from each parlement in the realm and of two from the chambers of accounts and aids. They were all to be appointed by the king, but their appointments were to be for life. and the queen (who appears to have been consulted on all occasions, and to have taken a more active part in public business than her constitutionally indolent husband) were delighted with the notion of this Cour Plénière, fancying that it might not only rid them of the troublesome parlemens, but also do away with the necessity of convoking the States General. The parlement no sooner got the clue to the secret through the activity, ingenuity, and liberality in bribing of d'Esprémenil, than they passed a variety of resolutions, condemning the whole scheme as an invasion of their rights and the national liberties, affirming that they were irremoveable, and that no authority in the state was competent to suppress or usurp their functions. These proclamations, which greatly excited the whole city of Paris, brought down a fresh exercise of arbitrary power. Orders were issued for arresting d'Esprémenil and de Monsabert in their own houses. But in the court and in every office and department of government there were individuals who, from jealousy and enmity to their official superiors, or sympathy with the opponents of the court, from a love of the new ideas or a love of money, or from some other motive, were ever ready to betray all the secrets they could learn. This continued until the expiring candle of this poor monarchy was completely burnt out; and the practice will account for many things in the revolution which might otherwise appear inexplicable. When the king's officer went by night to the houses of d'Espréménil and de Monsabert to capture them

without noise they were not to be found there or anywhere else. It was not the intention of those two gentlemen to flee or hide themselves for any time: what they wanted was to get up a scene, to injure the court by a scandalous éclat, to imitate the grand scene which had taken place in the English House of Commons when Charles I. went with an armed force to demand the persons of the five members: for these Frenchmen were always imitating, or fancying they were imitating, the patriots of England, or Rome, or Greece; and, as the two things resembled each other in name, though in nothing else, they thought their parlement might stand out in the eyes of the world like an English parliament. Accordingly, on the following day, they went down to the Palais de Justice, and took their usual seats. After a formal recital of the attempt which had been made overnight to deprive them of their liberty, they joined in passing a resolution that a remonstrance should be presented to the king by a deputation of their body. What they expected and had counted upon for their coup d'éclat happened very soon after: the palais was surrounded by a regiment, and an officer entering their hall demanded, in the king's name, that M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert should be delivered up to him. A profound silence ensued. At length the president rose and declared that he and every member present was a d'Esprémenil and a de Monsabert, as they one and all coincided in the sentiments of those members. The officer, not knowing the persons of the two members, and not wishing to proceed to violence without express orders, withdrew, and either went or sent to Versailles to consult ministers or the king and queen. The troops remained outside the building, blocking up all the avenues leading to it, and the parlement remained within, having declared them-selves in "permanent session." There were one hundred and sixty-seven of them, sixteen being D'Esprémenil compared them to the Roman senate, sitting in their curule chairs and purple robes, awaiting Brennus, the victorious Gauls, slavery, or death; and told them that they were offering a grand spectacle to the Universe! As they were allowed to send messengers out, and even to dispatch a courier to Versailles, it is to be supposed that they were permitted to receive messengers within, and that the means of procuring food and wine were not denied to them. After some twenty hours the officer again entered the hall and required the members to point out to him M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsahert under penalty of being declared guilty of treason in protecting the king's enemies. There was a beating drums and rattling of muskets in the court. It was cvident that the officer, who was a man of iron, and who had been chosen on account of his resoluteness, would execute his order by force. The scene, besides, had lasted a long while—the majority must have been tired of playing at Roman senatorsand so the two chosen victims stepped forth from their brethren and surrendered themselves. As d'Espréménil was escorted to a carriage by a file of soldiers with their bayonets fixed, he put a short question to the crowd of spectators, which, a very few months later, might have caused blood to flow like water. " Have you courage?" said he. The multitude made no reply, and the regiment doing duty on the spot—the French guards—were firm and unconcerned. D'Esprémenil was carried away to a little island off the coast of Provence not far from Toulon, and de Monsabert to an old fortress near the city of Lyons. A few minutes after their seizure the officer turned out all their brethren, locked up the chamber of parlement, and carried away the keys in his pocket. Not many days after these high events, on the 8th of May, 1788, the king held a Lit de Justice at Versailles in order to enforce or to establish the Cour Plénière. As there could be no debating, the parlement, or such portion of it as had obeyed the king's summons, seized the first moment of his arrival to present to his majesty an address, wherein they declared that the French nation would never submit to the despotic plan he contemplated; that the fundamental laws of the kingdom must not be trampled upon; that the parlement was determined, both as a body and individually, to take no part or place in the new court, and to give no assistance in carrying into execution any measures which were not the unanimous resolution of a parlement endued with all its privileges. After receiving this unpalatable address, the king, in a long speech, explained the nature and objects of the Cour Plenière, and ended by ordering the edict to be registered. The parlementers, as in duty bound, sat mute as statues and saw the edict registered. But the very next day they assembled in a tavern or coffee-house at Versailles and entered a protest against the edict, the registering, and the whole system. Nor were the provincial parlements much more submissive; except that of Douai, not one of them would recognise the royal edict. But the last blow which upset the whole plan was the refusal of peers, nobles, bishops, counsellors, and other men of note, upon whose co-operation the king had confidently relied, to accept places in the new court, or to be in any way concerned with it. Absolutism made a few shifts and a few dying struggles before it resigned itself to its inevitable doom. The military were employed at Rennes and forced the Breton parlement to enregister. Blood was spilt in the streets of that town, and, when the Bretons sent a deputation of twelve to Versailles with a remonstrance, Loménie de Brienne, after hearing them, packed them off to the Bastille by lettres de cachet. The Bretons sent a second and more numerous deputation, who were met on the road by emissaries of ministers and frightened back to Rennes. The persevering Bretons dispatched a third and still more numerous deputation, and, as these deputies travelled incogniti, and by different roads, they succeeded in reaching the capital and the royal re sidence. The minister refused to grant them an audience, but they had other work in hand besides that of representation and remonstrance. Before their coming they had struck up a close alliance with Lafayette, who, by letter, had assured them "that he associated himself in all opposition to every present and future act of arbitrary power." Though not a born Breton, Lafayette's principal property lay in that province, and his mother was a native of it. He was, therefore, considered as good as a Breton, and he became the rallyingpoint, not only of the deputies, but of all the men of movement that came up from their country to Paris. Under his auspices was now formed the Breton club, the first germ of the Jacobin club. After these proceedings it was not extraordinary that the queen should conceive sentiments of suspicion and aversion against Lafayette, or that he should be deprived of his command of a military division of the kingdom.* Eight provincial par-Temens were driven from their usual places of sitting, to some other towns of France, at a greater or less distance from their homes—or, as it was termed by the French, they were exiled. But the members of the Grenoble parlement, the fieriest of them all, would not budge from their city, the citizens rang the alarm-bells in every steeple and tower, the country people flocked in with clubs, axes, and firelocks, the soldiery gave evictif signs that they would rather fire upon their own officers than upon the people, and the general in command was compelled to sign a capitulation. This conduct of the troops at Grenoble was calculated to strike all thinking royalists with despair; but they seem to have lulled themselves into a belief that the military malady was endemic and not epidemic-that it was peculiar to the always hot and turbulent atmosphere of the capital of Dauphiny, and would not spread. At Pau, the little capital of Bearn, Count Grammont was met by a procession of the burghers with the cradle of Henry IV., the palladium of their town-was conjured not to attempt anything against their liberties, and was further told that they had mounted their artillery on the walls, intending to fight, but never to submit. To those who represented the relegation of the Duke of Orleans to Villars-Cotterets as too severe a punishment for a prince of the blood, Louis replied that he knew that of him which would justify him in taking off his head; yet he soon yielded to entreaties, and recalled the duke to the pleasures and excitements of Paris. It was observed or fancied, that, from the moment Orleans returned, there was an increase of activity in the press and in the mob, and rumours began to be spread of great sums of money distributed in the faubourgs, and of plots for dethroning the king and setting up Orleans as Many of captain-general and provisory regent. these reports were premature, or altogether fabulous; but some countenance appears to have been given to them by the duke's crowded dinner-parties and assemblies in the Palais Royal, where, without distinction and without etiquette of any kind, parlementers, philosophes, economists, jour-Mémoires de Lafayette,—de Bertrand Moleville,—de Marmontal.

nalists, peers, nobles, liberal churchmen (who neither believed in the doctrines of the church nor in . any one point of the Christain faith), and all the men in Paris that were the most wedded to the new opinions, congregated day after day.

But the mischief and the woe were aggravated by the arrival of a far more terrible agent than the Duke of Orleans, whose influence on the revolution has been vastly overrated. In the month of July of this year (1788), a terrific hail-storm fell upon Paris, and the country for 150 miles round about, destroying the harvest, as it was all but ready for the sickle, spoiling all the fruit upon the trees, and doing incalculable damage in other ways. As this storm had been preceded, in most parts of France, by a long drought, there was a certain prospect of scarcity, and of the rage of hunger being superadded to the other miseries and madnesses of the people. Surrounded by difficulties of every kind, without money, or the hopes of getting anyfor the people were refusing to pay taxes, whether registered or unregistered, and the capitalists would not look at the successive loans, or lend a sous to a bankrupt government which was evidently falling to pieces—the king agreed that the States General should be convoked in the following month of Muy; and, as more than a century and a half had elapsed since the holding of any such assembly, as no journals or registers of proceedings had been kept by them, or preserved by posterity, as at different times they had followed very different rules, and as the most vague notions were entertained of their proper constitution, forms, and functions, Loménie de Brienne, instigated probably by some of his old associates, philosophes, and litterateurs, invited "thinkers" to furnish him with a plan of the States General, with their notions upon the best means of holding them, through the medium of discussion by the public press.* At an earlier time this strange application of the archbishop minister would have been hailed with transport as a proper recognition of the philosophy and enlightenment of the age; but, after his recent acts, nothing that he could now do could reconcile the nation. Plans and schemes of States General were written and printed; but those who wrote did not wish that he should preside at their opening, and the people were so impatient as to think that the states ought to be assembled instantly, without wasting time in discussing how they ought to be constituted, and what were to be their proper powers and attributes-points which the "thinkers," in their journals and pamphlets without end, were perplexing and confounding to the vulgar mind, rather than clearing them up and settling them. The poverty of the court, and the emptiness of the national exchequer, precipitated events. The king had but 2000 louis-d'ors lest in his strong box at Versailles, and the state treasury at Paris did not contain wherewith to meet its obligations. Still clinging to power or place, Lomenie de Brienne thought that all might go well again, at

* The French Revolution, a History, by Thomas Carlyle.

least for a short time, if the court would permit him to re-appoint Necker comptroller of finances. The queen strongly objected, and the archbishop minister, it is said, shed tears to move her; but when this difficulty was removed there arose another-Necker refused, as any other man in his senses would have done, to accept of office under a minister so thoroughly discredited and detested. Still Lomenie would not resign. To make up for the lamentable deficiency in the treasury, he issued paper money to be redeemed with specie next year, and to bear interest; and a proclamation, or edict, was cried through the streets of Paris, in the middle of August, informing all whom it might concern, that all payments at the royal treasury should henceforth be made three-fifths in specie, and the rest in paper. A paper money thus heralded, and introduced under such circumstances, could not meet with much respect: it was hooted by all Paris, and by all France. A public subscription had been entered into for the relief of the poor who had suffered by the late hail-storm. archbishop minister laid his hands upon this sacred deposit, and applied the money to some pressing want at court; and, before he retired, he was guilty of other invasions and petty larcenies, one of which was his seizing the money-box at the King's Theatre! At last, Count d'Artois waited on the queen to assure her that Lomenie must be dismissed, or the monarchy ruined; and, after tears shed both by her majesty and the minister, it was agreed that the archbishop should travel for the benefit of his health, and that Necker, who had returned to Paris some time before, should be invited or implored to accept the task of righting the finances and the monarchy.*

Loménie de Brienne took the road to Nice and Italy; and the Genevan banker, on the very same day, the 24th of August (1788), was reinstalled finance-minister, with wonderful acclamations on the part of the people, who once more believed, for a little moment, that he was destined to be the saviour of France. His appointment gave so much satisfaction that Paris, which had long left the name of royalty out of her vivats, shouted all day and all night, Vive le Roi! Vive Necker! But in the course of the night, the people of Paris, in burning Lomenie in effigy, grew riotous, and engaged in a conflict with the city watch, in which

several lives were lost on both sides. Two or three weeks after, they burned Lamoignen, the keeper of the seals, who remained in office, in estigy; and it was supposed they would have burned him in his real person, if troops had not arrived at his house in time to drive back the mob, who were carrying links and torches, and a portrait of Necker hoisted on a pole. During this night, the troops, both horse and foot, were repeatedly brought to action by the mob, who were gradually training themselves in the art of street war. The slaughter was supposed to have been very considerable on the part of the people; but, to conceal its extent, the city watch and the troops, remembering probably an ancient practice, threw all the dead they could find, and, it is said, some of the wounded too, into the Seine. Several things were noticeable in these rehearsals for grander slaughters. The mob, on perceiving the French guards advancing against them, saluted them with loud vivats, called them friends and brothers, and seemed to expect that they would use neither ball nor bayonet against them. Several persons, well-dressed, and apparently belonging to very different classes of society, occasionally glided through the streets, and encouraged the mob. Conspicuous among these individuals was a Paris jeweller named Carles, who, like all the rest, and without sufficient proof, was said

to be an agent of the Duke of Orleans.

The promise to assemble the States General in May, and even a royal decree to that effect, had been given under the wretched ministry of Lomenie. Necker only confirmed the king in this resolution. It would have been beyond the power of Necker, and all the finance ministers and statesmen of Europe, to have put off the meeting; but a wiser man might assuredly have made some better preparations for it. Some sort of revolution was as necessary as it was inevitable-perhaps the worst was better than lingering on in the present state; yet, by previously defining and properly limiting the respective powers of the three orders of the state, and by providing beforehand some barriers against the sudden in-rush of the democracy, it appears just possible that much blood and crime might have been spared, and that Louis, instead of being dragged under the axe of the guillotine, might have been made the not unhappy or incompetent head of a constitutional monarchy. It becomes us, however, to speak with doubt as to this desirable result: the French were a strange, impatient, impetuous people; the nobility and the clergy clung to all their privileges, great or small, with a most tenacious grasp-with a grasp like a death-grip: if, instead of being swamped and lost in the same chamber with the Tiers Etat, they had been united into one body, and set apart from or above the Commons, as in England, they would of a certainty have sent back every bill presented to them, and would never have yielded a point in which their privileges and exemptions were concerned without braving the extremities of civil war. The hot temperament of the patriots and the Tiers

[•] Loménia de Brienne did not resign without grasping at more rewards than had usually been granted to the most successful minister in the most prosperous days of the monarchy. Besides a cardinal's hat for himself, he obtained for his nephew, hardly yet of age, the profitable place of conditute to his archibishopric of Sens, together with one of the richest abbeys of France; for his niece a place of dame du palais, and for his niece is husband a regiment. It was said, though probably with some of the ordinary exaggeration of the period, that he had amssed, during his short ministry, a fortule of nom 505,000 to 600,000 hvres of revenue on the property of the church. He left behind him, as minister of war and governor of a province, his brother, the Count de Brienne. Mémoirse de Weber. Such was the man whom Lafayette had announced to Washington as one that was destined to save France, and establish the national liberties on a safe foundation; as "a man equally great from his abilities and his uprightness;" as "honest, sensible, and enlightened.—a man of first rate abilities."—Letters from Lafayettes to Mushington, written in the summer and astumn of 1787.

Lafayette's cagles were all apt to turn out sparrow-hawks or carrion erows. His letters at this critical time betoken a vapourish, illogical, childish mind.

Etat, which could never brook any, the shortest, delay, which had never been cooled down by constitutional habits and experience, could have tolerated but for a very short time any such struggle of powers as this; and it may very reasonably be suspected that, in any case, the sword would have been drawn. In spite of their boasted new lights and new philosophies, all classes, in constitutionalism and the science of representative government, had almost everything to learn; and, unfortunately, each from the beginning seemed determined to ride over the other, to treat it as an enemy, to impose its own will for law upon it by force or by manœuvre. The parlement of Paris, which was honourably reinstated as soon as Necker returned to office, positively and pompously declared that the States General ought to sit according to the form observed at their last meeting in 1614, which was the same as declaring that the nobility and clergy should be everything, and the Tiers Etat, or Commons, nothing. The parlementers evidently thought that patriotism was an aristocratic occupation, and that they ought to preserve the monopoly; but their dogma, their heresy, their high treason against the Tiers was no sooner promulgated than they lost, and for ever, all favour with the nation. Even in France, there has seldom been a transition so rapid and extreme. On the 22nd of September they were reinstalled in the Palais de Justice, amidst the plaudits, and rejoicings, and congratulations of all Paris; on the next day they delivered their opinion on the subject of the States General; and on the next all Paris hissed them, hooted them, and loaded them with execrations. As a body, they never raised their heads again: they had played their part in what was only a prologue to the great drama, and they were thrust aside to make room for other actors. On the other side, the Breton Club, the Club des Enragés, all the clubs, with all the philosophes, economists, and ultra-liberals of Paris, went as far into extremes, or rather farther, than the parlement had done-advising and insisting that the Tiers Etat ought to have a greater weight in the States-General than the two orders of the nobility and clergy united; for (so they argued, with a force that was irresistible to those who had nothing to lose) as great sacrifices were to be demanded from those two aristocratic and privileged orders, how was it possible that resolutions and laws to that effect should be carried, if those two orders were not outnumbered and outvoted by the Tiers, who were calling for the sacrifices, and were to be directly benefited by them? Some truly noble aristocrats, some generous self-denying priests, might, in their patriotism, enthusiasm for liberty, and philanthropy, renounce their privileges and their odious distinctions, and consent to be taxed like other sons of earth; but this stretch of generosity and virtue could be expected only from a very few: the rest would guard their lion's share with the resoluteness and fierceness of lions. paper entitled 'Deliberations' was put forth as the production of the Duke of Orleans, though it was

written, no doubt, with advice and assistance from the philosophes and litterateurs that sat at the duke's table, by Laclos, the author of 'Les Liaisons Dangereuses,' one of the most debauched and most debauching works ever written, even in France. Laclos was secretary-secrétaire des commandemens-to the Duke of Orleans, and a servant very worthy of such a master. The conclusion intended to be drawn from these deliberations was, that the third estate was the nation, and that nobility and clergy were nought! On the other hand, the Count d'Artois, with other princes of the blood—the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Enghien, and the Prince of Conti-published a memoire, or memorial to the king, in which they declared that such principles must endanger privilege, nobility. monarchy itself, church, state, and the king's treasury. This was quite certain, but what could the helpless king, or what could these princes of the blood, do to prevent it, or to overset a political philosophy that was inculcated by ten thousand pens, and that would soon be maintained by four hundred thousand swords-by all France. except the privileged orders? But the production which was by far the most ably written, which made the most noise, and produced the greatest effect, was the brochure, or pamphlet, of the Abbé Sieves-Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat? or, 'What is the Third Estate?'-in which, answering his own query, the author said it was everything; that it had hitherto been nothing, but that it now wanted to become something. Sieyes-one of the many priests who had let their tonsures grow, embraced the new philosophy, and thrown their theology to the dogs-had been vicar-general to the Bishop of Chartres, a canon and chancellor of that cathedral; but he had been living for some time in Paris, with the philosophes and political reformers, having a voice potential in all their deliberations for the regeneration of France and the world. He was one of the ablest men of that school, but visionary, fanatic to his system or systems, and as blind as all the rest to the danger of throwing all the power of the state, and all at once, into the hands of the people, who hitherto had had no share of it. As well might this logical Sieyes have believed that a child might construe Virgil before being taught his alphabet, as believe that the huge and untaught democracy of France should pass at once from the condition of bondsmen to that of lords and masters, and still act with moderation and wisdom. He and his fellows, no doubt, reposed an entire confidence in their own great wisdom and moderation, and in the enlightenment of the middle classes, who were, at least, well read in Voltaire; and fancied that, when the masses of the people had thrown off the yoke of king, nobles, and priests, they would, with exemplary docility, submit to the guidance of philosophers, and to the laws and regulations adopted by the middle classes. We shall see how this vision ended. Necker, who had found out before this that there are accounts more diffi-

· Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française.

cult to manage than accounts of finance, and that it is easier work to raise loans than to create constitutions, was distracted by all these extreme schemes; and he evidently had no scheme of his own. As a means of solving the difficulty, or of settling some of the points in dispute, he advised the king to re-assemble the notables who had sat so inauspiciously in the time of Calonne; and the very same men were once more called together on the 6th of November (1788). The questions proposed to them were principally the Double Representation of the Tiers Etat, and the Vote by Head. Should the Tiers Etat, or Commons, have as many members in the States General as the noblesse and clergy united? Should the States General vote and deliberate altogether in one body, or vote in three separate bodies-vote by head, or by order or class? Simply, the two questions amounted to this:-Shall the Tiers Etat have power to outvote the other two orders or not? As the notables thus re-assembled consisted of princes of the blood, great lords, great churchmen-consisted, almost exclusively, of members of the two privileged orders-it could hardly have been expected from them that they should answer in the affirmative. Necker's wish appears to have been that the double representation should be granted, but that the three orders should not vote by head, but deliberate and vote separately; and he had the vanity to believe that, by the weight of his character and influence, he could carry the notables along with him. They investigated the question in seven different committees, or bureaux, as they were termed, each presided over by a prince of the blood. Only one of these bureaux decided in favour of the double representation,* and not one could come to any decisive opinion as to the vote by head. After sitting about a month, the notables were dismissed with bad humour on all sides. At the end of December, 1788, a fortnight after the dismissal of the notables, who had scarcely furnished him with any materials, or with any ground to stand upon, Necker presented a report to the king in council, wherein he recommended, or almost enjoined, at his own risk, the granting of the double representation, without enforcing, what ought to have been a corollary, separate deliberation and the vote by order, not by head. When the perplexed king applied for the advice or opinion of the parlement of Paris, they meanly shrunk from any resolution, saying that it was for the wisdom of the king to decide these weighty questions. Louis issued an ordinance in which he gave the double representation to the Tiers Etat, leaving the other question of voting by header by order, to be settled by the States General themselves, when they should meet at Versailles in the happy month of May, 1789.† . This announcement

"The bureau, or committee, which gave this docision, was pre-sided over by Monsieur, the elder of the ling's two brothers, after-wards Louis XVIII.

† Lacrotelle, Histoire de l'Assemblee Constituante.—Dulaure, Requisses Histoireus des principaux Evénemens de la Révolution Française.—Thomas Carlyle, French Revolution.

gave rise to some fierce dissensions in the previnces. The Breton nobles, notwithstanding their recent alliance with Lafayette, raised a terrible cry against the certain ascendancy of the commons. and depression of the noblesse; insisted that the number of members, or deputies, from the Tiers Etat ought not to exceed the number sent by the nobles alone; that the nobility and clergy united ought to double the Tiers Etat, &c.; and they drew and lost blood in the fighting town of Rennes with those who differed from them. Good revolutions have been made, in more phlegmatic countries, with the loss of infinitely less blood than was wasted in these preludes or prefaces to revolution in France. Nearly all the provincial parlemens, who had been so long shouting for States General, cursed them now that they had got them, or were close upon getting them, because of the double representation, and the sure democratic majority. Like the parlement of Paris, they proclaimed to the world that patriotism ought to be exclusively the virtue of the magnates of the land. The Besançon parlement arrested thirty individuals for professing and promulgating the principles contained in the king's decree. The parlement of Aix declared that the said decree, or edict, tended to disorganise and ruin king ' and kingdom, and "to impair the dignity of the noblesse." The parlement of Grenoble, who had been driving for States General at so headlong a rate, now shrunk back from the goal, declaring that there would not be States General, but one sole tyrannical state, the Tiers Etat, the overwhelming democracy. Everywhere the aristocracy, whether of the sword or the robe, of ancient date or modern creation, thundered at Necker and his double representation; and-what was equally natural and to be expected—the Tiers Etat applauded the minister and the edicts, and even at this early stage threatened the aristocrats with extermination. No attempt was made at reconciliation by proving that it was a time which called for mutual concessions and mutual forgiveness of past wrongs, with the oblivion of past animosities: the two great classes stood opposed to each other as vindictive. irreconcilable, eternal enemies. French writers of memoirs and histories draw a fanciful picture of this dawn of liberty, making it all gentle, soft, and balmy, like a sun-rise picture by Cuyp or by Claude, filled with lowing cattle and piping swains, or with goddesses and nymphs dancing before the rising orb, and making with their own fair hands music for their own merry feet: but in sober truth, and sober sadness, the picture was of a character and a composition altogether different from this; the dawn was dark and stormy like the noon that was to follow it; the tempest had not only gathered on the horizon, but was already spreading itself as fast as winds can fly over the whole hemisphere; and instead of that absence of hatred and all the evil passions which philosophes and littérateurs dreamed of in their Paris lodgings, all the evil passions, with hate and revenge at their head, were crowded and jesting

together as in a carnival. During the elections innumerable duels, scuffles, and downright battles, took place all over the kingdom. In all town riots, where no troops were employed, the democracy had the upper hand, and made the noblesse and clergy taste the bitterness of mob-law. The fierceness of the populace was augmented by their pri-Trade, manufactures, and nearly every kind of industry, had come to a dead stop, and the price of bread rose to an enormous height when money was scarcest.

Only a few days before the meeting of the States General, Paris was the scene of terrible disorders. On the 27th of April (1789) an immense crowd from the very lowest class of the people assembled in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the most turbulent part of that turbulent capital, to take vengeance on M. Réveillon, a rich paper-manufacturer, she occupied the best house in that quarter, and who had just been named one of the electoral assembly. His alleged offence was, that he had attempted to reduce the rate of wages. The bloody business began with some drollery. The mob had dressed up a mannequin—a sort of Guy Faux effigy-which they carried to the Place Royale, where they pronounced a pretended sentence of the Tiers Etal, condemning Reveillon to be hanged for having said that the day wages of the workmen ought to be reduced to fifteen sous; and adding, that in consequence of his words he had been expelled from his district and from the electoral assembly. This was in the afternoon. M. Réveillon, apprehending more serious mischief than the being hanged and burned in effigy, ran to the lieutenant of police to demand protection for his person and property, but no succour was given him until ten o'clock at night, when a serjeant and thirty men of the regiment of French guards were sent to his house in the Faubourg St. Antoine. On the following morning the mob vastly increased in number, and, armed with clubs, sticks, and stones, made a general attack on the house, broke down the doors and windows and got in, the thirty soldiers making very little resistance, and not firing a single musket. Réveillon, flying for his life, took refuge in a place to which few men had gone voluntarily, and the name of which had been for many generations a word of terror—he fled from the canaille, and their Tiers Etat law, into the Bastille, which stood in the same faubourg. The mob plundered or destroyed everything in his When this mischief was done the military commandant sent a detachment of grenadiers to the spot with orders to fire upon the rioters. The rioters were so numerous and so resolute that the grenadiers halted in the streets until they were reinforced by fresh detachments, when they advanced and fired. The rioters, from the windows and roof of Réveillon's house, and from the windows and roofs of all the houses near, responded to the musketry with paving stones, tiles, and whatever missiles they could lay their hands upon, maintaining their positions for many hours. At last, as night approached, two pieces of cannon and some of the red-coated Swiss guard were brought into action, and thereupon the rioters began to retreat. From four to five hundred persons, including women and children, and many that were mere lookers on, were killed or wounded in this affair. On the day after two men that were found in the paper-maker's wine-cellar were hanged at the Porte St. Antoine, by the sentence of the chatelet court; and this appears to have terminated all inquiry into the affair.*

As soon as these revolutionary horrors began, the French began to attribute them to all kinds of extraneous causes, and all kinds of iniquitous plots at home, being unwilling to perceive that the real causes were to be found in the national character, and forgetting, what all their histories told them, that all seasons of great excitement had been seasons of blood. The first great evil genius was England; and there are Frenchmen, even at this day, insane enough to believe, or at least to write, that the atrocities of the revolution were secretly promoted by George III. and William Pitt, by means of English gold! The evil genius next in magnitude and malignity, and whose existence is less problematical, was the Duke of Orleans. Besenval, & royalist and a courtier, says :-- "The events in the Faubourg St. Antoine were the explosion of a mine charged by the enemy. I judged that it must have proceeded from England, not daring at that time to suspect the Duke of Orleans." wretched Orleans was, as one of their wits said of him, "a sink into which the French tried to pour all the filth of their revolution:"† where he did so much that was vile and horrible, it is difficult to say what he might not have done, and with a ragged hungry populace his immense command of money gave him the power of doing much mischief. It was said at the time that much money was found in the pockets of the dead in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and that this money could only have come from King George or from the Duke of Orleans. No proofs, however, are adduced, and the first movement of the rabble may have been altogether spontaneous. 1 One very aignificant sign, among many that were ominous and woeful, was, that all the while they were fighting in the streets, or destroying the houses and goods of the rich bourgeois, the rioters kept shouting, "A bas les aristocrats!" and even the quieter part of the mob, who took no part in the affray, yelled in chorus, "Down with the aristocrats!" They already considered the possession of property as a sure mark of aristocracy. Some Parisian patriots,

Mémoire de Besenval. (Besenval was military commandané at the time, and sent the grenadlers.)—Dulaure, Esquisses Historiques. † Telleyrand.
† Edveillou himself published a Mémoire à Consulter, in which he accused a certain Abbé Roy of encouraging and directing the brigands in their attacks on his house. The papermaker says, that the abbé owed him money, and was a notorious colorer besides; their he abbé owed him money, and was a notorious colorer besides; their he abbé oved him money, and was a notorious colorer besides; their he abbé oved him money, and was a notorious colorer besides; their he abbé oved him money, and was a notorious colorer besides; their he abbé oved him money, and was a notorious order besides; their he abbé whole to liquid he was pursuing him in the courts, and that the abbé whole to liquid he was pursuing him him the following year this Abbé Roy sent to Ballly, mayor of Faris, a letter containing his civic oath (serment overges) signed is his bloods. 2 z

however, were quite sure that all this rabblement was got up by the aristocrats themselves, in concept with the queen and the Count d'Artois, in order to throw discredit on the cause of liberty and democracy, and disgust men with the revolution at the beginning. Writers of this class, in describing the tumult and the slaughter at the distance of years, admit that they were contrary to the "perfectioning of the institutions which was about to be operated"—that they were "the presage of the political tempests which were going to assail "times and oppose her future prosperity."*

But nothing less than absolute perfection in overnment and laws, and a national prosperity without check or end, was now anticipated; for the 4th of May had arrived, the deputies of the three orders were all assembled in Versailles, and the States General were going in solemn procession with the king and court to the cathedral church at Notre Dame to propitiate heaven to bless their labours, which were to commence on the morrow. It was a Grand Spectacle, and all Paris, and all towns, villages, and hamlets in the valley of the Seine, or within twenty leagues of it, went to see. There was scepticism, Voltaireism, or Holbachism or downright atheism, in luxuriant abundance; but religion of any kind, except the religion of nature, or the theism of Rousseau and his Vicaire Savoyard, there was little or none except only in the breast of the king and a few old courtiers, who had not been able to shake off the fashions of old times, or their reverence for the church of Rome: and yet this procession of the States General assembled in, and started from, one church—the church of St. Louis-to go to another, where high mass was to be sung, and all knees bent at the elevation of the Host. There was a hollowness and mockery in this very beginning. The streets were lined with regiments of the French guard and regiments of the Swiss guard. The first that came forth from the church of St. Louis were the deputies of the Tiers Etat, six hundred in number, and all—as had been nicely regulated at court beforehand-wearing plain black mantles, plain white cravats, and slouched hats; then came the noblesse, three hundred in number, all clad in gold-embroidered cloaks, with lace cravats and plumed, turned-up hats à l'Henri IV.; after the noblesse marched the clergy, also three hundred, the high dignitaries, the archbishops and bishops distinguished by the violet-coloured robe, the alb, and rochet, and the rest in soutanes, grand mantles, and square caps; and last of all came the court, most splendidly attired and blazing with jewels, with the king looking hopefully and even joyously, and the queen already changed from what she was, her bloom and beauty fading, and her hair prematurely turning grey, looking sadly and almost despairingly, for her first-born son was lying in the palace dangerously ill, her reputation both as a woman and a queen had been blasted, and, with a far more prophetic eye than that of her hus-

Dulaure.

band, she saw in the future nothing but mischief, peril, and woe! To increase her forlornness, not a tongue in all that multitudinous assemblage cried Vive la Reine, while thousands reut the air



MARIE ANTOINETTE. From a Portrait by Duplessi Bertaux.

with shouts of Vive d'Orléans. It was remarked that during the procession the Duke of Orleans, in contempt of the laws of etiquette, was continually quitting his place as a prince of the blood to mix with the sombre-clad deputies of the Tiers. As they all wended on their way to the church of Our Lady, the priests chanted, military bands played, and trumpets and drums sounded. Within the temple the three orders took their seats according to their ranks, on benches prepared for them in the nave; the king and queen were conducted to a dais near the high altar, and set under a velvet canopy violet-coloured and sprinkled with golden fleurs de lis. O Salutaris Hostia was chanted, the grand mass was finished, and then M. de la Fare, Bishop of Nancy, delivered a scr-mon or discourse on the theme-" Religion makes the force of empires, religion makes the happiness of the people." Even philosophers, doubt-alls, and scoffers were touched for a moment by the music, the incense, and the imposing pomp; and the multitude of spectators that only saw the procession in the streets returned to Paris, or their other homes, declaring that it was beautiful, sublime, ravishing—that so grand a spectacle had never been seen.*

On the following day—the 5th of May, 1789—the States General assembled in a great hall at Versailles, which had been prepared for them, not without expense. It was the Salle de Menus Plaisirs, or hall of amusements, in which the court had been wont to disport itself in all kinds of merry games; but carpenters and upholsterers, painters and decorators had done their work, and, in French phraseology, "that vast hall was arranged with a magnificence worthy of the imposing solemnity of the

Mémbires du Marquis de Ferrières,—Madains de Staff, Considérations sur la Révolution Française,—Dulaure, Esquisses,

occasion." The king took his seat on an elevated throne with the queen near him; the court occupied tribunes or galleries, the noblesse sat on one side of the hall, the clergy on the other; and the Tiers Etat at the fond or bottom of the hall, on seats lower than those of the privileged orders. There is no calculating the extent of the mischief and mad excitement produced on that sensitive people by these etiquette distinctions alone. In the cahiers, or written rules and instructions, which the electors all over France had given to their deputies or delegates, they were strictly enjoined to submit to no humiliations, but to assert the dignity of the Tiers, and its equality with the other two orders. And now, though contrary to the precedent of former States General, the Tiers sat with their hats on, like the noblesse and clergy. The king, with a countenance still cheerful and hopeful, read a commonplace speech, recommending disinterestedness to the privileged classes and prudence to the others, and expressing his own earnest love for his people. He was interrupted more than once by warm acclamations, which made the queen weep for very joy: but not one voice was heard to wish her well. His majesty was followed by the keeper of the seals-no longer the bold Lamongnon, who had been dismissed soon after the lireat of the people to burn him,* but M. Barcutin, late president of the Court of Aids-who spoke for an hour, and then by Necker, who spoke for two. The finance minister, who might now be considered as prime minister, read a long memoire on the state of the kingdom, which acknowledged a deficit of fifty-six millions of livres, and wearied those whom it did not offend by the great length of its explanations. + When the king rose to withdraw there was what seemed a pretty hearty Vive le Roi! and when the queen rose a very faint Vive la Reine! On the next day the combat began between the Tiers and the two superior orders. It was intimated that the deputies of each order should repair to the chamber appointed for them. Besides the great hall, two smaller halls, opening upon it, had been constructed, one for the noblesse, the other for the clergy. The first operation to be performed was to verify the returns, or to make what was termed a verification des pouvoirs; and there instantly arose the question whether this should be done in common, or by each order or state separately. The Tiers, alleging that each part of the

* Lamoignon quitted office a much poorer man than he entered it in the course of the year 1729, when the revolution was declaring its proper character, he was found dead in his garden, with a gun lying mear him. His family endeavoured to believe, or to make others believe, that he had sho himself accidentally; but the more general opinion was, that the prospect of poverty and of greater evils had overset his reason, and driven him to suicide

† Thiese, flevolution Francaise. Our American ropublican speaks smartly on Nacker's Cration. "M Necker rises. He trues to play the organs, her plays it very ill. The audience salute him with a long and loud plaudit. Animated by their approbation, he falls into action and smphanis; but a had accent and an ungraceful manner destroy much of the effect which ought to follow from a composition written by M. Mecker, and socken, and accent and an ungraceful manner destroy much of the effect which ought to follow from a composition written by M. Mecker, and socken and the lesiers. It is very long. It contains much information, and many things very face, but it is soo long, has many repetitions, and many things very face, but it is soo long, has many repetitions, and many things very face, but it is soo long, has many repetitions, and too much compliment, and what the French call emphases,"—

States General ought to assure itself of the lawful returns of the two others, demanded that the verification should be made in common, and not by each order separately. The noblesse and the clergy, wishing to assert and maintain, at starting, the principle of separation by orders, insisted that each order should verify and constitute itself apart. from the rest; and after very little debate they quitted the great hall and retired to their several chambers. The Tiers, understanding that this would be followed by the assumption on the part of the privileged that the orders should also vote separately, and not by head, determined to make their stand here, and to adopt a "system of inertia," until the noblesse and the clergy should give in, and consent to the verification of powers in common. And accordingly there they sat in the great hall, day after day, doing nothing beyond declaring that they were waiting for the other two orders, and declining to receive letters and petitions, as they were not yet constituted, but waiting for their colleagues of the other orders. During this long inaction, which was followed by such an electric activity, not merely in words, but also in deeds, we may briefly describe the composition of the unorganized and unorganizable body, and introduce more particularly a few of its leading mem-

The first remark which suggests itself is, that the representatives of the Tiers Etat represented, in their own persons, almost everything but property. There were physicians and metaphysicians, poets and painters, a great astronomer, and several natural philosophers, chemists, mathematicians, journalists, litterateurs, and more than three hundred and fifty lawyers; but the number of proprietors was exceed ingly small. The majority of the six hundred were young men-men at least under thirty years of age who had no experience in public business of any kind, and who could not, from the previous condition of the country, have had any training in political life. The only men at all trained—and their education was not good-were the members of the parlemens. who belonged to the privileged orders, and sat,

2 = 2

The Marquis de Reuillé says that of the six hundred members who represented the Title Rat, three fames and seventy four were lawyers of some tind or other.

The Thers Ent of Rannes had sent as one of their departs are rough old farmer, one Gepard, nonmonely called Three Chief, and described as "a man of common sense and hencety, without any learning." On being asked, after he had had some experience to say caudially what he thought of his collesques, Gérard said, with his iarmer trankness—"I think there are a great many scoundryls among us! "(Je peace get's) ye becausely de cogues pormis near.)

Father Gerard scorned the prescribed costume of black manils and white cravat, and always wore in the assembly the same farmer clothes he used to wear on Sundays and holidays in Bretagne. He was neither an idle nor a silent member. He demanded the suppress sion of a burdensome tax on bullocks and cattle for his nature previoue: he proposed auguanting the miserable salaras fand her country parish priests, when the nation seized all church property; he moved sud cheried that all absent members, and all members that should thereafter absent themselves from their duties, should be beprived of their daily pay; and in the mouth of November, 1702, when they had been sitting ninctoen long monath, he row and excluded a substantial control of the same of the second with the load rustic veice—"I demand that, since the National Assembly will not get on with this constitution—making, they shall receive no pay this year!" A good many fewer Abje Blayse, in the Assembly, and mediters would have gone on better!

When the Assembly was discoved, to give place to a mank wome

Espremenil, with the noblesse. Instead of matriance and practical knowledge, the deputies of There brought theories and systems—with all impatience, intolerance, and fanaticism of system-makers. Instead of doubt and diffidence, there was an overweening and most rampant mity, nearly every third man among them believing that he and his scheme alone could regenerate France and the world. A great many of them were so poor that they could not have supported themselves without the daily pay which was allowed them. This pay, or traitement, moderate it was, formed a better income than many of them had ever enjoyed before. At first there were, in some quarters, delicate scruples whether patriots and world-regenerators ought to take pay for their sublime functions; but patriots and regenerators must eat and drink, be lodged and clothed; and, seeing that the members of the American congress were paid for their attendance, there was even republican precedent for the acceptance of the traitement. As the noblesse and clergy posseased nearly two-thirds of the landed property of the kingdom, as their respective deputies were considered as representing property and privilege, as the deputies of the Tiers did not represent property, and were come to destroy all privilege, nothing but a combat à outrance could be expected. By far the most eloquent and energetic member of the Tiers did not properly belong to that order. Gabriel Honoré Riquetti, Count de Mirabeau, was of an ancient noble family of Provence, which came originally from a still more



MIRABFAU. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

southern climate—from the fair but factions city of Florence, when Ghibellines and Guelff-were ng mad war, and the Ghibelline ancestor of beau became, like Dante, a fugitive. The family, from their first settlement in France, seem to have been noted as an eccentric and wild race. Castriel Honoré's grandfather was a destroyer of men as a fierce and brave soldier; but his father, the Marquis Victor, set himself up as "the friend of men" (Fami des hommes), wrote books under that

title, made theories and systems for increasing the happiness of mankind in his own compulsory way, and dabbled in political economy before that science had the name. Old Victor aimed at changing and system-governing the whole moral world, and, like other men of equally ambitious aspirations, he could not change or govern the habits and tempers of his own children. According to the great Gabriel himself, it was a most disorderly, vicious stock. "Ours was a family of Atreus and Thyestes," said he—we hope and trust, for the honour of human nature, with a little exaggeration. The future orator, author, spy, politician, statesman, everything, began his career as a soldier, and served in the cruel wars in Corsica. After a compaign or two he married a rich heireas of Aix, in Provence, dissipated her fortune and his own, contracted enormous debts, ill-treated his wife, separated from her, obtained the renown of being one of the most debauched men in France, and all before he was twenty-five years old.* To check his wild career, which threatened his whole family with ruin, his father applied to the court for lettres de cachet, which it was not unusual to grant in the like cases, and got him locked up in the Chateau d'If, which stands on a rock above the Mediterranean shore and the old town of Marseilles. He was afterwards tranferred to the fortress of Joux, in Franche Comté; but, being allowed more liberty there, he made use of it in seducing and absolutely carrying off Sophie de Ruffey, Marquise de Mounier, the young and pretty wife of the old president of the chamber of accounts at Dôle. The seduction and the double adultery would not have excited any particular sensation-for such things were every-day occurrences—but the carrying off was a startling novelty, a measure never resorted to by well-bred French gallants; and, though the lady went of her own free will, he was found guilty " de rapt," and beheaded in effigy. He had taken refuge with his Sophie in Holland, where, being penniless, and on the point of starying with the companion of his flight, he first began to write for the booksellers. But he had not been long in Holland before he seduced a lady, most respectably connected, unmarried, young, handsome, graceful, and innocent, and who sacrificed everything for him, to be by him ill treated and in a very few years cast off and abandoned. With consent of the Dutch authorities he was seized by agents of the French police, who carried him back to France. This

O "I have heard." says his friend Dumont, "that, to obtain the hand of his wife, he had recourse to means which were not very delicate. The young lady's parents refused their consent, and there was a dangerous rival to be got rid of. It is said that, after having corrupted a femme de chambre of the family who gave him amorous rendervous, he went one night in a carriage to a street hard by, in order to give an air of mystery and excite curiosity. The carriage remained there several hours, and the spice of his rival soon reported that the Count de Mirabeau went to the house of his misstress by night and stayed till morning. The young lady's reputation was committed, the tival beat a retreat, and the valuations were but too happy to prevent soundalous cleak by a marriage. This union, which had begun in love, grafted on fraud, was soon broken by infidelities on both sides, said a sequention sour strong."—Somewirs sur Mirabeau.

4 The whole story of this seduction, with a rival to Mirabeau in the governer of the fartress—an old man—is horrible.



WITKABIAM

was in the year 1777. The law was in a strange state, for, without any reference to his trial and sentence for the abduction, he was sent by another lettre de cachet to the dungeon of Vincennes, near Paris, where he lay some forty-two months with scarcely clothes to his back. Upon his liberation he returned to Provence to claim his wife or her fortune, and, not having money to employ counsel, he pleaded his own bad cause with great ability and eloquence before the parlement of Aix, having for his audience the whole city, pleasantly excited by so novel a procedure, and the sight of a man who, since they saw him last, had gone through so many adventures. He lost his cause, but gained a new reputation, with some practice and confidence as a public speaker. He also engaged in scandalous lawsuits against his father, his brother, and other members of his family. His Sophie, Madame Mounier, died at this time, and, it is said, of poison, taken by herself in a fit of despair. As a writer he had continued to ply the pen with much activity, but had not as yet acquired much reputation in that line, though he had tried various subjects and styles, from the very moral and didactic, down to the obscene. For several years, however, his principal means of support were derived from his pen-a pen of all work, that undertook anything the Paris booksellers wanted-a history, an essay on the Free Navigation of the Scheldt, a treatise on political economy, an essay on the sect of the Illuminati, an essay on Count Cagliostro, an address to the democrats of Holland, a translation, a novel, or a love-song. It appears, however, that he made books and pamphlets as commoner men make pins and needles, adopting in literature that division of labour which has been found so useful in the mechanical arts, and, like the master manufacturer, giving his own sole name to the articles produced. In 1784 he paid a visit to London, where he made himself known as an habitual har, quarrelled with John Wilkes on the subject of the gallows and hanging, and involved himself in a trial at the Old Bailey, in which, though the accuser and witness, it is doubtful whether he did not make a worse figure than the party he accused -one Hardi, who had been acting as his amanuensis, and who was tried for stealing Mirabeau's shirts—more shirts than he had been in the habit of possessing for many a year.* He became ac-

The prisoner, Jacques Philippe Hardi, was acquitted Years after, when Mirabeau was attracting universal attention by his conduct in the National Amembly, Justice Buller, who had ast upon the brach at the trial, stated, in different companies, that Mirabeau had had the villany, because his servent demanded his wage of him, and threatened him with an arrest, to charge him with a felony, for which there was so little foundation, that it was proved upon the trial that Mirabeau had never been possessed of so many shirts as he had accused his serverator steading! From the high quarrer it came from this story seemed entitled to universal credit, and, certainly, other facts in the life and adventures of Mirabeau did not tend to reader it increditie. We learn, however, from the Memairs of Str Sanuel Romilly, that Romilly himself, then a young barrister, his friend Baynes, another young barrister, and Str Gilbert Elliot, who had been at the same school in France with Mirabeau, and was the greatest friend he had in England, were present at the trial, and had been conculted by Mirabeau upon all the steps he had inken: that, when the trial was over, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baynes, and Romilly went immediately from the court to Baynes's chambers, and there drew up

quainted with the late Sir Samuel Romilly, the first Marquess of Lansdowne (Lord Shelburne). and with other Englishmen of note and rank belonging to the Whig or opposition party, who admired the wit and fire of the man, detested the arbitrary extra-judicial way in which he had been made to pass the prime of his life in fortresses and state prisons, and fully sympathised with him in denouncing the oppressions, uncertainties, and depravities of a decrepit, profligate government. Nor were these sentiments at all confined to any particular set of men or political party. At this time the old despotism of France was odious to the Tories—odious to every Englishman that reflected on the subject, or compared the condition of France with that which England had attained under free institutions. During his stay in England Mirabeau wrote and published—and Romilly translated for him—a work against the proposed American order or society of Cincinnati. and he also wrote a series of letters to his friend Chamfort, in which he eulogised in a warm manner the character and institutions of this country. He acquired no inconsiderable portion of political information, with an insight into the workings of our constitution; and, though his knowledge was incomplete, and though there were no such materials in France to work with, this visit to England was calculated to be of some use to one about to be engaged in constitution-making. On his return to Paris, finding the pay of the booksellers altogether inadequate to his expenditure, and reasonably considering that he had abilities and knowledge that qualified him for diplomatic employment, he applied for a place; but his evil reputation stood in the way of his promotion. Calonne, who was then in power, had, however, sundry obligations to him, for he had taken part in a pamphlet war which broke out on the first dismissal of Necker, and had directed the hostilities against the Genevese financier with some effect. Frederick the Great, too, was approaching the end of his extraordinary career, and it was considered important that the French ministry should be fully informed of the character and views of his successor, together with the disposition of his ministers, generals, courtiers, and of all that surrounded him, including, as a matter of course, his mistress

a very full account of the trial, which was the next day published in one of the newspapers, which contained a accumulously exact account of everything that passed; and that Baron Ferryn, who that the forest coner, declared from the bench that, though the presence ought cortainly to have been acquitted, no blame whatever was to be imputed to the prosecution. Romilly and his two friends were convinced that nothing at all discreditable to Mirabeau appeared upon this trial. Romilly says that Hardi, having abruptly left him, atthough Mt. senges remeined superick, suspicion naturally fell upon him, and the cogat obtained a warrant against him; that the evidence was very slight, and that therefore the man was properly sequitted. We learn also from the same authority that, besides the shirts. Hardi was charged with stealing a manuscript copy of the correspondence between Voltairs and d'Alembert, which was at that time unpublished, but has since appeared in Beaumarchaits' edition—development of Marristve of Mr. Berly Life, in Memoirs of the Life of Sir Samuel Resulty, Edweldy in Beau. We are disposed to entertain proper respects and deparence for such authority; but we have read, attentingly, an account of the trial, with the examination and sweet assigned soult in Revour of the credibility of Judge Buller's story.

In althor respects the trial was most diagraceful to Mirabeau,

or mistresses, a class to which the French diplomutiets of the old school, and in the heyday times of absolutism, always paid very particular attention. Calonne therefore supplied the count with money and sent him to Berlin; but he appears not to have mentioned the blackened name of Mirabeau to the king or to any of his colleagues; the mission was unaccredited, secret-in short, the count was employed as a spy. According to his own account, he introduced himself, as one travelling for his amusement, into the society of ministers, mistresses, courtiers, and princes royal, and obtained—which is very probable—a deal of secret information, which the French ambassador, or any accredited agent, could never have obtained. He says that he was the first to obtain certain information of the death of the great Frederick at Potsdam, and would assuredly have been the first to communicate that important information to Calonne if he had only had a little more money to pay couriers. On returning to Paris, as poor as he had left it, Mirabeau compiled with his usual rapidity a book on the Prussian monarchy, from materials which he had collected during his six or seven months' stay in Berlin. This work was perhaps the most respectable of all his productions; but there is in it much vagueness, loose generalisation, and empty declamation; and it is only here and there that one sees any trait or sign of genius.† He also wrote, in the form of a series of letters, a book which was much more taking with the French reading public- A Secret History of the Court of Berlin'-for it was filled with scandalous anecdotes. Montmorin, the French minister for foreign affairs, offered the needy count a sum of money to suppress the book: Mirabeau took the money, and afterwards went to a bookseller and sold the copyright. The publication, which was anonymous, provoked a prosecution by the king's advocate, I and the Secret History was condemned to be burnt by the common hangman, which as a matter of course caused it to be more eagerly sought after and read. The sentenceone of the very last that proceeded from the expiring parlement of Paris-was passed in 1788, when the whole mation was crying out for the entire liberty of the press, and when the States General, that were to procure all manner of liberties, were actually promised. All France, all the reading part of Europe, knew Mirabeau to be the author of the book; yet he wrote circulatory letters in English newspapers, and in a French newspaper published at London, to deny the au-

Dustont anys that this work, which fills eight volumes, we truth entirely the work of Major Maun Villan, an officer in the Prumian service, whose talents were scarcely known or noticed by his own government.

Franch service, manufactured to the configuration of perception is a passage in which he describes the wholly military, forced, and unnatural the that bound the heterogeneous portions of Frederick's monarchy

to desire the second of the se

thorship, or rather to mystify the fact, for in denying it he seemed not only to admit it, but to take merit to himself for it. This Secret History, though in some parts loose enough, was by no means so deserving of hangman's hands as several of his preceding works which circulated freely in France. There is soarcely a brilliant or smart thing in it except the exclamation that the forced artificial monarchy of Prussia was a pear that was rotten before it was ripe—a truth which was made pretty evident a few years later.* Compiling, scribbling, and making others scribble for him at a portentous rate, Mirabeau contrived to keep soul and body together, down to the time when he became a statesman and regenerator. As the methods he employed in his literary avocations were precisely the same as those he adopted as a senator and orator—as he made his projects of laws and reforms and his speeches in the same way in which he made his books—we may say a few more words in explanation of his method, and of the confidence with which he appropriated everything to himself. According to his partial friend, Dumont, who loved the man for his attaching qualities and the good that was really in him, and who is forward to acknowledge that the materials which he himself furnished very copiously received a new life after they had passed under the hand of Mirabeau, half of the floating talent of France was employed by this maître de mêtier, and with such ready aid the author, as was afterwards the orator, was ready for everything and anything. "Having formed an acquaintance with a geographer, he began to think of writing a universal geography. Had any one shown him the elements of Chinese grammar. he would, no doubt, have immediately attempted a treatise on the Chinese language. He studied and learned his subject in writing about it, and all that he required was an assistant to collect and furnish him with materials. He could so contrive as to get notes and additions from twenty different hands; and, had he been offered a good price, I am confident he would have undertaken to write an encyclopædia. His activity was prodigious. If he worked little himself, he made others work very hard for him. He had a particular skill in finding out men of talent, and in successfully flattering those who could be of use to him, by means of insinuations of friendship and of notions of doing public good. His interesting and animated conversation was as a hone on which he sharpened his tools. Nothing was lost to him; he carefully collected anecdotes, sayings, thoughts; appropriated to his own benefit the fruits of the reading and study of his friends; knew how to use the information thus acquired so as to appear to have

^e The book was transluted almost immediately into English, and published in London with a few trivial suppressions and satisface. The anonymous translator took no moorrect view of the production, and his work may be applied pretty closely to all Mississan's switchings and doings.—"This work itself proves him to be as angued mas; frequently capable of despiting what is despitable, yet constitutes alike enpable of practising what he despites; necessionally with views so independent, dignified, and comprehensive, as to effect admiration and applicac; at others, displaying vaniey, foresting schemes, and stooping to arts that excite pity and disquest.

always possessed it; and, when he had once begun a work in earnest, it was seen to make a rapid and daily progress. He had some right to regard himself as the father of all these works, for he had presided over the execution, and without his activity they would never have been published." [As soon as they were finished he certainly considered them as wholly and solely his own, and, though he would divide some of the booksellers' money, he would never divide the fame.] . . . " He had some natural taste, but he knew little: his small knowledge, however, served for all occasions. In the whirlwind of his stormy life he had had no leisure for study; but in his prison at Vincennes he had occupied himself in general reading, had exercised himself in making translations and copying passages from a few great authors. All this scarcely formed the capital of an ordinary man of letters; and when he spoke openheartedly he was by no means proud of his knowledge or acquirements; but what was particular to him was a soul eloquent and passionate. He had been accustomed even from his youth to think about great questions of politics and government, but he was not made to go to the depths of them; the labour of examination, comparison, discussion, doubt, were little suited to his nathfe: he had too much heat, and fermentation, and impatience to submit to any laborious occupation; his mind went by leaps and starts, but it could leap vigorously and daringly; he abounded in smart, striking expressions, and made a particular study of them. As an author it must be confessed that all his works, without exception, are pieces of patchwork, little of which would remain as his if every one of his contributors claimed his share He felt himself absolutely incapable of writing anything continuously unless he was sustained and guided by some borrowed labour; but, when he had a groundwork and materials furnished him, he could enlarge, combine, give more force and life, and a movement of eloquence to the whole. This he called putting the dash into a work, (mettre le trait à un ouvrage,) and his traits consisted of sallies, epigrams, ironies, allusions, or anything lively or cuttingand this was almost all the work he did either to his books or to his speeches." With such qualities, acquirements, and habits, Mirabeau might indeed seem made to shine in a popular assembly, at a tempestuous time, when audacity and fire were required, and in which a little political knowledge would go a great way; but they assuredly did not qualify him for any of the high duties of a reforming legislator, or creator of a constitution, government, laws; and in France nearly everything was to be created, and everything required profound knowledge, long reflection, and moderation. France was not to be re-made by traits and bons-mots. If such things could have saved her, she would not have been in this agony. Yet, such as he was. Mirabeau was about the most hopeful man that took his seat in the States General. His schemes were not all visions; he set limits to his reform, and, having secured fortune, consideration. and power-for lacking these he would have driven on the revolutionary car just as far as any among them-and having reformed the monarchy instead of destroying it—if such reform were really possible -he would have put a drag-chain on the wheels, and have at least tried to stop. He had a confident and never flagging reliance on his physical powers. his audacity, and his thundering voice. All besides him were in their turns undecided and timid -afraid of what they had done, afraid of what they had still to do, and most of all afraid of the sovereign people ;-but Mirabeau was never timid : he defied the shouting, threatening mob to the last, and he died before they could obtain any triumph over him. For the part he was to act, and the theatre in which he had to act it, his physical advantages were immense. He was tall and exceedingly robust; his carriage was imposing and majestic; his face was frightfully ugly, but he had an eye of fire, and the size of his head, the grand height and breadth of his brow, and an enormous quantity of raven-black hair flowing down to his shoulders, made up an aspect which all men were struck with, and which the rabble, that always filled the galleries in numbers immeasurably greater than that of the House, could never look at without emotions of awe and fear. He well knew, and he artistically availed himself of, these exterior advantages and peculiarities. When he became a senator he paid the most scrupulous attention to his dress and to his luxuriant head of hair; no regular actor was more careful about these matters. With his friends he was accustomed to compare his head to that of a wild boar, and to say that, when he shook it in the assembly, fear and trembling followed. His sonorous voice could make soft music as well as thunder; its gentler tones were melodious and touching; it was a glorious organ. The old marquis, the friend of men, complained that his son had destroyed all formulas. There were still people in France who retained some respect for formulas, and for all the established notions of decency which Mirabeau had outraged. When he presented himself to the noblesse of Provence as a candidate for the honours of representing them in the States General. he was rejected with disdain, and with some hollow mutterings about the indecency of his past life. The motive ostensibly assigned was, that he did not possess a fief; but the real reasons of his rejection were his ill-fame, and his previous attacks upon exclusive privileges. Perhaps the last reason was the strongest, and Mirabeau chose to consider it as the only reason. With curses on the aristocrats, he then offered himself to the Tiers Etat, and was elected both by Aix and by Marseilles. He chose to sit for Aix, which had alternately witnessed his splendour and his degradation. His younger brother, who had been returned by the noble order, could never forgive him for entering the assembly as a plebeian. On the day of

the grand procession to Notre Dame the Titanlike form of Mirabeau drew and fixed the popular gaze; many of the upper classes, who knew more of him, turned their eyes from him with remarks or sneers; but unabashed he stalked on, prouder and more stately in his plain black mantle and plain white cravat than any noble or prince there.* At this time he was generally regarded as a dangerous enemy and unsafe friend: his lawsuits, his shameless intrigues with women, his running away with other men's wives, his open dissolute manners, his imprisonments and scrapes of all kinds, were rather more than could be pardoned even in so lax a city as Paris; and in respectable houses his name was never mentioned but with scorn. When he appeared for the first time in the great hall at Versailles there was clapping and applauding at the names of Mounier, Chapelier, Rabaud de St. Etienne, and many others; but when the name of Mirabeau was pronounced, instead of applause, there was hissing and hooting. Afterwards members of the States General spoke openly of displacing him by questioning the legality of his return in their verification of powers.† But long before they got to this verification Mirabeau showed them that he was their lord and master, and there was no more talk about expulsion. He was in the fortieth or forty-first year of his age when he entered this assembly.

The Abbé Sieyes, of whom something has been already said, had recently renounced the



ASSE SIEVES. From an Anonymous English Portrait.

clerical order, and was sitting with the Tiers Etat, as one of the Paris deputies. His pamphlet and other works had obtained him a great reputation among his countrymen, for "his non-

Madame de Stael.

† Dumont

† Mirabeau took his revenge by publishing a journal, entitled

"Les Etats Généraux," and which was a caricature of the assembly.

In it he compared, with more truth than satire, Messleurs the Deputies to a set of riotous school-boys; he sharply ettacked Necker, then the idol and save-all of the nation, and launched epigrams gagainst a hundred others. As the liberty of the press was not yet recognized, Necker and the government commanded the suppression of this anonymous newspaper. But Mirabeau's spite would not be disappointed. He announced, under his own name, "Letters to his Constituents." No one dared to dispute the right of a representative of the people to give an account of the public sittings of the assembly; and he continued for some time to fill these letters with abuse, epigrams, and careatures.

sense suited their nonsense." He entertained a most sovereign contempt for the actual state of society, not only in France, which was the only country he knew anything about, but in all Europe, in all the world, not even excepting the United States of America, whose model constitution he would have destroyed to make a better one for them with his own line and rule. He considered the English constitution as mountebank work and humbug, got up to impose on the obtuse understandings of a dull people. The only thing appertaining to England that he could condescend to admire was the trial by jury, and even that, like all the Frenchmen of the time, he misunderstood. In spite of their long practice, he looked upon the English as mere children in matters of constitution and intimately believed that at any given hour he could improvise an incomparably better constitution for France. In the overflowing vanity of his heart he told one of the best informed and most sensible men of the time, that " polity was a science which he believed he had completed" (la politique est une science que je crois avoir achevée). There were but too many Abbes Sieves in this assembly for, though few were destined to make so many constitutions, there were scores upon scores who believed, like him, that they had mastered every difficulty in the science. The text-book of Sieyes, and of all of them, was the Contrat Social of Rousseau. A mean, feeble frame, weak voice, and timid spirit, prevented him from taking the lead in debates which were all hurricanes; but through his writings, which had traced the march of the assembly and claimed the whole power of the three estates for one of them, he was for some time regarded as a head of the Tiers Etat. He drew out the plan of battle, although he remained in his tent when it was to be fought. He did little himself as a dcputy, but he made other deputies do a great deal.* In some respects he differed from the herd, for he was cold and passionless. A vainer, more selfsufficient man, a more wiry, mechanical, pedantic logician, a more narrow-minded and unimaginative metaphysician, or a more thorough dogmatist, never existed.

Bailly, another of the Paris deputies, was a very different man from Sieves. He was the son of an artist, who had been keeper of the royal pictures, and the writer of many forgotten poems besides. He attached himself to the study of astronomy at an early age, and, while yet a young man, published several admired works on that science or matters connected with it. His merits were not unrewarded, and several years before the outburst of the revolution he had become a member of the three great French academies. France has produced few more elegant writers; but his "History of Astronomy"-his greatest work-no longer satisfies astronomers; and his political science appears to have been no science at all. He went into the States General with the belief that he was to glide down a quiet stream to a blessed Utopia; and he

• Dumon

soon found himself whirled away by a torrent with Though rocks shead and on either side of him. entertaining liberal opinions, and though eager for a constitution, Bailly had hesitated before com-



Bully. From a Portrait by Duplessi Bertaux.

mitting himself, and it was with regret and misgiving that he quitted his pleasant retreat at Chaillot; but friends, philosophes were not to be resisted, and the electors of Paris flattered and encouraged him by naming him the first of their twenty deputies. He was in his fifty-third your.

Mounier had been secretary to the provincial states of Dauphiny, his native province, and had contributed in a very essential manner to the hot patriotism of that part of France and to the convocation of the States General. He had enjoyed a high reputation at Grenoble, and there were few men that came to the great hall at Versailles from whom more was expected. He had abundant courage, and played about the boldest part at a most critical moment; but when he found that the revolution was going too fast, and far beyond the original intentions of its framers, he lost heart and presence of mind, sneaked away from the assembly and from Paris, hiding himself in the remote hills of Dauphiny, and excusing himself, as so many others did, by protesting that he had thought better of the people, and of human nature, than human nature and the people deserved.* Rabaud St. Etienne was a Protestant clergyman; Petion, a young advocate from Chartres, who hitherto had been distinguished only by a taste for music and fiddling, and an incoherent passion for liberty and equality; +

** A few months before the grand meeting at Versailles the Marquis de Bouillé saw Necker for the last time, and conversed with him on the imprudence and peril of his plan or no plan. The marquis says—" I represented to him with force, and with truth, the danger of assembling the States General in the manner he nateside. I told him that he was arming the people against the first orders of the state, and that, when thus delivered up unarmed, they would soon feel the effects of their vengeance, urged on by the two most active passions of the human heart, interest and self love. I entered into particulars, but he coldly anxwered me, raising his eyes to heaven, that it was necessary to rely on the moral virtue of mankind. I replied that this was a fine romance, but he would see a horrible and bicody tragedy, of which I advised him to avoid the estastrophe. At this he smiled, and Madame Necker told me that my apprehensions were extravagant."—Memoires & Busillé.

+ "I saw Petion rather frequently without grassing the part he would one day play. He had the smbospoist of an indolest man and the appearance of a tolerably good fellow; but he was visin, and looked upon himself as the first of crators, because he was always speaking like Barnave. He had little wit, nothing striking in him, no force of expression or of thought."—Demons.

Barnave was the son of a lawyer of Grenoble. and had obtained his election through a patriotic pamphlet; he was young, daring, and ambitious-inexperienced, untaught, uninformed in political life, but gifted with eloquence and fire: his readiness astonished Mirabeau, who is reported to have said of him, "This is a young tree that will mount high if they will only let it grow." But next to Mirabeau himself, the man that claims the most particular attention in the States General is-

Maximilian Isidore Robespierre, who performed a far more considerable part, and attracted much



ROBESPIERRE. From a Portrait by Duplemi-Bertaux.

more notice, even at this early stage of the revolution, than is usually reported. He was born at Arras on the 6th of April, 1759. His mother was the daughter of a respectable brewer, his father an advocate practising in Arras. When he was seven years old he lost his mother by death, and his father soon after by flight, for the advocate, to escape his creditors, fled to America and there disappeared, leaving Maximilian and three younger children to the charity of people who had more bowels than their own father. Old Frauce contained some good things: there were numerous charitable institutions founded by the piety of princes and churchmen in the earlier times; and there were prelates and priests that exercised as well as preached the Christian charities. Maximilian and his brother Augustine were both put into the public school of Arras, and, together with another brother, who appears to have died in his childhood, and a sister who survived them both and only died in 1834, were fed and clothed, and brought up, upon charity, and chiefly the charity of priests. Maximilian attracted notice by the gentleness of his manners and his promise of future abilities; and the Bishop of Arras, M. de Conzié, obtained from the great Abbaye de St. Wass one of its exhibitions at the college of Louis le Grand at Paris for the promising orphan. On his arrival in Paris M. de la Roche, a canon of Notre Dame, took him under his protection, so that this priest-destroyer owed almost everything to benevolent ecclesiastics. In the college of Louis le

Grand he had for his fellow-students Camille Desmoulins, Lebrun, Sulleau, Duport-du-Tertre, and Stanislas Freron, who took very different sides in the revolution, but who all equally came to an untimely end. It is said that one of the professors, M. Herivaux, an enthusiast in Roman history, and one that thought that Roman heroes were proper models for modern France, encouraged and applauded his pupil's precocious notions about liberty and equality. It was certainly the fashion in most schools and colleges in France to overromanize raw youths, and to give them crude mistaken notions about ancient institutions and ancient virtues-not excepting those of the fiercest kindwhich were rarely corrected in after-life by a fuller study of the subject, and maturer meditation. in any case, a little knowledge be a dangerous thing, it was so in this. A very great part of the revolution reads like a parody of ancient history; and we shall find continually the examples of Greece and Rome cited as precedents for some of the worst atrocities that were committed. It was, indeed, a time for all good or quiet Frenchmen to have exclaimed with their own poet-" God deliver me from these Greeks and Romans!" Maximilian Robespierre was about to leave the college of Louis le Grand, he obtained, through the patronage of Cardinal de Rohan, a presenta-tion for his brother Augustine. He now dedicated himself to the law, and became in very brief time an advocate in Arras, as his father had been before him. He pleaded in a cause in favour of some persons who had erected lightning conductors -a startling novelty in Arras, and complained of by some of the neighbours—and he gradually obtained some legal reputation. The business of a young provincial advocate could not, however, be very great; and he had time and ambition to aspire to the honours of literature. He cultivated the Belles Lettres, wrote verses, and belonged to a verse-making confraternity—an Arras Arcadia or Della Crusca—called Les Rosati, or The Be-rosed, the members of which wore crowns of roses, spouted their own rhymes, and made impromptus so many times a year. He also tried his hand at more serious compositions. In 1784 the Society of Arts and Sciences at Metz proposed a prize for the best essay on the question-" Whence arises the opinion which extends to a whole family a portion of the disgrace inflicted on a criminal by a degrading punishment? And is that opinion beneficial to society or otherwise?" Robespierre took the liberal side of the question, but his essay was not deemed the best. The Academy of Amiens offered a prize for the best culogium on Gress the light, gay, and graceful author of Vert-Vert, La Chartreuse, Les Ömbres, and other pieces in

* Camille Desmoulins and Lebrun were thorough-going republicans, and they were guillotined; Sulleau was a royalist, and was mas-acred by the mob; Duport du-Tertre was a constitutional monscribts, and he was guillotined; Frérar was a Scoblu of the most enraged kind, but, though he sent many to the guillotine, be occuped it himself, to due of yellow fever:—being appointed underprefest of St. Dominge, he went to that island in 1808, with the desh-devoted expedition of General Leclerc, and died almost as soon as he

prose and verse. Here, too, Robespierre was a candidate, but only to be again disappointed of the prize. He was, however, comforted by a friend, who told him, in French Alexandrines, that he must not be discouraged, nor permit his modesty to obscure his merit—that glory was preparing immortal laurels for his head—and finally, that he was the prop of the unhappy, the avenger of the innocent, one living only for virtue and sweet friendship! All this was bad poetry and nonsense; but it does not appear that Robespierre's general reputation among his fellow-townsmen was at all a bad one. The reader must remember these particulars of the early life of the little advocate of Arras when he finds him in the character of a dictator and exterminator. So high was the consideration in which he was held by the democratic party, who had it all their own way, that at the elections for the States General he was returned for Artois, one of the great provinces of the empire; and as his brother members, or the deputies returned with him, were no orators, he undertook to speak for them all as well as for himself. Poor as the poorest, with a mean, weaklooking frame, a sharp, thoughtful countenance, a most bilious complexion, and eyes that already needed spectacles, he arrived at Versailles. It was soon observed of him that he had a sinister aspect. that he never looked any one in the face, and that he had a continual blinking of his eyes painful to see. He was a nervous man, and said himself he never stood up to speak without trembling. It is, however, a great, though almost a general mistake, to suppose that he sat silent, or was an inactive or obscure member at the opening of the first assembly.*

Among the deputies of the noblesse, and in far greater numbers among the deputies of the clergy, were men as extreme in their democracy as any of the Tiers. There was Lafayette with his one idea—to turn old France into an America, and be himself the Washington of it—with a reputation he merited for superior decency of manners and conduct in private life, and with a reputation for abilities he assuredly was not entitled to. His republicanism was mixed with inordinate vanity, which is the more offensive from a perpetual attempt at humility and modesty. Judging him alone by his own private letters, we should say that, in another way, he was as vain as the Abbé Sieyes himself, and, in his early revolutionary career, not half so sincerc. This abbé frankly avowed from the beginning that what he and France wanted was a republic; but this marquis declared in public that he was all for a constitutional monarchy, and in private that nothing but a republic would do-that nothing but a republic was suitable to the free and enlightened spirit of France, or worthy of the labour of one, who, at the age of ninetcen, had devoted himself " to the liberty of mankind and the destruction of despotism, and who had learned his political philosophy in

* Art. in Quarterly Review on Life of Robesplace.-Dumoni.

the American revolution. Surely Lafayette has been singularly fortunate in obtaining, from a very considerable part of the world, a character for sincerity and straightforwardness. On the very threshold of the States General, he proclaimed to Washington, with a very shallow knowledge of Washington's real present sentiments, that no terms must be kept either with monarchy or aristocracy, that the Commons, the Tiers Etat, the people, ought to be all and everything in France.* His constant oracle and adviser, at this moment, was Jefferson, who never came to Washington's moderate conclusion that, though a republic might be very well suited to the United States, it might sit very uneasily on a country like France. Lafayette boasted that he had " drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard"—that he "would owe his celebrity to the Tiers"—that he "must be delighted with everything that drove on the revolution"—that he " had already tried all means except a civil war, which he might have brought on, and which he would have provoked, but for the dread he entertained of the horrors it might cause."† In all the private letters written at this critical moment, that we have seen, he talks in the same ultra-republican strain. without foresight or moderation, or the least glimpse of a preference for constitutional monarchy. Whe craving after celebrity meets us in almost every epistle; and, in the confidence of friendship, his vanity is as transparent as plate-glass. He can scarcely admit that he has been liable to human error in the politics he has pursued. If he has ever done wrong others must bear the blame, for it was their over-caution and not his ardour that was at fault. With a self-complacency scarcely to be found in the heroes of Molière's comedies, he tells a confidential correspondent-" It is to you alone that I could write what may look like idle boastings-not from believing that you will approve of them, but from knowing that you will keep them secret. I solemnly assure you that during the twelve years of my public life, if I have committed several faults, there is not a single moment of that life which I do not approve of; and, among the faults of which I have been guilty, many may be imputed to the prudence of other men." He had begun his public life as a stripling-he was now only in the 32nd year of his age-but, with such immeasurable vanity and self-satisfaction, where was the hope of any improvement? There was none; and Lafayette remained all his life a boy of nineteen with one idea in his head, and his hand perpetually placed upon his heart in testimony of the honesty of his intentions, and of the truth of the protestation, made after every failure, that the fault was attributable to other men. Mirabeau, whose keen eye took a correct measurement of his

Besides revolutionizing France, Lafayette, as if one revolution at a time were not enough for his mighty genius, wanted to get up two other revolutions. "I wished," said he, "to contribute to two other revolutions, one is freiend and one in Holland: the prudence of our ministers alone prevented my taking advantage of the state of the public feeling in those countries."—Private letter, in Memoirs, Oerrespondence, and Memocropis published by his Femily.

† Various private letters to Washington and others.

character and intellect, described him as being ambitious without force or ability; as hungering after newspaper glory; as aiming at a supreme power in the state without the courage or means necessary to reach it; and, to do justice to his observance of decorum and domestic morals, and his incessant professions of chivalryism, and couple them with his ambition, he called him a Sir Charles-Grandison-Cromwell. His exploits in America, which did not exceed what might have been expected from any young officer sprung from a brave nation, and which were only cried up there as proceeding from a foreigner and a nobleman, were exaggerated in France in the most extravagant manner; and not only was his own head turned, but that of the nation with it, for all France believed, for a season, that he was the greatest of soldiers, and one of the greatest of statesmen. The nation found out its mistake, but Lafayette never did. His family was ancient, his connexions were among the highest of the aristocracy, and his wealth was great when he entered the assembly. The Dukes of Liancourt and la Rochefoucault were both of the liberal party, tolerably well acquainted with England, and sincerely aiming at, or wishing for, the catablishment of a constitution resembling that of England. Count Lally Tollendal, son of the Indian Lally, was animated in the first place by a passionate desire to redeem the fame of his father, to expose the unlawfulness and arbitrariness of his trial and execution, and to prevent, by lasting constitutional barriers, the recurrence of similar tyrannical deeds; but except on this one point he was, comparatively, calm and moderate, and he too appears to have given a thoroughly conscientious preference to a limited con-The two brothers Lameth. stitutional monarchy. Count Theodore and Count Charles, had both served in America, and were attached to Lafayette and his American school; but they were far less enthusinstic as republicans, more open to any advances from the court, and much less disposed to incur the risk of extremities. As for d'Esprémenil, the old parlementer, he had been so shocked at the disrespect shown to the privileged body to which he belonged, that he had returned from his last exile or relegation a furious royalist. All these individuals were men of considerable weight and ability, and neither without moral courage nor eloquence; but they were but a small number among three hundred deputies of the noblesse. and what would they be when swallowed up in the Tiers Etat?

In the order of the clergy, the most conspicuous member-and he would have been one of the most conspicuous of men anywhere-was Charles Maurice Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, but who had nothing prelatical or priestly in his character, manners, or thoughts. Though the eldest son of a great princely family, he had been thrust into the church in his childhood on account of a physical deformity, it being considered in the family that the representative of the long line of the princes of Talleyrand Perigord ought not to be a cripple. But, if Charles Maurice was lame of a leg, he had no other kind of lameness or infirmity: his wit was keener and more nimble than that of any man in



TALLEYBLED. From a Portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

He had hardly ever slept under the same roof with his father and mother, who neglected him from his infancy as a poor miserable being, and who, in making him a priest, had also made him renounce his right of primogeniture in favour of his second brother. In his youth, these things weighed upon his heart, rendering him taciturn, melancholy, shy, and reserved; but this did not last, and, when he had thrown off his sadness for a bantering, philosophical cynicism, he was never sad again. His name, his rank, secured him immediate elevation in the church; and he spent the revenues of his bishopric like a man of gallantry and pleasure in Paris. He had no more of the catholic priest about him than Cardinal de Retz in former times, or than the Cardinal de Rohan, or a hundred other bishops and dignitaries of the church of France, in the present time; and, as for his religious faith, it lay in a smaller compass than that of the Savoyard vicar. Against the dogma of clerical celibacy his life was one constant protest-allowing himself, in this respect, much more licence, or open liberty, than was common with his predecessors or contemporaries in the church. But with all this he was a nice observer of the bienséances; and was master of that difficult secret of knowing when to speak out, and when to be silent. As yet, his political knowledge and experience were nearly all to be acquired; but the very few men who knew him well prognosticated great things from his sagacity. Though not harsh, unkind, or misanthropical, but rather the reverse that he cared too little for mankind to be very ardent in any scheme for their improvement; and it may reasonably be doubted whether he would have entered into this revolution at all, if he had not clearly perceived that it was inevitable, and that his best chance of getting through it was to take some quiet post near the helm. Perhaps too, with all his coolness and impassiveness, he was im-

pelled, by the bitter recollections of his early life, to wish the humiliation of a body into which he had been forced; and though no man was less of a system-maker, or more remote from the philosophe fanaticism of the day, he may have been prepared to witness, without any deep emotion, the overthrow of a church whose wages he received and spent, but whose doctrines he despised. Confident in his own abilities, his powers of application to business, and his address, he could hardly despair, when bishoprics and archbishoprics, and all the profitable dignities and envied privileges of the Gallican church, should be swept away, of obtaining wealth and distinction in some other line. He had indeed felt already that the vocation for which he was best fitted was diplomacy. If he had any decided preference in forms of government, it was assuredly for a constitutional monarchy; but Talleyrand set out with a determination not to let this preference interfere with his own personal safety. The philosophy in which he had really been reared, and which was not that taught at the Sorbonne, led him to despise, as fools and madmen, the martyrs of religion; and Talleyrand would not be a martyr for any system or code of opinions. It is not for his countrymen to charge him with insincerity, and a proneness to shift and turn; for, if he had not so accommodated himself to the circumstances made by their madness, he must have been sacrificed over and over again. He took thirteen oaths to different constitutions, republics, and monarchs; but if he had not sworn, he would have been thirteen times a martyr. With all his easy adaptability, he was no small sufferer; and in the hour of adversity this voluptuous, expensive man could accommodate himself to privations, and share almost his last shilling with the friend that could amuse and be amused by him. Very different from Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, was the Bishop of Chartres: he was an amiable enthusiast, of perfeetly good faith, and of a very weak judgment. He believed that there was sufficient virtue and moderation in the people to justify the Tiers Etat in the full extent of their claims; and that there could scarcely be anything but candour, single-mindedness, and integrity in the reformers: he knew the enormity of the existing abuses—every man knew it-and he fancied that all might be set right without blood or violence, or injustice of any kind: he was a sincerely devout Christian, according to the forms of the church of Rome; but his heart had ever been a stranger to intolerance, and he had even rejoiced at the emancipation of the French Protestants. He wished for a reform in the temporalities of his own church, and he could not foresee that the very first essay in reform would be to annihilate that church.* In the simplicity of his heart he cordially joined Talleyrand in proposing that the order of the clergy should waive their objection about the verification of powers, consent to the vote by head, and concur and co-operate with the commons in proposing and making a constitu-

Dumont, who knew the Bishop of Chartres very intimately.

tion which should limit the monarchy without destroying it; make nobles and clergy pay taxes, and renounce privileges without sacrificing them; restore credit and tranquillity to France; and render all classes happier, juster, and more tolerant. When he became an exile, and was depending on the charity of strangers for the bread he was eating. the poor, good, simple old bishop could not understand how this beautiful vision could have failed.* Very different again, both from the Bishop of Chartres and the Bishop of Autun, was the Abbé Maury, who became, under Napoleon, a cardinal, and Archbishop of Paris, and one of the most selfish and worldly of priests or men. qualities, however, appear to have been the result of his sad experience of the little faith that was to be placed in the disinterestedness or political wisdom of his countrymen, or of those very large portions of them who, in the rapid changes of the times, ruled France. At his entrance into the States General, he took a clearer view of the tendency of the Tiers Etat than any other man there: he strenuously, and with great eloquence, urged the deputies of the clergy, in their separate chamber, never to consent to the verification in common; and he told them, in a few energetic words, that, if the three orders were confounded as one deliberative and voting body, all would be lost. He was not merely eloquent, but unusually well informed: he is charged with sophistry, but we see no appearance of it in his present performances. His points and his bons-mots—and no orator or statesman in France was anything without bons-mots-were, next to Mirabeau's, Talleyrand's, and Narbonue's, as good as any man's. It was Maury who said at the beginning that the philosophy of the revolution might be described in a very few words: -All men who had nothing said to all who had something, "Ote-toi, que je m'y mette" (Get out of my way, that I may get into your place).

But out of these three hundred deputies of the clergy, about two hundred were possessed of no ecclesiastical dignity; † and, besides the noted curate Gregoire, who subsequently ran to the utmost lengths of Jacobinism, there were many of these two hundred eager for a sweeping reform, which, among one of its blessed fruits, should give them preferment, or some better provision; and they despaired of this reform from any but the Tiers Etat. It is said that the persuasive tongue of Talleyrand was employed in winning over these men to vote for the verification in common; but their own feelings and circumstances really directed them; and, with a very few exceptions, all the hungry parish priests and country curates showed, from the very first moment, a disposition to join the great moving party. Their poverty was ren-

dered more painful and impatient by being placed in juxtaposition with the wealth and splendour of the higher clergy. Besides, there were not a few philosophes among them. Yet, notwithstanding all these elements of disagreement and discord in their own corps, the resistance to the imperious demand of the Tiers Etat was obstinate and protracted on the part both of the noblesse and clergy. Days were lengthening into weeks, and still no beginning could be made in the work for which they were assembled; but, in spite of their decorous professions and lamentations to the contrary, the Tiers were by no means impatient, calculating that the long delay would be attributed by the people to the obstinacy and wilfulness of the two privileged orders, and thus be the means of increasing, day by day, the popular excitement, and the already rabid hatred against nobility and clergy. The great hall of the Menus Plaisirs, which the Tiers had all to themselves, presented a strange scene, and one which might excite little but laughter, were it not for the after "confusion worse confounded," and the madness and the horrors it pre-saged. There was no subject of discussion before the deputies as a House: there was no order whatsoever. The deputies sat here and there and everywhere, gossiping, ar reading newspapers. The hall was continually inundated by all kinds of people, by visitors from Paris and other places, all curious to see what sort of thing was an assembly of States General; and these visitors sat themselves down on the members' benches, and mixed themselves with the deputies, without remonstrance or remark from any of them. Outside of the doors there was generally a crowd of the idlers and vagabonds of Versailles, hissing and hooting the aristocrats and the priests, and occasionally asking when the machine was going to go, as if the States General were Versailles water-works! The great hall re sembled a political club rather than anything else; and at night the members adjourned to real clubs in Versailles, or at Paris, where Lafayette's Breton Club was making great way, and where, by day and by night, the Palais Royal was crowded by people, murmuring, and cursing the aristocrats and the priests. Even at this moment a threat was occasionally dropped by the excited mob that they would go to Versailles, à faire main basse, on court, clergy, and noblesse. Thus, in the language of the times, did the spirit of liberty gain strength and courage by the very inactivity of the States General. The Tiers Etat, happy in their profitable idleness, continued to assemble in the hall, and do nothing but declare that they were not an order, but an assembly of citizens called together by lawful authority, to wait to be joined by other citizens—that is to say, by the noblesse and the clergy. The deputies of the nobles put the question to the vote, and decided, by a majority of four to one, that they would not admit the claim of the Tiers. The deputies of the clergy, on the contrary, suspended their verification; and, when the noblesse

The Marquess of Lansdowne sent him, anonymously, a bill of exchange for 100!. He would not accept it, saying that, as he should never be able to repay it, he ought to know who was his benefactor, so as not to dispense with the duty of gratitude. Dumont then disclosed the name of the marquess, and comforted the poor old blehop with the assurance that he was still remembered and respected by those who had known him in his prosperity.
† Mémoires du Marquis de Boullié.

declared themselves constituted, the churchmen declared themselves not constituted, without venturing upon any vote. There was thus not even an accord between these two orders: it was prevented by the majority of the inferior clergy.* The clergy and noblesse, however, as a concession and peace-offering, declared that they were ready to renounce and give up, for the good of the country, all their pecumary privileges. The Tiers accepted this ample concession, and some of them even applauded the patriotic motives from which it had proceeded; but they continued, nevertheless, to persist in their inertia, demanding the verification in common. Several conferences took place between the three orders, but not by any regular deputations or committees; for the Commons, as the Tiers already began to call themselves, would not consider themselves constituted, and therefore could not name deputations or committees. They merely sent a few of their members as private persons anxious for union and concord. The noblesse spoke in a loud tone of defiance, and gave way to their passions and resentments. The clergy were more calm, and studiously avoided committing themselves by any explicit declaration. The messengers of the Tiers were-if we are to credit their admirers-calm, dignified, and firm, without any emportement. As a new means of accommodation, it was now suggested by the Tiers that the verification might be made by commissioners taken from all the three orders. The noblesse instantly rejected this proposal, and passed a vote declaring that, for this session, the verification should be made separately, reserving to the States the right of fixing that or any other mode for the future. This would have left the question open to general debate by the three orders; but the Tiers, knowing their own power, wanted no discussion. † They had assembled on the 5th of May, and now it was the 27th. The interval, as we have seen, had been profitably employed by the popular party; but the state of inertia could not well be prolonged any more.! Mirabeau therefore represented, in his epigrammatic manner, that it was high time to begin business; that the good of the people, the regeneration of France, had been too long delayed already; and he proposed that, as the unalterable resolution of the noblesse was known to them, the Tiers should summon the clergy to give an immediate answer whether they would join the friends of the people or not. This was agreed to; and Target, a Paris lawyer, marched, at the head of a whole troop of the Tiers, into the room occupied by the clergy, and invited them all, " in the name of the God of peace, and for the interests of the nation," to repair to the great hall of the

Assembly, and unite themselves with the deputies of the Tiers Etat. A great number of the unbeneficed, with some few of the beneficed, answered this invitation with loud and joyous acclamation. Some of them got up to follow Target, but were hindered by their brethren; and the answer returned was, that the order of the clergy would take the invitation into their consideration. The Tiers hereupon determined not to adjourn until they should get from the clergy a direct answer to their main question. The clergy complained that this was pressing them too hotly, and they demanded time for deliberation. The Tiers told them that they might take their time; that they themselves would wait, if necessary, all day and all night. The clergy, already giving up their rights or pretensions, humbly begged to be allowed to give their answer on the morrow; and with great difficulty they obtained this favour from the Tiers, who then went to their dinners and their clubs, without caring about their non-adjournment resolution. That evening and night the dignitaries of the church consulted in private with the court and noblesse order. This they had often done before, but now it was necessary to come to some decision. The king, oppressed by domestic afflictions, and who seems to have been perfectly bewildered by the difficulties of his situation and by the contrary opinions and advice that were poured into his ears incessantly, agreed to interfere by message; and on the morrow he invited the three orders to renew their conferences, in presence of his keeper of the seals, in order to come to an amicable agreement. The Tiers replied that, out of deference to his majesty, they would consent to renew the conferences. although, after the declarations of the noblesse, they must consider them useless. Moreover they sent their doyen, or president by seniority-Bailly, the astronomer and author—to present an address to the king. On arriving at the palace, apparently without the common decency of a previous announcement, Bailly found some difficulty in getting admitted, for the young dauphin-happier in this than his brother who succeeded to his honours -was dead. But the astronomer, so mild and amiable a man apart from his politics, and recently a bashful and timid man, would not respect the sacred feelings of a parent grieving for his firstborn, and insisted on an immediate audience, with a pompous and uncalled-for parade about the dignity of the assembly he represented. As he would not be refused, he was admitted to the afflicted Louis, taking care, even in that presence, to avoid the observance of the ordinary rules of etiquette, which he or his party had already reprobated as humiliating ceremonials. He told the king that

Thiers, Histoire de la Révolution Française.—Mignet.—Madame de Basël, Considérations.—Lacretelle, Hist. de l'Assemblée Constitante.

^{*} This lost time, as it appeared to be, had been put to wonderful profit by the deputies of the Hers. They had made sure of the public fatour. . I was a close eye-winness of the effect this season of inertia had in inflaming the spirit of party. The Tiem made daily progress. The seeds of all disorders were sown, and began to germinate, during this interval. The future historian of the revolution ought to devote a particular attention to these days."—Dumont.

^{*} M. Thiers, writing in our own day, when the excitement and passion ought to be over, finds that all these proceedings were not only justifiable but worthy of the highest praise. He has no more sympathy or respect for the grief of the king thun Bailiy had when worked up by the charge he had received from his infuriated colleagues. He applauds the astronomer for making the contriers respect the sajesty of the Assembly, "which he represented with all the dignity of virtue and of reason;" finds it quite natural that he should force his way into the house of mourning; praises him for avoiding "only of which humiliant;" and dismisses the business with saying these Ballly

the Tiers Etat would never forget what they owed to him, and would never lose sight of the natural alliance between the throne and the people, against aristocracies, which, under whatever form they might exist, were only established on the ruins of the regal authority and the happiness of the people; that the French, whose glory it had at all times been to love their king, would always be ready to shed their blood and spend their money for the defence of genuine monarchy; that the greatest cause of their present impatience was their ardent desire to be enabled to offer a more striking homage and proof of their love for his sacred person and his august family. Louis, whose natural mildness or gentleness of manner was unalterable, expressed his great satisfaction at these hollow professions: he said, he hoped that the Tiers Etat would proceed with a spirit of prudence and of peace, and that all obstacles would soon be removed; but he did not explain his intentions to the astronomer, who made an unfavourable report of his audience The conferences between the to the Assembly. orders, which the king had recommended, were however consented to; but they only gave rise to mutual reproaches and fresh animosities. There was violence, noise, and gesticulation enough to have made one believe that, instead of deputies of States General, met to reform a vast capire, they were a set of maniacs who had met to tear one another to pieces On the side of the noblesse d'Espréménil was one of the most noisy and furibund.* At this point Necker, who was as much perplexed as the king, and who had fully proved himself to be incapable of guiding the storm, stepped in with a new plan, which he delivered in the name of the king as a proper means of conciliation. It was, that each of the three orders should examine and verify their powers separately, and then report to the two others; that, in case of any difficulties, committees should report them to each of the orders; and then, if they could not agree, the king was to judge and decide en dernier ressort. clergy accepted the project at once; but the noblesse, though they seemed at first to look upon it with a favourable eye, doubted and questioned, hesitated, and finally rejected it. In their desire-

showed as much firmness as respect-" autout de fermeté que de

showed as much firmness as respect..." assess the formed que de respect."

It might be proper in the Commons to "rand up this address, but none but the rawest and most unmannerly novoes would have sent it up without previous notice: it might be proper (though the fact is very doubtful, if, as they pretended, they wished for a monarchy, only improved and constitutionalized) to make assess to the sovereign neaver than it had hitherto been, and to take some of the starch out of the old court stingtest;—but was this the mode to make the attempt? Was this the time for reading harsh lessons to the king?

And Bailly, "whose soul had been clevated and harmonised by dwelling fir the heavenis—Bailly, the ided of the Paristans, the flower of reformers—represented as the mildest and geothest of them all—could undertake this work, notwhistanding certain private circumstances which his liberal biographers take care not to mention! His father had been keeper of the royal pictures, and so had his grandfittler, also an artist. The place, like so many others, had become hearddary, and Bailly, though no artist, was allowed to fill it. In his hands it became a more court sinceture; and Louis XVI., who was find of his pictures, in the year 1785, thought proper to give the places to as artist who really performed its duties. But, that Hally, who was otherwise not badly provided for, might not be a loser, whe granted that a pession.

The department of the unblesse protested against the title of "Commons" which the Tiers had taken.

in their fixed and regular scheme—to throw the whole blame of the horrors of the revolution upon the aristocracy, the generality of French writers date all the misfortunes that afterwards fell out from this day, and thus attribute them all to the wilful noblesse. But a very little serious consideration will date all the misfortunes and all the disgrace from a much earlier period, and will hold the noblesse responsible only in common with all the rest, and in a minor degree:—for their power was gone or going, past recovery; the animosities of the Tiers Etat were implacable; the Tiers Etat were the strongest and were every day getting still stronger; the whole democracy of France was let loose; little or nothing remained to do except to gain over the army, for which end slow but sure means were at work, and had been at work for months; and with all the weight thrown into one scale it was impossible but that the other should kick the beam. All balance was lost, never to be restored, except by blood; for the privilege or monopoly of political power was dearer to the Tiers than were their ancient privileges and exemptions to the noblesse, and no people ever yet resigned such a possession without fighting to keep it. Compliant or recusant, voting by order or by head, the two superior orders were equally doomed; and one chamber, a nullity and nonsense when the sovereign is powerful, must become a tyrant and a devourer when the sovereign is powerless.

The clergy, however, agreed to send a deputation, in the view of taking the Tiers by surprise. The Archbishop of Aix appeared in the great hall and delivered a pathetic discourse on the misfortunes of the people, and the famine and misery prevailing in the rural districts; and he produced a bit of black bread which animals would scarcely have eaten, to show the food to which the poor of France were reduced. He then invited the Tiers to a conference with the clergy and noblesse, in order to devise means for relieving the distresses of the indigent. The Tiers saw through the snare, but, though they were determined to do nothing that might look like an acknowledgment of the separation into orders, they durst not openly reject so popular a proposition. One of their members therefore rose, and, after agreeing with the archbishop as to the existence of misery and famine, and expressing his own sympathy, proceeded to throw doubt on the real intentions of the clergy. With his eye fixed on the Archbishop of Aix he said, "Go tell your colleagues that, if they are so anxious to relieve the people, they should hasten to unite themselves in this hall with the friends of the people. Tell them no longer to retard our proceedings by affected delays; tell them notito employ paltry means like this to make us recede from the resolutions we have taken. Rather, O ministers of religion, as worthy imitators of your Master, renounce the splendour which surrounds you, the luxury which insults the poor. Resume the humility of your origin; dismiss those insolent"lacqueys who escort you, sell your gaudy

tradicion, and convert these odious superfluities broad for the poor!" "At this speech," says the was present, "there arose, not a loud applicable that would have been a bravado—but a summer of approbation, which was much insere flattering to the orator. Everybody asked who was the speaker? He was little known, but in I few minutes the hall and the galleries circulated a name which, within three years, made all France tremble—it was Robespierre."*

The Archbishop of Aix had scarcely taken his departure, with his cars ringing with Robespierre's choquence, when a message from the noblesse aswared the Tiers that that order persisted in the separate verification. Now or never it was time to strike a great blow. Mirabeau rose, shook his locks, and exclaimed, "No project of reconciliation when rejected by one party can longer be entertained by the other. A month has rolled away since we met. We must now be doing-a decisive step must be taken. A learned deputy of Paris has an important motion to make. Let him be listened to!" After this introduction by the bold man, the Abbe Sieves mounted the tribune with his written speech in his hand, and read their lesson to the Tiers Etat. The marrow of it was, that they had waited long enough in hopes of an amicable arrangement with the other orders; that any longer condescendence would be useless, dishonourable, and fatal to the high mission wherewith they were charged by the French people; and that consequently they ought to send a last invitation to the noblesse and the clergy to join them immediately, and form with them one chamber. The lesson was well received, for most of the pupils had been prepared beforehand. The abbe returned to his place amidst acclamations. Some thought that the word invitation was an incorrect word, unworthy of the majesty of the Assembly; and that, instead of being invited, the two refractory orders ought to be summoned to attend, and that, too, within an hour. The Tiers, however, adjourned that day without sending either invitation or summons. The following day was the Fête Dieu, or Corpus Domini, and, as religious festivals were as yet observed in France, there was no meeting. But on the next day, Friday, the 12th of June, Sieves's meaning that sent in the polite form of an invitation to the two orders, as was also an intimation to the king. The noblesse and elergy replied that they were going to deliherate; the king replied that he would make his intentions known. The Tiers proceeded to constitute themselves; and three curates forsook their order, went into the great hall, and took their se me a part of the House, in the midst of tumultuous applause. On the following day six more of the

unbeneficed clergy joined the Tiers; and on the day after that another company of the unbeneficed, having at their head the cure Gregoire, descried in the same manner. In constituting themselves. the Commons or Tiers Etat were for some time divided as to the name they should now take. Mirabeau proposed as the proper definition " Representatives of the French People;" Mounier thought that a longer definition was necessary, and that they ought to style themselves "The Deliberating Majority in the absence of the Minority." But the real godfather was Jefferson, who had settled with Lafayette that the proper name would be "National Assembly;" † and, as Lafayette still stayed with his order, Legrand, lately a provincial advocate, moved that they should forthwith take this name.! There was, however, a long and vehement discussion before Jefferson's name was adopted. Mirabeau delivered, like an inspiration, a speech which had been written by Dumont. He denounced the terms National Assembly as premature, incorrect, unjust-as tending to produce incalculable mischief; and he repeated that his own definition, "Representatives of the French People," was the best, and the only one they could properly take. His auditors thought that the word "People" would appear as if they intended to admit distinctions of classes and bow to the claims of the noblesse. The word itself, too, had fallen into disrepute with the multitude. Galleries and deputies signified their disapprobation with cries. with convulsions of rage; and Mirabeau was assailed from all sides with abuse and invective. When the tumult was somewhat calmed, he laid before President Bailly the manuscript from which he had spoken, and then quitted the hall, followed by furious threats and imprecations. Gabriel Honore compared the Assembly, deputies, strangers, and all, to a set of wild asses, who could do nothing but bray and kick, "They have not frightened me," said he; "within eight days, they shall see me stronger than ever. They must come to me when they find themselves foundering in the tempest they have just let loose, The tools! I despise them too much to hate them! I will save them in spite of themselves." After they had declared themselves to be by name and by nature the Na-tional Assembly, them was a self-more furious debate as to whether they should finish constituting themselves that night or adjourn till the morrow. Those who were for the adjournment, finding their voices drowned by the vast majority that were for immediate decision, roared and acreamed to make themselves heard, and, according to the admirers of the majority, behaved very indecently and unconstitutionally, and very like madmen. And yet, according to these same authorities, the behaviour of the majority was not much better. "The two par-

[&]quot;Britished, Researche our Mississen. The Genevese adds: "Roybus, who was stilling by my side, said to me. That young man wants practice; he is rather too verboue; he does not know when to stop; but he have a famil of ringuesse and bitterness, which will not leave him long in the sevend." It suppears to us, as it does to a more comprises judge of partitionsentary speaking, that Robespierre's eloquence was along an appearance of any of them, after Mincheau; and that this delays was, for the place, striking and most promising.

In the course of the third and fourth days the number of curis that joined the Tiers was not more than ten, including Geogram.

† Letter from the Duke of Dorset, ambassador at Versailles, to Mr. Pitt, in Bishop Tennilies's Life of Pitt.

‡ Dumont says that it was Sleyes, afraid of doing it himself, who make the motion.



ties," says Thiers, "sat on the opposite sides of a long table, threatening one another; Bailly, sitting between them, [we suppose at the head of the long table,] was called upon by one party to adjourn, and by the other party to put it to the vote that they were constituted. Unmoved in the midst of the most violent cries and threats, he remained more than an hour mute and motionless. It was two hours after midnight: the heavens were stormy, the wind blew and roared in the hall, and increased the tumult. At last the madmen (les furieux) withdrew, and then Bailly, addressing the Assembly, become calm by the retreat of those who had troubled it, recommended them to adjourn and postpone the important question till the morrow. The Assembly adopted his opinion and retired, applauding his firmness and his wisdom." It required a Thiers to find any matter for admiration in a scene so thoroughly disgraceful; Thiers, however, has very extraordinary faculties of discovery in this way. But there are accounts of the proceedings of this night which represent that Bailly, if not terrified, was stupefied by the wild uproar; that the galleries, which were crowded by thousands of persons, joined in chorus; and that the minority, who wished for delay and circumspection, and who seem to be more particularly designated by Thiers as les furieux, were, if not actually expelled by bodily force, hissed, hooted, and cursed out of the hall. Immediately after, the names of all those who had voted against the denomination of National Assembly, and who were only about 80 in 600, were inscribed on black lists, which were handed about to excite a people who required no additional excitement; and orators in coffee-houses and public places called for vengeance on the fourscore traitors and aristocrats *

Such were the infant steps of French liberty. On the next day, the 17th of June, after a long, hard, angular discourse from Sieyes, the Commons constituted themselves as the National Assembly, and thereby declared that they counted the king for nothing, the nobility for nothing, the clergy for nothing, for they assumed to be, in themselves, and by themselves, the Nation. Sieves was applauded to the skies, and the great hall resounded with joy and exultation. "How pitiful!" said Mirabeau: "they are imagining that all is finished, but I should not be surprised if a civil war were to be the fruit of these decrees!" A civil war, and something worse even than that extreme evil, was in fact inevitable, after such a beginning, and with such a universally inflammable people. The noblesse took up the gauntlet that had been thrown to them; the debates in their chamber were scenes of fury; the proceedings of the Tiers were characterised as revolt, treachery, and high treason; and it was declared in various forms that there was nothing for the king to do, in order to save

Mirabsan causingly stayed away and did not vote with the interiority. Hence he escaped the sharp tongure of the soffer-house and Pulats Royal haratguers. The temperature debates on their number which was not all a name, but many things besides, complete the Ting for three or four long days.

the monarchy, but to call his faithful subjects to his essistance, put himself at the head of his army, arrest the seditious deputies, and disperse the Assembly. "It is," says an eye and car winners, who was almost the sole witness calm size to give an intelligible account, " in this state of parties, and in this universal fury, that we must seek for the origin of events. One must have been a witness of this fermentation, to be able to sumprehend the aftercourse of affairs. Historical facts given in order, and without these circumstences. which prepared them, are inexplicable. atmosphere of Versailles was black and burning; the explosion which was preparing could not but be terrible."

Sieges had declared that the National Assembly, as constituted, might use its good endeavours to bring some of the noblesse and some more of the clergy into its bosom, but that, without those refractory orders, it was fully competent to the charge every function and duty, and reaters the nation. No time was lost in carrying his doctrine. into practice: many votes and measures were instantly carried by acclamation, and without the formality of debate. Indeed, in these first tumultaous stages, everything proposed was carried by acclamation, or was not carried at all. They decreed that, if the Assembly should be dissolved by the crown, from that day no taxes or imposts what soever should be paid; that they would take all the creditors of the state under their protection; and they announced that they would immediately occupy themselves about the causes which had produced the present scarcity and misery. They appointed a committee of subsistence, which could find no corn, or money to procure it: they appointed three or four other committees, and did other work-if work it may be called, which was only enouncing what had previously been settled -and all within the space of eight-and-forty hours. In such speeches as had time to be delivered the noblesse were charged not merely with their own extravagance, luxury, and vice, but with all the vices of their ancestors from the earliest and most barbarous times; the clergy were treated with equal severity, and both orders were held up to the execration and vengeance of the people, to whose vices and cruelties, either in ancient times or in modern times, no allusion could be made. when the people really took it upon themselves to burn châteaux and exterminate nobles and priests, these sweet orators marvelled at their excessesmarvelled how Frenchmen could be guilty of such unspeakable atrocities - marrelled at everything except at their own inordinate vanity and folly, The court was now dismayed, distracted. king, who had passive courage or fortitude in abundance, had no active courage; in times of tranquility he could only form his determinations slowly and pleasured, taking a little advice here and a little there; but in a hurricane like this he could form no determination at all; and atta

conflicting opinions of his various advisers, all (except Necker, who had become like a watch that wanted winding up) positive, passionate, and loud in argument, perplexed and bewildered him more and more. At last one party, which was more particularly the queen's, induced Louis to make a short excursion to Marly, in order to get him beyond ear-shot of Necker and his ministers. In that quiet retreat they told him, what he knew too well—that the storm was terrific; and they also told him that it was time to stop it, or it would deprive him of everything but the name of king. Cardinal of la Rochefoucault and the Archbishop of Paris threw themselves at his feet, imploring him to protect religion and prevent the ruin of the clergy; the parlement of Paris, which a little while ago had so clamoured for States General, sent a secret deputation to show how easy it would be to do without them and break up the usurping Assembly; the keeper of the seals spoke with great force to the same effect as the parlement; the queen and the Count of Artois joined the keeper of the seals; all, together, they convinced the king that he might by his own power and prerogative satisfy the people; that a royal proclamation doing away with privileges and exemptions on the one side, and burthens on the other, would be enough; and that the noblesse and the high clergy would now accept such a proclamation with gratitude, and conform to its provisions. In the end Louis engaged to take a bold and decisive step which should prevent the National Assembly from meeting.* But, alas! every step was a new blunder, or, at least, contained, with what was wise and well meant, some capital mistake. There was, moreover, if not a total want of sincerity on the side of the court, an intimate conviction on the part of the people that it was insincere and deceptive in everything. Every man believed that the king feared and the queen detested the States General from the first, and even before they had given their alarming proofs of the chaos in which they must inevitably end.† On Saturday, the 20th of June, the deputies of the Tiers, on going down to their great hall, found the doors closed and the building surrounded by soldiers of the French guard. On the great door was a placard with this announcement :-- "The king having resolved to hold a royal session (Séance Royale) on Monday the 22nd, preparations neces-

sary to be made in the hall require that the States General should suspend their meetings until the said Scance Royale. His Majesty will make known by a new proclamation the hour at which he will repair on Monday to the Assembly of the States." And while the astonished deputies were reading this placard they heard the sawing and hammering of carpenters within the hall, and heralds proclaiming through the streets of Versailles that there was to be no States General today, but a Séance Royale on Monday. These things were sufficiently exasperating to choleric men, and what made it additionally annoying was the fact that the clergy had resolved on the preceding evening by a majority of votes to join the Tiers or National Assembly this very morning. The knowledge of this fact had, indeed, induced the court to send the carpenters and decorators into the field a little sooner than was intended. Notice had been sent to Bailly as president—but it was merely a verbal message delivered by the king's master of the ceremonies! There must have been a little malice in the choice of the messenger. Perhaps it was meant to remind Bailly of his want of manners or ceremony at court -perhaps it was intended to express contempt for the National Assembly; - but, whatever was the motive or meaning, it was injudicious, unwise. The astronomer-president told the master of the ceremonies that his message was no order; that the House was adjourned for eight o'clock that . morning, and must and would meet accordingly; and, accompanied by his secretaries and a number of deputies, he came to the hall. Bailly arrived just in time to prevent a fight, for many young hot-headed members proposed forcing their way into the building in the teeth of the soldiers. Having restored a little calm, Bailly, as president, demanded admittance. The officer in command showed him his orders from the king; and the troops blocked up the door. The president then called upon all present to witness that he, in the name of the National Assembly, protested against this refusal of admission, and declared the session to be opened, though they could not sit where they did when they adjourned last night. The officer agreed to permit the president with the secretaries and some half-dozen of deputies to enter the hall, and bring out their papers and inkstands. When this was done all the National Assembly who had met-and their number of 600 was nearly complete—went with loud talk and vehement gestures to the head of the Paris road. and took their station in that part of it which is called the Avenue de Versailles, which has rows of trees on either side, and is open to the front of the palace. It was a drizzling, uncomfortable morning; and, to add still more to the irritability of the patriots, the courtiers, it was thought, looked at them from their windows, and enjoyed their houseless plight. The king had again driven over to Marly. Some of the deputies proposed going thither after him, and holding session there on the

Mémoires du Marquis de Ferrieres.

† Feer and suspicion were most active passions in all parties and classes—in court, clergy, noblesse, Tiers Etat, and populace—and it was the desperation of these many fears that drove on the revolutionary ex. This great fact stands out at nearly every step, and at every turn of the road. That moderate American republication-verneur Marris, who watched all it these proceedings, and saw the anarchy and horror in which they would end, says, more in sorrow than it anger or contempt—" in the course of conversation they tell me seems unecdotes, which convince me that the hing and guess era confessed different and in the house of a royalist lady at Versailles. Morris spoke of "a man of sense, decision, and firmness," as being necessary to the king at the present moment to extricate him from the difficulties in which he was plunged; but in all France he could see no hope or chance of the king s fluding such a man. As for Lafayette, this sensible American swidently thought him a vapouring, incompitent, dangerous blockhead.—Life of Oosevereur Morris, with selections from his Carrespondence, do., by Jared Sparks. Boston, 1882.

great outer staircase under his majesty's windows. Some proposed going to Paris to deliberate there; some were for one plan, some for another. But at last somebody named the Tennis Court, or Jeu de Paume, close by in the street of St. Francis; and President Bailly marched with all speed at the head of the deputies to gain possession of that court, lest, for some political reason, (quelque raison de politique), the proprietor should refuse to let his building to such tenants. According to Bailly's own account, he sent forward a detachment of deputies to seize the place (d'aller s'en emparer); but then he informs us in the next sentence that the proprietor received them with great joy, and made all the haste he could to put his Tennis Court into proper order for holding and accommodating the National Assembly.* They had begun in the Salle de Menus Plaisirs, and they were now in the Jeu de Paume! The latter place, though rough and unroofed, consisting of four high bare walls, was advantageously spacious, and furnished all round with immense wooden galleries, capable of containing thousands of spectators or auditors. first, two deputies stood sentinel at the gate; but the municipality of Versailles soon sent down a civic guard. Nearly the whole town of Versailles, most ardent in the cause of revolution, had collected in the Avenuc, and followed the deputies from that place: they now crowded the galleries, the summits of the walls, and the tops of the houses round about. A table or two, and a few chairs, were readily procured. The secretaries undid their bundles of papers; and Bailly, taking the chair, communicated to the National Assembly the message he had received from the master of the ceremonies. This produced a new and terrible outery from the galleries, the wall-tops, and the floor of the Tennis Court-members and mob, citizens within hearing, and citizens on the house-tops, shouting tremendously. All agreed with Bailly that the National Assembly had been outraged and insulted; and that, if the king had orders to send to the president of the champions of liberty, he ought to send them in a letter. In the midst of an excitement which kept increasing, Bailly declared the Assembly to be regularly constituted in its present locality; but Mounier, the Grenoble advocate, thought that it would be proper for the deputies to bind themselves, by a solemn oath, never to separate until a free constitution should be established. His proposition was received with enthusiastic acclamations: all talk of seeking a refuge elsewhere, of going on foot to Paris in a body, was suspended. Mounier and the secretaries drew up the form of the cath; and Bailly, as president, demanded the honour of being the first to swear; and, standing upon a table, the astronomer read the formula:—" You solemnly swear never to separate, to re-assemble everywhere as circumstances may demand, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established and secured upon solid foundstions." As Beilly pronounced these words at the * Bailly, Mémoires,

top of his voice, all the deputies held up and. stretched towards him their right hands; and not only they, but most of the spectators, who always acted very like a component part of the Assembly, repeated the words "We swear!" The secretaries then attached to the form of the oath sheets of paper enough to contain the signatures; and the deputies began to sign, each saying separately as he wrote, "I swear!" Out of 600 there was only one that dissented. This remarkable recusant was Martin d'Auch, of Castelnaudery, in Languedoc, who would neither sign nor swear. Being dragged to the table, he was in a manner forced to sign, but he wrote after his name the word opposant. There was a fearful outcry: he was surrounded, hustled, threatened with death and destruction, for spoiling the unanimity by his one accursed vote; and, though the deputies had not murdered him, the mob assuredly would have done it, if it had not timeously and mercifully been suggested that the man was and must be mad. In the end, president Bailly caused poor Martin d'Auch to be smuggled out by a back door; and they wrote at the head of their oath, or resolution, that it was unanimously adopted, saving only by one. By four o'clock in the afternoon all this work was done. The next meeting was fixed for Monday morning, at an hour earlier than that for which the Séance Royale was fixed or expected; and, that the deserters from the order of the clergy might not be baulked, they agreed that their next place of meeting should be at the church of "Recollets." Bailly and the deputies then went to their dinners, followed or greeted on their way by countless multitudes; for it was now Saturday evening, and the Parisians had come out in shoals. On the Sunday, fresh multitudes arrived from the capital, and from all quarters; and so clamorous were they, that mischief was apprehended by the courtiers, in spite of the strong walls of the palace, and the presence of the French and Swiss guards. A great mistake had been committed by the court in not plainly intimating its intention, and in making a parade of military force which it certainly had no intention of employing. Louis really meant only to suspend the session, but the proceedings adopted made all men believe that he intended to dissolve the States General: hence the minority of eighty, who had declared against the encroachments and irregular title of the Assembly, had taken the oath in the Tennis Court with the rest. Sunday was spent by the people in haranguing and hearing harangues; but towards evening patriotism got gay and danced. In the palace there

[&]quot;Marguis de Ferrières. Dumont says that, when the news of the expalsion of the National Assembly from the Saile des Menus Pisisire, and of what had passed in the Jeu de Faume, reneked Paris, thené as a terrible commolion. "The appearance of persecution doubled the interest the people felt for the de-puties of the Tiers. All Paris was agitated. The Palsis Royal, the great centre of encitament, was absolutely frantic. Menaces were mutered: the heads of the highest personages were menaced. In that troubled horizon, people could not use things as they really were: they became alarmed, suspicious, inflammable; and nothing that the king or court could afterwards do was sufficient to remeye these pupilser feelings, or recentablish confidence, if fere was the true beginning of the barning fore which sees afterwards kept up by two classes of men—the functions and the towards."

3 2

were deputations from the order of noblesse; doleful representations from some of the very men who had recommended the great step which had been taken; private deliberations in the deep embrasures of windows, and a council of ministers in the proper chamber. Necker recommended a middle plan, which was not adopted, and thereupon resolved not to attend the king to the Seance Royale, for fear he should seem to give his high sanction to arbitrary measures which he disapproved. Nobody thought of proposing a great and bold plan, but little ones-petits moyens-were suggested without number. Nothing was determined, except that the Séance Royale should be put off till Tuesday, in order to gain one day's time for further deliberation and consultation. The king's brother, the Count of Artois, thought it would be a masterly stroke to shut out the Assembly from the Tennis Court, whither they would be sure to repair on the Monday morning, as soon as they learned that there was to be no Seance that day; and he sent down to the proprietor of the place to engage it for all day on Monday, " as he and the princes intended to play a match;" and, monstrous to relate, the proprietor of the Tennis Court was so little of a patriot as to let his place to the princes.* Between Sunday night and Monday morning, President Bailly was roused from his sleep by a herald at arms, and his evil genius, the grand master of the ceremonies, who brought him a letter signed by the king, intimating that the Seance would take place on Tuesday morning at ten o'clock, and that the great hall, or Salle de Menus Plaisirs, would not be opened till then. Bailly, at an early hour on Monday morning, went to the church of the Recollets; but, when nearly 600 deputies arrived, they found that temple too narrow to contain them. They would have gone back to the Tennis Court, for the clerical deserters might meet them there as well as in any other place, and there would be plenty of room; but they were informed by the proprietor that their royal highnesses were to play tennis, and that consequently he could not accommodate the Tiers Etat that day † The National Assembly knew not where to go; or, giving themselves the air of not knowing, and wearing disconsolate looks, they wandered through the streets of Versailles. The scene was dramatic; the effect more than galvanic. It was liberty seeking a resting-place: it was the dove from the ark. Deep emotions-emotions profondes-were depicted in the countenances and gestures of the spectators. At last somebody bethought himself of the church of St. Louis, and thither they all went. They tak possession of the body of the church; and presently the majority of the deputies of the clergy arrived, and took possession of the choir. Bailly ordered an appel nominal, or muster-roll, to be made; and thereupon the priests to the number of 148, with three prelates among them-Talleyrand, the Bishop of Chartres, and the Archbishop of Vienne-advanced from the choir to the nave;

and the Bishop of Chartres, in brief words, told the Tiers that they, the majority of their order, having agreed to the verification in common, now claimed their places in the Assembly. The Archbishop of Vienne, in terms equally concise, expressed his joy at this union. Then nothing was heard but blessings and praises, and nothing was seen but huggings and embracings-lay patriots and clerical patriots locked in each other's arms, and kissing cheeks. Some, it is said, wept for very joy at the spectacle, which was declared to be touching and sublime. Of the priests who thus joined the National Assembly, about 130 were of the unbeneficed class-poor cures who hitherto had done the work of the church, and been deprived of all hope of its preferments. When the first lively emotions were over-when the Judas kiss had passed between the Assembly and the Churchpresident Bailly made a very fine oration, in which he prognosticated that France would for ever bless this memorable day, and inscribe the names of all these patriot priests in her proudest annals. After verifying the election of a certain number of the clerical deputies, the National Assembly adjourned till Wednesday, but where they should then meet could not be determined. In the course of the day the president was informed that there must be no debating or haranguing at the Séance Royale,* and that the Tiers Etat must enter the great hall by a side door, the grand entrance in front being reserved for the two superior orders. This was wormwood to Bailly and the Tiers; and they rose on Tuesday morning, the 23rd of June, in the worst of humours, and not without their fears, as the streets of Versailles seemed to abound more than usual with troops. But the court was not less soured and alarmed. On either side the desperation of cowardice might almost at any moment have hurried on the terrible crisis. "The day of the Séance," says Dumont, "I went to the palace to see the magnificent procession. I remember yet the hostile and triumphant looks of many of the courtiers, who made sure of victory. I saw the king's ministers come out: they tried to look tranquil, but their uneasiness was visible in spite of their efforts. The attitude of the Count d'Artois was bold and proud; the king appeared sadly dejected; the crowd was immense, and the silence profound. When the king entered his carriage there was a roll of drums and a flourish of military instruments, but no plaudits from the people-not a single Vive le Roi: scar alone repressed murmurs. All the royal household—the guards, the officers, the cavalry-escorted his Majesty to the hall."† As for the Tiers Etat, when they arrived by a roundabout road at their side door, they found it closed and fast, and that they must wait outside in a shower of rain. The indignity was not to be borne. Could a National Assembly, the very na-

This was not in conformity with, but directly contrary to, the old forms and precedents in the parlemens. When there was Lift de Justice silence was imposed, but in Scance Royale debating was allowed after the king and his muniter had spoken.
+ Souvenirs sur Mir. beau.

tion itself, be kept waiting in the rain (without umbrellas) for a mere king, and a set of vile aristocrats? They looked at their watches: it was past ten o'clock, the hour appointed by the king in his note to their president. Bailly knocked at the door, and the door opened; but not yet to admit him. Some of the king's body-guardguard du corps-stood behind the threshold and coolly told him that everything was getting ready in the hall, that he would soon be admitted; and so saying they shut the door again in the face of the president and the whole National Assembly. Many of the deputies now proposed that they should assert their dignity and retire without caring anything more about the Séance Royale. Bailly knocked at the door louder than before, and demanded to speak with the grand master of the ceremonies—that busy and unlucky Marquis du Brézé. The guard du corps told him that they did not know where du Brézé was. "I was very uneasy," says Bailly in his own Memoirs; "I saw that it was possible, and even natural, that the Commons, wounded in their feelings, would retire, and then the king must be exposed to an insult, and be obliged either to hold the Seance in their absence, or break it off for want of their presence. The intention of retreat was soon manifested in loud cries: the Commons were determined to wait no longer. The care of their dignity rested with me; I knocked again at the door; I demanded to speak with the commanding officer. The captain of the guards, the Duke de Guiche, then made his appearance. I said to him, 'Monsieur, you can go into the interior of the hall; I beg you to find out the grand master of the ceremonies, M. du Breze, and acquaint him that the representatives of the nation can no longer remain where they are; that they will wait no longer, that they are going to retire.' The next minute the door opened, and the deputies were permitted to enter the hall, where they saw the noblesse and the clergy already seated and in order." This etiquette and precaution may seem to the last degree pitiful, paltry, and injudicious; but, on the other hand, there is good reason to suspect that what the court feared would really have happened—that, if the Commons or Tiers had been admitted earlier or at the same time with the noblesse, there would have been a fierce quarrel and actual combat about places.* As it was, they could scarcely control their passionspassions more violent and opposite than were ever before enclosed within four walls. When they were all seated the king appeared, followed by his ministers; but Necker was not in that retinue; his acrupulosity kept him away, and his absence injured the king by augmenting the doubts and fears and dark suspicions of the patriots. From his elevated throne Louis addressed the whole assemblage. His voice was firm enough, but his countenance was still sad, and his demeanour,

"I have always understood," says Hailly, "that they kept as waiting in order to have time to take their places according to their renk, fearing that we the Commons, constituted a National Assembly, would claim the first seats."—Memoirse.

never graceful or dignified, seemed to be more than ever awkward, embarrassed, and constrained. He told them that he had called them together solely for the good of his people; that he had met the wishes of the nation, and was now deeply grieved that his and the nation's hopes should be disappointed by their dissensions. "I owe it," said he, " to the common good of my kingdom, I owe it to myself, to put an end to these sad divisions. It is in this resolution, gentlemen, it is as the father of my subjects, as the defender of the laws of my kingdom, that I again assemble you around me, and that I am here to show the true spirit of those laws, and put down all attempts against them." When he had done speaking the keeper of the seals, on his knee before the king, read a royal declaration, annulling the votes and resolutions of the Tiers Etat passed on the 17th of June. and everything they might have done since then, as illegal and unconstitutional, permitting the deputies to demand a new verification, exhorting the three orders to concord and agreement in order to deliberate on affairs of general utility, and establishing sundry rules for the holding of the present and future States General. This declaration being read, Louis spoke again to affirm that, though he laid down this plan and these rules, he would adopt with pleasure any others that might be proposed by the States General for the public weal. "I may say without flattering myself," he added, "that never did king so much for any nation. But what other nation can have deserved it all better than the French?" The keeper of the seals then read another paper, called "Declaration of the King's intentions," and consisting of five-and-thirty articles, each recommending or prescribing the removal of some old popular grievances, but not one of them containing what the people and their deputies now most eagerly coveted, such as the abolition of all titles and distinctions, the abolition of feudal droits, the abolition of tithes, the suppression of all monastic orders, and the confiscation of all church property. After this long reading, which vexed and wearied all the Tiers, who loved giving long lectures much better than hearing them, and who imagined that they alone ought to redress everything, that they alone had the necessary lights of political philosophy, and the necessary right from the people, the king said or read again,-for his speech, as well as most of the orations of the deputies, was written out and held in his hand; "You have heard my wishes: they are conformable to an ardent desire to promote the public good; and if from any fatality, and contrary to my hopes, you should abandon me in so laudable an enterprise, alone I will consider myself as the true representative of my people, alone I will seek their happiness—(Seul je ferai le bien de mes peuples). I know the instructions you have received from your constituents, and the perfect agreement that exists between the views of the greatest part of the nation and my own intentions: I will have all the confidence that so uncommon a harmony ought to obtain, and will go forward to the object I wish to arrive at with the courage and firmness such confidence should inspire. Reflect, gentlemen, that none of your plans, none of your resolutions, can have the force of laws without my special approbation. I am the natural guarantee of your respective rights, and the three orders of the States may rely on my impartiality. Any display of mistrust on your part would be manifestly an act of injustice to me. It is only I, as yet, who have done everything for the public weal; and it, perhaps, has seldom happened that the only ambition of a sovereign has been to obtain of his subjects agreement among themselves in accepting the advantages which he offers them. I order you, gentlemen, to separate immediately; to meet again to-morrow, each order in its separate chamber, and to recommence your proceedings. I order the grand master of the ceremonies to prepare your halls accordingly." Louis then rose from the throne and quitted the hall, followed by the order of noblesse and the minority of the order of the clergy. The Tiers remained where they were; but the greater part of them in very apparent doubt and trepidation. It is otherwise reported by the regular revolution historians, but the plain truth of the matter is, that the deputies were in a very great fright:* and it appears that but for the high political or oratorcourage of Mirabeau, (who in other circumstances and attitudes was scarcely a man of courage,) the game would have been given up as lost. They began to understand the consequences of the votes and resolutions which they had passed with so little deliberation or thought; they felt that in making themselves a National Assembly they had placed themselves under the necessity either of conquering royalty or being conquered by it; they saw that they must retrace their steps immediately, or dash forward into civil war-and the army not yet won over to their cause, no plan of combat yet laid down! They sat gazing at each other in bewilderment and silence; and not a word was spoken until the master of the ceremonies—that fatal functionary—came in and with trepidation inquired whether they had not heard the king's order to them to retire? Then Mirabeau showed the wild boar's head, and looking at the young, slim, dancing-master figure of poor du Brézé with ineffable contempt, roared out, "Yes, sir, we have heard what the king was advised to say; and you, who cannot be the interpreter of his orders to the States General; you, who have neither place nor right of speech here; you are not the mon to remind us of it. Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that nothing shall send us hence but the force of bayonets!"+ The grand master of the ceremonies, looking very small, went back to the king. Some of the fiery noblesse thought that a company of grenadiers

would soon clear the hall; but Louis, with an unkingly shrug of the shoulders, said, "Well, if the gentlemen of the Tiers will not come out, there is nothing for it but to leave them where they are." *

After the bold war-cry of Mirabeau, President Bailly and sundry others mustered courage and spoke out. Bailly said that " the National Assembly could not receive orders from any one on earth," and Abbé Sieyes assured them that " they were to-day just what they were yesterday." circumstance which greatly encouraged them was that Necker had not accompanied the king to this Séance Royale. They knew that his popularity, which had been waning, would be wonderfully increased by his absence; they thought that they could hold by Necker as an anchor in the storm; that it would be for their interest to make him for a season their own idol as well as the idol of the nation, and make use of his name and credit as a counterpoise to the court. † To infant powers any alliance is important and encouraging. leaders of the National Assembly either hated Necker with a most cordial hatred, or despised him as a formal pedant; but he could be made useful, and that was enough. Barnave had mounted the tribune, and was declaring what were the rights of the National Assembly and what the duties of the king, when some thirty carpenters entered the hall to take down the scaffoldings which had been erected for the Seance; and some officers and soldiers showed themselves at the doors, as if to intimate that the workmen would not be permitted to be molested or hindered. The carpenters, therefore, began to hammer, and unscrew, and take to pieces, making, it is supposed, a more than necessary noise in order to drown the voices of the orators. But the National Assembly, who had not quitted the hall for a king and a grand master of the ceremonies, were not to be scared away by carpenters. Before they broke up and withdrew they decreed that they were, and would continue to be, nothing but a National Assembly, sitting in one house or chamber, without any order or orders above them, or separate from them; that they were inviolate and inviolable; and they denounced as infamous, traitorous towards the nation, and guilty of a capital crime, any "person, body corporate, tribunal, court, or commission that, now or hereafter, during the present session or after it," should "dare to pursue, interrogate, arrest or cause to be arrested, detain or cause to be detained, on whose part soever the same might be commanded," any deputy or deputies of the National Assembly.

For a few hours the noblesse and the higher clergy, who had driven the king into the Seance Royale, were joyous and triumphant, for they fully expected that the vigorous demonstration would be followed up by vigorous deeds, and that the Tiers

Dumont says genfly, "On dissionis un pen is construction ommunes quand le roi, in nobleme, et le alergé se furent retirée.
 † Thiers.—Dumont.

Marquis de Ferrières, † Dumont. If we are to take the testimony of this plain-speaking Genevous against that of many others, Nonker's staying away from the bleases was, after all, more than half accidental, and by no means the result of any fixed determination to mark his disapprehation, of the proceeding.

would not dare to face royalty backed by the nobles and prelates of the land, by parks of artillery and the army. But Mirabeau, reviewing at night all the events of that critical day, said to his friend Dumont, "This is the way kings are led to the scaffold." Necker was once more extolled to the third heavens; the Archbishop of Paris had his carriage windows smashed, and owed his life to good horses and bold drivers; every aristocrat, bishop, or priest that had applauded the king, and opposed the National Assembly, was held up as a traitor to his country; the king's brother, the Count d'Artois, was proclaimed to be unworthy of breathing the free air of France; and fresh reproaches and criminations, horrible, unnatural, utterly incredible except to madmen in a paroxysm of their disorder, were heaped upon the queen. The French people, or the vast mass of them, were assuredly ripe and ready for anything; yet this agitation was not altogether spontaneous. There were prompters behind the scenes; there were paid libellists and haranguers; there were clubs that had their agents at Versailles as in Paris; there were regularly organised committees of insurrection; and a thousand secret wheels were set in motion by unseen The Breton and still in part unknown hands. Club, which Lafayette had so materially contributed to form, received their impulse directly from the minority of the noblesse order (including Lafavette himself and the Duke of Orleans), and communicated that impulse to other bodies of men. shall never," says Dumont, "have a complete history of the revolution until some man of this party shall give his memoirs veraciously." Some of the consultations that took place between this Breton Club and the nobles of the liberal party were too much even for Sieyes, full as he was of the revolutionary logic. Coming from one of their conciliabuta the abbe philosophe exclaimed, " I will go no more among those men: theirs are cavern politics; they propose crimes as expedients!" We do not believe—whatever Orleans and others may have done-that Lafayette either proposed or approved any of these infernal projects; but it is impossible to conceive that they could have been unknown to him; and yet this wearisome prattler about honour, morality, and strict virtue continued to be connected with the Breton Club! An old American friend represents him as being perpetually surrounded by immoral and dangerous menas having no time for thinking—as having no fixed plan.† The money employed came in part, perhaps,

Dumont, who heard the words at the moment from Sieves's own

but certainly not entirely, from the Duke of Orleans. who is represented lying in the Palais Royal at Paris, like a bloated spider in the midst of its entrapping web: for the Palais Royal, now his ordinary residence, was filled and crowded by haranguers, plot-makers, journalists, and the fiercest of the demagogues. "But," says Dumont, "those who would attribute the revolution solely to secret plotters and conspirators commit a great mistake. It was not these men who created the general turn and disposition for revolt; they found it existing in the French people, and they availed themselves of it, and in some instances directed it: but it is ridiculous to imagine that conspirators could give so vast, so sudden, and so irresistible an impulse to the people. All Paris was tossed and agitated. The coolest heads partook in the passion of the moment: the entire mass was heated. A cry in the Palais Royal, an accidental motion, a nothing, might at any moment bring on a universal commotion. In this state of things tumults produced tumults; it was the malady of the evening aggravated in the morning '

On the morning of the 24th of June the Tiers went down to the great hall expecting to find it surrounded by troops and artillery; but there was not a single company or cannon near the place, and accordingly they entered and took their seats undisturbed except by the carpenters, who had not yet finished their work. They confirmed all their previous decrees, and again invited or summoned all the noblesse and all the clergy to join them. The majority of the clergy, who had kissed and embraced them in the church of St. Louis, at once took their seats in contempt of the royal command. The minority of the same order kept to their separate chamber a few hours longer; but then, at the entreaty, it is said, of the court, they too resolved to join, and almost by bodily force they carried with them or dragged after them the Archbishop of Paris and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who had made a last desperate struggle for the privileges of

made a last desperate struggle for the privileges of —ded in most disgraceful plight—and, more than forty years after the guillotine had disposed of his party, he was alive and well, and with a vanity as lively as were.] "I tell him that I think it would be quite as well to bring them to their sense, and live with them. He says that he is determined to resign his seat, which step I approve of." [He did not resign it, but Joined the Tiers Etat as a national convention.] "Before we part I take an opportunity to tell him, that, it the Tiers are now new moderate, they will probably succeed; but, if violent, must inevitably fail."—Diary, in Life by Jared Sparks. Morris gave a great deal more good advice of the same kind, but it was all thrown away; and it seems to have become a fashion with Lafaystee and his liberal friends to laugh at the prejudice at d liliberality of this American, whose notions were so opposite to many of those entertained by Jefferson. It is amusing to find a bourgeois of New York, and one who had materially helped to make a revolution and a republic, boily disputing with marquises, dukes, princes, on the preferablenous—at least for France—of a constitutional monarthy; contending for subordination, and for checks on the democracy; stranously recommending a house of peers or as upper chamber of some son; and declaring, ever and over again, to impatient and he credulous listeners, that if they pared down the reval perception to mothing, and submitted to the surpastions of the National Assembly sitting as one Chamber or House, there would be no safety for men's lives and property, no liberty, but a sangularny anarchy far worse than the eld despotium. Morris's disry fully establishes a fact, of which we never had a doubt: it proves that Lafayette himself was insulted and the constitutional monarchy he really preferred a republic.

Jefferson's advice was of a very different kind i but he, too, recommended placing the griftles delayed them of the property. Or good legislation, two houses are necessar

Demont, who heard the words at the moment from Sieves's own lips.

† Gouverneur Morris. This moderate man, who revered and readity understood (which Lafayette did not) the political principles of Washington, relates a conversation he had with Lafayette the very evening of the day of the Séance Royalo, at a dinner-party in Yammilies. "At dinner," he says, "I set next to N. de Lafayette, who talls me that I tulure the cause, for that my sentiments are continuity quoted against the good party. I selve this opportunity to tell him that I am opposed to democracy from report to liberty. That I see they are going heading to desirantion, and would fain stop them if I could. That their views respecting this nation are totally inconsident which sealth appears to them coulds the materials of which it is composed; and that the worst thing make they existed degrees to them coulds be to great their sciales. He talls upo, that he is especially that his party are mad, and tells them so; but is not the less determined to die with them." [He did not die; he field

the order. On the same day the Count of Clermont-Tonnerre moved that the nobles should all unite with the commons; and he was seconded by Lally Tollendal, who hereby renounced for the moment all hopes of a House of Peers. The Duke of Orleans supported the proposition, although he had pledged his word to Polignac the evening before not to do so. Lafayette, with all his party, voted for the motion; but it was rejected by an immense majority. D'Esprémenil, the great thunder-maker of the parlement, now thundered at the Tiers; he proposed declaring them guilty of treason, and prosecuting them by the law-officers of the crown: this motion was rejected in the midst of a deafening tumult; yet the majority determined to remain where they were. Upon this the minority, 47 in number, headed by Orleans and Clermont-Tonnerre, went into the great hall and were received with tremendous applause. "We yield to our conscience," said Clermont-Tonnerre; "but it is with grief that we have separated from our brethren. We come to concur in the work of public regeneration." Here there were fresh acclamations; and in the midst of them the noble deputies took their seats among the commons. Every day brought some few deserters from the noblesse majority, and some congratulatory addresses to the brave Tiers Etat, the unflinching National Assembly, from cities, towns, and districts. None were refused: even an address got up by the lawless rabble in the Palais Royal was received with all honours. The deputations that brought up these addresses were flattered and feasted in clubs, in private houses, and were sent back with the clear understanding that the hour was fast approaching when the National Assembly and the cause of liberty would require every man of the people to be up and doing. Sieyes, moreover, had organised a complicated system of committees of correspondence, and of many other committees besides; and by this means every populous corner of France was inundated with journals, pamphlets, and treatises, all running one way; for in these days of liberty the man or writer that advocated moderate principles was denounced as an aristocrat and a traitor, and exposed to the risk of murder or proscription. Grenoble, Marseilles, were already armed to the teeth. Even in the town of Versailles, under the very windows of the palace, the people were committing terrible riots, and crying death to the aristocrats. In several instances the servants of the court, with the royal livery on their backs, were knocked down in the streets and trampled under foot. The king, fearing nothing less than a general insurrection, implored the majority of the noblesse to give up a useless and dangerous opposition to the will of the Tiers, and to unite themselves in the great hall as the whole order of the clergy now had done; and on the 27th of June all the nobles that remained in the separate chamber repaired to the great hall, where their president, the Duke of Luxembourg, approunced to the Tiers that

they had come to give to the king a mark of respect, and to the nation a proof of their patriotism. "The family is now complete," replied President Bailly; "we may now occupy ourselves without interruption on the regeneration of the kingdom and the happiness of the people." nobles, however, showed that they had not come there of their own free will, and that they had still a reluctance to being intermixed and confounded with the commoners. For some time they would not be seated; and it was considered a signal triumph for the Tiers when Bailly induced them to sit. They proposed that a new president should now be elected by the three orders; but this was contemptuously rejected, and Bailly kept his seat and looked proudly down upon princes and dukes, archbishops and bishops—the heads of the nobility and of the hierarchy of France. They had, indeed, not the most remote chance either of carrying any measure or of hindering any vote in this assembly. The united numbers of the two orders only equalled that of the Tiers; from the noblesse a minority of about fifty were pledged to the revolution; the majority of the clergy were in the same predicament; and of the Tiers not above eighty had ever ventured to oppose the impatient and intolerant will of their majority. Supposing a strict union between the high noblesse and the high clergy, they must be constantly out-voted on a division by about 770 to 350. It was difficult to resign oneself to such a gigantic master and tyrant. The pretension was once more advanced that, though they sat together, they ought to vote not by head but by order. This being rejected by acclamation-a loud and terrible argument, for the galleries, as usual, all joined in it-the Cardinal Archbishop of Rochefoucault protested in the name of the minority of his order, and assured the Tiers that he had only joined them to deliberate on general objects, and with the understanding that the clergy preserved its right of forming an order. The liberal Archbishop of Vienna reminded Rochefoucault that he was in a minority even in his own order, and that therefore he had no right to speak in the name of that order. Mirabeau fell upon the cardinal still more fiercely, telling him that he must not protest in that Assembly against the Assembly; that he must either acknowledge its sovereignty or depart out of it. In this humour this nondescript assemblage of men began to concoct a constitution.

In the mean time the king had collected a considerable army round about Versailles. The royalists said, with some reason, that this was necessary for the preservation of the king and his family; the patriots said, and not without reason either, that it was intended to strangle liberty. On the 30th of June a little event in Paris tended to shake the confidence which the court might have in the army; and, that confidence once gons, all must be given up as lost. The regiment of French guards, who had fired with such murderous effect on the people in the Reveillon riot, were

now considerably changed by a variety of circumstances easy to be understood. They had lost their old colonel (Abiron) by death, and their new colonel was a disciplinarian an very unpopular. All classes of Parisians had been for some time past fomenting the ill humour of the soldiers, and labouring to instil patriotic sentiments into them. A certain Marquis de Valady, who had formerly been an officer in the regiment, but who had quitted it or been driven out of it, to become, first a Pythagorean philosopher, and then a patriot of the maddest kind, had been going from barrack to barrack in order to enlighten the soldiers on the subject of their duty to liberty and their country; and his private lectures and the things in print that he left among the men produced their effect. Similar means were employed more or less openly wherever there were troops. But the disciplinarian colonel of these French guards in Paris no sooner discovered that his soldiers were becoming political philosophers than he confined them to their barracks, and strictly forbade any visits from the city. This was on the 20th of June, three days before the Séance Royale. On the 25th of June the men broke out of their barracks and ran to the Palais Royal, shouting "Vive le Tiers Etat!" was repeated on the 26th, all Paris applauding and caressing them. In the garden of the Palais Royal they received not only refreshments but also money; and there they heard patriots mounted on tables and stools preaching a crusade against all aristocrats; and there they were asked, as they had often been asked before, whether they would ever again wet their hands with the blood of their countrymen, fellow-citizens, friends, brothers; and there the soldiers shouted "Vive la Nation!" It was quite clear that these French guards would never more pull a trigger against the people of Paris; and that the courage of the people of Paris must expand with this conviction. At six o'clock on the evening of the 30th, when the Palais Royal was crowded to excess, a letter addressed to the friends of liberty was produced and read. The contents were short and simple: eleven soldiers of the French guard had been thrown into the Abbaye prison for having refused to turn their arms against their fellow-citizens. Ten thousand throats-such is the estimated number of these Palais Royal evening assemblies - roared out "To the Abbaye! to the Abbaye!" and in a minute thousands were running towards the prison to liberate the patriotic soldiers. The outer gate, the inner gate, were burst open, the guards were liberated, and, with huggings and kissings, and exclamations peculiar to this nation, they were carried in triumph from the Abbaye to the Palais Royal. Some hussars and a company of dragoons were sent to stop this disorder; but the men put their sabres in the scabbard in order to take the wine that was offered them by the people; and they drank a health to the king and prosperity to "The arm of power was paralysed." the nation.

Paralysed indeed! The liberated guardsmen were comfortably lodged and had a good supper in an hotel close by the Palais Royal, where their colonel could not dare to touch them. On that same night nothing was seen in the streets of Versailles but men running with torches. Early in the following morning a deputation from the Palais Royal mob arrived in that town to present to the president of the National Assembly a representation or petition in favour of the liberated soldiers. The paper was well enough written to have formed a speech for one of the deputies. There were good and quick penmen mixed with the rabble in the Palais Royal. Bailly, after showing the letter to Necker, who represented the danger there would be in authorising the people to commit such acts, carried it to the National Assembly, situated as they were, with an army gathering around them, and with menaces or reports of menaces from the court and furious aristocracy. The great majority of that Assembly must have been cheered and delighted by the whole occurrence; perhaps not a few of them had helped to make the event which they were now to debate upon; but it was necessary to save appearances, and therefore, though they received the petition, they voted and solemnly decreed that they would not receive the twenty deputies who had brought it, and who, no doubt, found very good accommodation, with sympathy and honour, among the thousands that crowded the galleries. The National Assembly debated for four hours on the subject; but then they agreed -that is to say the majority agreed—in a shuffling, equivocating resolution, and in appointing a committee or deputation to wait upon his majesty, and implore his royal elemency to grant a pardon to the soldiers of the guards and all who had offended. The king, apparently without an effort or a remark, granted a full pardon; and the patriot soldiers, enriched by a subscription made for them in the Palais Royal, were sent back to the Abbaye, for one night, to save appearances, and then liberated. Appearances were now all that could be saved.

Shuddering at the idea of shedding blood, and yet convinced that blood must be shed, all the hopes of Louis seemed now to centre in the Marshal Duke de Broglic, a decided royalist and a brave veteran, recently appointed to the command in chief of the army. Broglie, judging of soldiers by the old rules, assured the court that the army might be depended upon, and that a little grape-shot would bring the people to their senses. He fixed his head-quarters at Versailles with a most numerous and brilliant staff, and he soon gave to that town all the appearance of a place d'armes. Artillery was collected, and some of it, it is said, so disposed in the Queen's Mews as to appear pointed at the great hall—no longer the hall of

[•] Thiers, who, since writing his history, has been a prime minister in France, relates this whole story in a way admirably calculated to encourage mutiny and revolt, and praises the conduct of the National Assembly as moderate, wise, and particule. But this wisdom and particulates could not fail of deluging France with blood. He calls the common soldiers the Tvers Etat of the army!

pleasures - wherein the National Assembly continued to sit, making a constitution. Other guns were put in battery by the bridge of Sevres to command the road leading from Paris to Versailles; troops; chiefly foreigners in the pay of France, were quartered in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital; and trenches were begun, or traced out, even on the heights of Montmartre, which almost overhang the city. Native-born French troops were cantoned in St. Germain, Charenton, St. Cloud, and other places. The whole force was popularly estimated at fifty thousand men, and probably amounted to about that num-As soon as the army was collected some of the most fiery of the old aristocrats recommended the king, who was not yet bound by any constitutional oath, to make a coup d'état by dispersing the Assembly and sending some of its most popular members into state prisons; but Louis was not bold enough for such a step, and Necker, with others of his advisers, represented that, if the States General should be dissolved in this manner, there would not only be no hope of settling the enormous debts of government, but no possibility of levying taxes and duties for the future. At the same time other men of rank, who entertained liberal principles, assured the king that all would work itself right at last,—that the over-excitement would subside, and that he would be made the happiest of sovereigns under an ex-In this manner the troops cellent constitution. were left in inaction—in the surest condition for catching the endemic disorder of Paris, or the epidemic which was common to France. The National Assembly, whose harangues were printed and distributed with astonishing rapidity, gradually accustomed themselves to sights which had at first filled them with dismay, and Mirabeau daringly declaimed against this army and all attempts at overawing or coercing the Assembly. day," said he, " more and more troops advance; all our roads are intercepted; our bridges and our promenades are turned into military posts; we see more soldiers gathering around us, to threaten us, than would probably be collected to oppose a foreign invasion, and ten times more than would have sufficed to succour those martyrs of liberty, the Dutch, or to preserve that alliance with Holland which had been so dearly purchased and was so shamefully lost." Mirabeau heaped reproaches upon the king's ministers, but spared the king, and even culogised his virtues. He suspended the work of constitution-making, and proposed a motion for petitioning or demanding from the king th immediate dismissal of this army, and the substit tion of a militia or burgher guard.† The speech

If the democratic party in Holland had been reduced by Prussian arms and English alliances, those nearer neighbours of the French, the Belgians, were at this moment in a very consoling attitude of resistance. The reader should compare the events and dates of their insurrection with the events and dates of the revolution in France this year. There was a mutual action and reaction.

† The plan of this militia originated with Dumont, and his friend and compatriot Duroversi, who, between them, not only made plans for him, but at this time composed nearly all Mirubeau's orations. The two Genevese thought it might be possible to organise a burgher

he delivered on this occasion, and which had been composed for him by Dumont, was greatly admired; but the Assembly would not agree to the latter part of the scheme. A committee was appointed to draw up an address simply demanding the sending back of the troops (le renvoi des troupes). The committee appointed Mirabeau to draw up the address; Mirabeau employed the pen of Dumont, and Dumont's paper was enthusiastically adopted and cheered-of course as the production of Mirabeau. It was in good part nothing but a eulogy of the king, and a eulogy of the patriotic loyalty of the Assembly and the nation. It assured Louis that he had nothing to fear from the generous and kind-hearted French people, who loved him, and blessed Heaven for giving them so loving a sovereign! It was, in the taste of the people, very rhetorical. The conclusion of it was: Sire, we conjure you, in the name of the country, in the name of your own happiness and glory, send back your soldiers to the posts from which your advisers have drawn them; send back that artillery to cover your frontiers; above all, send back those foreign troops, the allies of the nation, whom we pay to defend, and not to trouble, our domestic homes. Your majesty has no need of them. Ah! why should a monarch, adored by twenty-five millions of French, seek to surround his throne, at a great expense, with a few thousand strangers? Sire, in the midst of your children, be guarded only by their love." But there were passages in the address containing arguments, and a terrible logic. The king, for example, was told that this very army, brought so near the centre of discussion, and participating in the passions and interests of the people, might forget that an artificial engagement had made them soldiers, to remember that nature had made them men; that there was a contagion in all passionate movements; that, the National Assembly were but men; that the fear of appearing feeble might possibly carry them beyond their object; and, finally, that though they might do too much under certain circumstances, they were determined under no circumstances to do too little, but go straightforward in the work of regeneration, in spite of snares, plots, perils, or any other difficulty. When the address was presented, Louis, with pardonable insincerity, declared that the army had only been collected to maintain public tranquillity, and protect the National Assembly. He offered to send away the troops to Soissons or to Noyon, and spoke of going himself to Compiègne.* The Assembly were greatly dissatisfied

or national guard, resembling the militia which they had seen working so quietly and so well in England; and they moposed that the king should have the nomination of all the officers. Foreseeing as a certainty that the neople would arm themselves, and sincerely wishing to prevent anarchy, they thought that, it the king could be put at the head of this now force, he might proserve his propers have of authority; and that a militia might be so framed as to serve the cause of order and moderation, without injuring the cause of liberty—prevent or check the growing spirit of insurrection, without causing joalousy or alarm to the liberal party. The scheme, like several others which originated in the same quarter, was well meant; but it may be doubted whether there were materials in France for constituting such a militia and such a safeguard.

**Complègne, situated at the junction of the river Aisne and Olse, is about fifty English miles from Paras. Beyond the river Olse lay a

with this answer, and did not relish the notion of the king's removing from the neighbourhood of the capital to place himself between two armies. [Another man than Louis would have gone to Compiègne without intimating his intention; and, if he had gone, the Assembly must have followed him thither. The final result of all might have been the same, but the movement would have given him one chance the more.] Count de Crillon, though attached to the liberal party, thought that the word of the king, an honest man, ought to be relied "The word of an honest king," replied Mirabeau, "is a bad guarantee for the conduct of his ministers. Our blind confidence in our kings has ruined us. We have demanded the retreat of these troops—not to fly before them,—and we must maist upon it without intermission." All this time Necker was dreaming over a project for establishing the British constitution in France, with some modifications, rendered necessary by the difference of situation, national character, and the very different natures of the aristocracies of the two countries. His doing nothing had procured him more applause than he could have obtained by doing everything; his not going with the king to the Seance Royale had made him again the minister of the people; and his name, with that affix to it, was shouted in Versailles and Paris from morning till night. When the queen showed herself at the balcony of the palace with a child in her arms, the people drove her in with tremendous cries of "Vive Necker! Vive le ministre du peuple!" not unmixed with hisses and curses for the aristocrats. The Genevese, it is said, tendered his resignation; and only stayed because the king, apprehending an insurrection, implored him to remain. His condition at court was sufficiently humiliating: he was accused of having ruined everything by inducing the king to summon the States General; and all that he could do was to make counter-accusations and reproaches, in declaring that the courtiers had ruined everything by preventing the king from implicitly following his advice as to the way in which the States were to be managed and dealt with when assembled. But, as the army was now collected, Louis became a little bolder; and on the morning of the 11th of July he wrote a note to Necker, telling him that his offer of resigning was accepted, but that he must request from him, as a personal favour, that he would conceal his departure. was either expressed or understood that the minister of the people should take himself beyond the frontiers as quickly as possible. Necker, a most orderly man, dined as if nothing had happened; then proposed to his wife a visit to a female friend living in the neighbourhood, got post-horses, and was, before night, considerably advanced towards Switzerland.*

But there was no keeping a secret of such moment; and in the forenoon of the following day, Sunday the 12th of July, it was known to all Paris that the minister of the people was dismissed, sent out of France, banished; that other constitutionally inclined ministers had been deprived of office; and that an entirely new ministry had been composed out of the most violent royalist or aristocratic party, with Marshal Broglie, the commander-in-chief of the army, for war minister. Before the fatal turmoil began, a wise American recommended the Marshal de Castries, a great friend of the king, to go out immediately to Versailles, and warn his majesty of the danger, which was greater than he expected, or could be aware of; to tell him frankly that his army would not fight against the people; to tell him that the sword had fallen imperceptibly from his hand; to tell him that the sovereignty of the nation had fallen into the hands of the National Assembly. The French nobleman, thus addressed by the sober republican, who clearly foresaw what sort of a republic the French people would make of it, said that it was of no use going; that the court must have taken all their measures before this moment; that it was too late. And, in fact, everything was now doubtful, or too late. Since the accession of Louis, the qualification of noble birth had been insisted upon, even more than previously, both in the army and in the church. Instead of being relaxed, the rule that none but nobles should be officers had been rendered more binding; and even in the thirty-five articles of good intentions, which the keeper of the seals had wasted his breath in reading at the Séance Royale, there was not the slightest intimation that the promotions and honours of the army should be thrown open to all classes. If anything could have kept the soldiery steady, it would have been, not an intention, but a declared and avowed act of this kind; if there was one thing upon earth that would have flattered and soothed this military, war-loving people, it was the opening to them all the paths of military ambition, without invidious distinctions as to birth and classes. This, after a few short years of crime and blunder, was the greatest benefit they derived from their revolution, and with this benefit they were a happy and jubilant people; but it was now too late to try the effect of this grand experiment—perhaps it was too late even at the time of the first meeting of the States General; for the soldiers had been tampered with, and journalised into the belief that any concession or favour could only proceed from fear and weakness-could only be intended to serve the purposes of the moment, and that, so long as the real command of the army rested with the king, he would only promote aristocrats. If the reader will bear in mind these circumstances, and reflect on the temper of the French troops, and on the solemnly true proposition that the sword had fallen imperceptibly from the hand of the king, he will be the less disposed to wonder at the courage and the daring of the Parisians, about which so much non-

second army, under the command of the Marquis de Bouillé, a near relation of Lafayette, but a most decided royalist.

"This (the king's) is an artful reply. If he can get them far from Paris, he will weaken that impulse which at present creates such alarm; but the evil lies deeper than his counsellors are aware of, and the business mow broadhed must have its complete course."—Governess Morris, Diary.

Necker, Révolution Française.—Madame de Stael, Considérations.—Gouverneur Morris, Diary.

sense has been talked and written: he will see that the mob were in reality fighting with the odds in their favour. In the course of the afternoon, when, being a Sabbath-day, the Palais Royal was crowded and crammed even more than usual, a man of about thirty years of age, and of a wild and a picturesque aspect, leaped upon a table, and began an harangue so loud and enchaining as to silence all the minor orators that were holding forth on chairs and stools in the same great gathering-place. It was the old college companion of Robespierre: it was Camille Desmoulins, who, in set phrase, is described in French as "a young man known afterwards by his republican enthusiasm, born with a tender but



CAMILLE DESMOULING. From a Portrait by Duplessi Bertaux.

boiling soul," but whom we should characterise as a mad fanatic, ready to wade breast-high in blood for a dogma, being at the same time thoroughly sincere and disinterested, ever ready to lay his hand upon his heart, like Lafayette, in proof of the sincerity of his intentions. Camille had often been there before, but had not before found so fit audience or so open a stage. He had pistols in his girdle; and, drawing them forth, and holding one in each hand, he exclaimed, as a fitting conclusion to his harangue, "While we are here talking, the foreign troops are gathering around us to massacre us. To arms! to arms!" He tore a small branch from one of the trees, and stuck it in his hat for a cockade. The mob followed his example, until all the trees of the Palais Royal were left leafless and bare; and a notable woman, moved by the commercial spirit, or set on by some other agency, brought some enormous rolls of green riband, and cut them up into cockades for the patriots, who then ran hither and thither, many of them in the dent belief that Camille Desmoulins' figures of rhetoric were real facts; and that the Swiss, the Royal Allemand, the Salis-Samade, and all the foreign regiments, were upon them, with the sabre at their throats, or the bayonet in their loins. The first movements of the mob seemed anything but terrible.*

* For some time in the afternoon it seemed mere child's play, with throwing of stones, running away, &c.; and the quieter part of the

A respectable Swiss gentleman, not long deccased -a civilian, but one whose fate it was to witness the march of this revolution, and the marches of sundry revolutions that were the children of this-was accustomed to say-" If, on this Sunday afternoon, the respectable people of Paris-all those who were afterwards butchered or plundered and ruined—had gone out into the streets, every man with his umbrella, and with no other arm, they might have driven the rabble out of the city, and have put down this first considerable insurrection." But, with the exception of the decided royalists, whose number was exceedingly small, and whose fanaticism was just as unwise and extreme on the other side, the respectable people of Paris were mwardly rejoicing at the bright prospect of overthrowing the despotism of the crown, and had no forethought of the worse despotism that might follow; in their conception the first thing to do was to encourage the mob, and then, when the conflict was over, it would be time to think of checking the mob's excesses: their philosophes and journal-1sts had taught them-in defiance of all historythat the French commonalty were a gentle, generous, moderate, and reliable race; and had not Necker, the people's minister, declared that the qualities of the people, the virtues of human nature, must be relied upon? Besides, in the unceremonious words of a spectator who was cool enough to observe what was passing, these respectable citizens were "confoundedly frightened." At an early stage of their proceedings the people broke into the shop or gallery of one Curtius,* who modelled great men in wax, and there seized the busts of the Duke of Orleans and M. Necker, covered them with black

Orleans and M. Necker, covered them with bluck critizens walked about the town, or amused themselves on the Boulevards, as if nothing was to come of it. Gouverneth Morris, who was paying visits, found himself in the very beginning of the beginning. His sobre eje-witness account is exceedingly interesting. He says, "Paris begins to be in commotion, and from the invalid guard of the I out is a few of the mobility take a drum, and beat to aims. Those who rejecte invaidly at the change are confoundedly frightened at the commotion. . I deput for Mi Jeftergon's in riding along the Boulevards, all at once carriages, lorses, and foot passingers turn about, and pass rapidly. Presently after we meet a body of civalry with their sabres drawn, and coming at half speed After they have passed us a little way, they stop. When we come to the Place Louis Quinze, I observe the people, to the number perhaps of one hundled picking up stones; and, looking back, I find that the exality are returning. I stop at the angle to see the fray, it any. The people take post among the stones, which he scattered about the whole square, being there hewn for the bridge now building. The officer at the head of this party is sulted by a stone, and limediately turns his horse in a menaching manner towards the assatiant, but his adversaries are posted on ground where the cavariry cannot act. (The mob had got among the stones.) He pursues his route, therefore, and the piace is soon increased to a galloy, amid a shower of stones. One of the soldiers is either knocked from his horse, or the horse falls under him. He is taken prisoner, and at first filt-treated by the mob, The soldiers had fired several pistols, but without effect. Probably they were not even charged with ball. A party of the Swiss guards are posted in the Charmy Elysées with cannon. . The little affrey which I have just witnessed will probably be magnified into a bloody battle before it reaches the frontiers; and, in that case, an infinity of corpa-bourgous will march to the

crape, and carried them processionally through the streets of Paris, crying "Hats off! Hats off!" Others ran to the theatres and interdicted all performance for that evening. Others, going more directly to the object, ran to the gunsmiths', broke open their shops, and seized whatever arms they could find; whilst others repaired to the Hôtel de Ville to demand the arms deposited there by a bourgeois guard, or garde civique, which had been formed in Paris notwithstanding the rejection of Mirabeau's motion, but which was not officered by the king. This civic corps was already very strong; and as for the Hôtel de Ville, it had already become, what it long continued to be, a sort of headquarters to the revolutionists: for the electors of Paris, after sending their members to the States General, had formed themselves into permanent committees, and, riding over the old municipality, had taken possession of that town-hall, from whence they had voted various addresses to the National Assembly, declaring that they adhered to all its decrees. This was as if the electors of the city of London should take possession of Guildhall and the Mansion-house; but such irregularities were considered as mere trifles in Paris. The mob not only got the arms that were in the Hôtel de Ville, but got at the great tocsin or alarum-bell, which was hung over that edifice; and towards evening they gave a peal, presently answered from many of the church-towers, that was loud enough to be heard miles off. That part of the mob that were carrying the wax heads and busts of Necker and Orleans met the guet à cheval, or mounted rity police, who quietly joined them, and became a sort of escort to the procession. They advanced into the Place Vendôme and promenaded the two busts round the statue of Louis XIV., which then stood in that square on the spot where Napoleon's column of Victory and his statue now stand. Here a squadron of a German regiment of horse attempted to disperse them, but were dispersed or put to flight themselves by a tremendous shower of From the Place Vendôme the bust-procession went to the Place Louis Quinze. Here they were attacked by the Prince of Lambesc at the head of some more German horse, and their two wax busts, together with a few of their own heads, were broken. After keeping their ground for some time among blocks of stone collected for building a bridge, and among which the cavalry could not enter, this mob, it appears, went off and joined another which had collected in the Tuileries. The Prince of Lambesc with his cavalry—a part of the regiment called the Royal Allemand, or Royal German-followed in that direction, and even penetrated into the garden. Terrible pictures are drawn of the ferocity with which the prince and these foreigners charged a peaceable crowd; but the simple truth appears to be that the multitude got behind iron railing and strong trellis-work, and there pelted the troops with chairs, stools, stones, bottles, glasses, and coffee-cups; that Lambesc's men, only using the flats of their sabres, and not firing a

single carbine or pistol, could hardly reach their assailants, and were soon very glad to withdraw. The only casualty reported on the side of the people was in the case of a poor old schoolmaster, who, not being nimble enough to get behind the iron railing in time, was knocked down with a cracked pate. It is asserted that the king and de Broglie, as commander-in-chief and minister-atwar, had sent strict orders to the general officers and colonels of regiments not to fire upon the people. As it grew dark the mob became still more active; and then those pupils of the Pythagorean philosopher Valady, the French guardsthe comrades of the eleven who had been delivered from captivity by the people—delivered their political opinions from the mouths of their muskets. About nine o'clock as the Prince of Lambesc, at the head of his cavalry regiment, was retiring along the Chaussee d'Antin towards barracks, some privates of the French Guard broke out from a depôt there situated, and ranged themselves in order of battle, and cried, "Who comes there?" The cavalry replied, in soldier fashion, "Royal Allemand."-" Are you for the Tiers Etat?" roared the French infantry.- "We are for those who command us," said the Germans.-" Then take that!" and the French Guards fired a volley. Three of the Germans were killed on the spot, and several more were wounded. The prince did not turn upon his assailants, but hastened his march to St. Cloud.* Paris was left all night in the hands of the mob, who finished breaking open the shops of the gunsmiths, and burned the barriers erected at the different entrances into Paris chiefly for the purpose of levying the octroi or duties on provisions. The Swiss guard, close at hand, remained under arms all night, but without orders. ranguers in the coffee-houses and in the Palais Royal kept up the effervescence, and encouraged a multitude already emboldened by the absence of any valid resistance.

On the following morning the tocsin sounded in every direction; and, from the peep of day, drums beat to arms in the Faubourg St. Antoine and in nearly every part of Paris. "In fact," says our American, "the city of Paris is now in as fine a tumult as any one could wish. They are getting arms wherever they can find any: they seize sixty barrels of gunpowder on the Seine; break into the monastery of St. Lazar and find a store of grain which the holy brotherhood had laid in. Immediately it is put into carts and sent to the market, and on every cart a friar. The Garde Meuble du Roi is attacked, and the arms are delivered up to prevent worse consequences. These arms, however, are more curious, than useful."?† But it was known that from 20,000 to 30,000 stand of arms were expected at the Hôtel

Mémoires de Weber. The French guardamen, after Lambese's retiring, fixed their bayoneis, advanced à pas de charge to the Place Louis Guinse, placed thomselves between the Tuileries and the Champs Elyabes (where the Swiss Guarda were drawn out), and remained there the whole night, during which they were feasted and careseed by the people.
† Gouverneur Morris, Diary.



STREET IN THE FAUROURG St. AMTOINE. From an Original Drawing.

de Ville for the use of the new civic guard; and the people went thither and demanded from the trembling committees that all these weapons should be put into their hands, together with more ammunition. The committees, glad to save their own skin, referred the leaders of the mob to De Flesselles, the prévôt des marchands (then chief magistrate of Paris), who told them that he had been promised 42,000 muskets, 12,000 of which he expected every minute, and the rest in the course of three or four days. The barrels of gunpowder which had been seized in a boat on the Seine, with some powder collected in other quarters, were all deposited in the court-yard of the Hotel de Ville, where the mob were smoking pipes; and, but for the care of a revolutionary abbe, who was doing military duty, an explosion must have taken place terrible enough to have satisfied a Guy Fawkes. At about five o'clock in the afternoon a number of great chests, ticketed "Artillery," arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, and were reported to contain the first 12,000 muskets promised by Flesselle But le! upon opening them they were found to contain nothing but rubbish, blocks of wood, old rags, and candle ends! There instantly arose a terrible cry of treachery. The most ardent of the mob were for putting the prevot to death; but some friend of his ingeniously turned off the blow for the present by shouting out that there was a regular deposit of muskets and bayonets in the monastery

of the Silent Chartreux, or Carthusian monks Then there was a general rush for the Chartreux, but, as not so much as a pocket-pistol could be found in that monastery, and as the patriots made free with the wine in the monks' cellars, they came back more wild than they were before, and shouting louder than ever "Treachery, treachery!" In order to appease them, the committees sitting in the Hôtel de Ville ordered that 50,000 pikes should be forged and got ready immediately, and next caused a distribution to be made of the gunpowder. In the mean while strong barricades were erected in the streets, deep trenches were dug, and the paving-stones with which the Reveillon mob had made such good fight were taken up and carried into the houses, to be used upon the heads of the troops if they should enter the heart of the town, of which, however, there seemed no appearance. The Baron de Besenval, the commandant, complains that the government at Versailles left him without any orders how to act, obstinately persisting in regarding 300,000 men as a mere street mob, and the revolution as an emeute.* Through some disgraceful and scarcely

This seems to have been really the case, and there are no good grounds for suspecting Besenval of purposely serving and favouring the insurrection, as many men holding the king's commission undoubtedly did. But Besenval is acoused by some of the royalist party of a most culpable indolence and neglect; and of a very selfath regard to a hous he possessed in Paris, and which he had recently furnished in a style of great magnificence, so that, with its batts, its saloons, and its looking-glasses, it was looked upon as one of the



conceivable mismanagement some of the troops were left nearly a whole day and night without rations. This was the case with a regiment of light horse, which after a long march was left to bivouse on the outside of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and then called off just as their services would have been of use in that most turbulent quarter of Paris. Camille Desmoulins was much more active than the commander of the king's troops: he induced the students of the University and the School of Medicine to form a militia of themselves, and he kept in motion from morning to night, and all through the night, troops of desperate fellows who seized everything that was convertible into a weapon. All the lawyers' clerks formed themselves into a volunteer corps; all the Guet, or police-guard, joined the mob. More gunpowder, descending the Seine from Versailles for the use of the troops, was seized by the people. Nothing seemed wanting but muskets and bayonets, and even of these they had already a good many thousands.*

During these troubles in the capital the National Assembly, sitting at Versailles, was greatly agitated, although not a few of its members were fully prepared for what was passing, and were looking to the triumph of the Parisians as their only safeguard and hope. Some members, however, thought that the insurrection was little

more than an energetic expression of the peeple's desire for the recall of Necker, and that all would go well if that minister were instantly reinstated. Mounier, who had been concerned in the private consultations about transplanting the British constitution into the soil of France, and who really wished for a constitutional monarchy, was the first to rise on this Monday morning (the 13th) and condemn the abrupt dismissal of the Genevese. Lally Tollendal, following Mounier, moved an address to the king for the immediate recall of Necker, and of all the ministers who had been turned out with him. M. de Virieu, one of the noblesse deputies, proposed confirming all their preceding votes by a new oath. Clermont-Tonnerre opposed this last motion as useless, as the National Assembly had already sworn to obtain a constitution. At this stage of the debate intelligence was received from Paris, and the greatest anxiety was expressed, lest the disciplined troops, in the hands of despotism, should prevail over the undisciplined people, who were in the hands of nobody. With all speed they arranged and sent up a deputation to represent to the king the frightful disorder that reigned in the capital, to request him to withdraw all the troops, and consent to the establishment of the bourgeois guards-which, by the way, had been established without his consent, not only in Paris, but in many other large towns. The king replied to the deputation, that the good people of Paris were not in a state to defend themselves against the seditious; and he coldly declined both their propositions.



VERSALLES-THE PARIS AVERUE DURING THE INSURRECTION. From an Original Drawing.

On receiving his answer the Assembly passed variety of resolutions, setting the king and his new ministers at defiance, threatening his advisers, of tokatever rank they might be, with the responsibility of all the mischief that might happen, and rounded with other sonorous sentences which went a directly to encourage the insurgents. Couriers of various kinds carried all this Versailles news into Paris, the distance between the two places being only about fifteen miles; and some three or four of the deputies themselves were almost constantly going and coming. The National Assembly, moreover, declared itself in permanent session, or, in other words, resolved to sit day and night, elected Lafayette to be vice-president, in order that the president might have some time for repose, and acted a vast deal more terror and excitement than they really felt. With the ordinary schoolboy parallels and comparisons about Roman senates and unflinching Roman senators, they began, about five o'clock on Tuesday morning-we are told, with an "imposing calm"to take up again the project of the constitution and the ingenious reports upon it which had been for some time suspended.* They appointed a constitution committee consisting of Talleyrand, the Bishop of Bourdeaux, Clermont-Tonnerre, Mounier, Chapelier, Bergasse, and—that man of many constitutions—the Abbé Sieyes. But as the morning of the 14th advanced news arrivedfalse news as it proved afterwards—that the foreign regiments had made a general assault upon Paris in different columns and were carrying everything before them: men that had been watching about the palace at Versailles said that they had seen the king's brothers and the queen, with the Duchess of Polignac, walking in the orange garden, flattering the officers and the soldiers, and causing refreshments to be distributed to them; and various other rumours were spread to suggest or confirm the opinion that a grand coup-d'état was to be tried that night. Some even saw so far into the dark secret as to designate the members of the Assembly that were selected as the first victims to offended royalty and an infuriated aristocracy. The road from Paris now seemed stopped; no intelligence arrived; it was an awful moment of doubt and uncertainty. At last the Prince of Lambesc was seen galloping to the palace at full speed, and the roar of distant cannon was faintly heard. Then there were pale faces, and menpatriotic deputies, new old Roman senators-down upon their knees with their ears to the ground, trying to catch the sounds that came from the side of Paris. At this moment of agony a gun i from the Queen's Mews would have sent the majority of these deputies flying from Versailles. But, as matters had gone and were going in Paris, they had in reality nothing to fear, at least nothing at present, nothing from the court and the aristocrats: instead of being conquered and put down, the Parisians had achieved a conquest. Between

* Thiers; Mignet, Lacrotelle

night and morning an overwhelming multitude made a sudden rush at the Hôtel des Invalides, or military hospital, and not only made themselves masters of 30,000 muskets, but seized and carried off several pieces of artillery.* Thus furnished with arms and artillery, the mob set up a loud shout "à la Bastille! à la Bastille!" and marched off in that direction. Before their arrival at the odious old state-prison another great mob had collected in front of it. For the guns on the walls threatened the Faubourg St. Antoine, and a report had been spread that the governor intended to make use of them as soon as Besenval should bring some cavalry to the edge of the faubourg. But, in sober truth, no such intention was entertained; and, as for the French part of the troops collected in the neighbourhood of Paris, the officers had hard work to keep them to their standards. Instead of crying "Vive le Roi," they cried "Vive la Nation! Vive le Tiers Etat! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!" and in some regiments the men deserted, whole companies at a time, and went into the faubourg with arms and baggage to fight, not against, but with and for, the people. Not a regiment, not a single company or a squadron of horse, came in hostilely. The mob and the Parisians had it all their own way; and, with 40,000 muskets, cannon, and at least 100,000 men, it was not very wonderful that they should reduce a fortress defended only by some fourscore invalids. A deputy of the district of St. Louis de la Culture, named Thuriot de la Rosière, requested to speak with De Launey, the governor, and was admitted into the Bastille. He demanded that the cannou on the walls should be removed or pointed in another direction. The governor replied that the guns were placed as they always had been, and that he could not remove them from the towers, but he showed the deputy that he had caused them to be hauled back several paces from their embrasures. Thuriot, who was anxious to see and report to the people the real condition of the place, contrived to get admitted farther into the interior of the fortress. Everything he saw was very comforting, except three murderous long guns which were directed towards the different avenues, and, apparently, ready to sweep them with grape-shot. He ascertained that the entire garrison consisted of thirty-two Swiss and eighty-two invalids, who

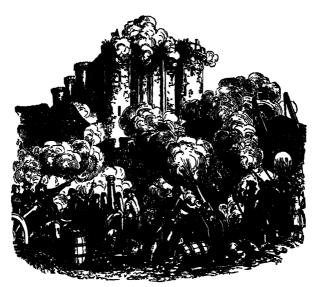
* Besencel, Memorras This officer says that M. do Sombrouil, fearing the use that might be made of these muskets, had ordered the invalid sto break or take off the locks; but that the invalid soldiers, being patriots themselves, would not do this work, so that only about thirty muskets had been disarmed when the mob broke in According to Humbert, the rabble, in their impatience to get at the muskets, were very near converting the great cellar in which they had been deposited into a sort of a blick hole of Calcutta. They rushed down the steps with such impetuo-sity that they overlibrew one another, and, as those behind would not wait, the rush and the falling was continued until the passage was blocked up with a living, scream ing heap, enduring the agonties of sufucation. The cellar itself was so crammed that people were stifled Shrieks and oaths rose from it as from one of the worst pits in Dante a Hell. Humbert, who was at the bottom of that infernal bolgta, goes on to say, "Many persons there were already senseless; when all those who were armed prefitted by an advice which was given to force back the crowd that was not armed, in facing right about, and presenting our bayonots to their stomachs. This manneures accessed Taking advantage of a moment of terror and retreat, we formed in line, and forced the crowd to reascend."—Humbert, Journal.

seemed all disheartened and bewildered Thuriot implored them and their officers, in the name of honour and of patriotism, not to fire upon the people; and they all swore that they would not unless De Launey they were attacked by the people said that his honour as a soldier bade him defend the place intrusted to him, against all odds. deputy was allowed to ascend one of the towers, and from its embrasures he saw the Faubourg St Antoine almost covered with men, and long lines advancing towards it with muskets, pikes, ladders, and cannon But the people now became anxious for his return, and, not seeing him, they took it into their heads that de Launey intended foul play, and was keeping him as a state prisoner cried out with hourse and furious voices for their deputy Making what haste he could, Thuriot descended from the tower and came out among them safe and sound, and, having pacified the mob and advised them to wait awhile, he huiried away to a committee sitting in the Hôtel de Ville, and consulting with some patriotic officers as to the best means of carrying the firtress * But the multitudes were far too impatient to wait for any orders, instructions, or advice They cried "We will have the Bastille' we will have the Bastille" and two fellows more desperate than the rest climbed to the top of an old guardhouse on the edge of the deep fosse, and with axes attempted to break the iron chains of the draw-The soldiers from the walls called upon them to retire, and presented their pieces, but the two men hacked away at the rusty old chains, and presently the drawbridge fell. The mob then rushed over the bridge, and the same two crafts-men were allowed to break the chams of the second or inner drawbiidge in the same manner without receiving so much as a musket-shot from Pêle-mêle. the weak and trembling garrison and firing off muskets and pistols, they now advanced across an open court, called the Government Court, towards a third drawbridge which gave access to the body of the fortress but here the troops within met them with a fire in the face, which drove them back in terrible confusion Some of the mob, however, ensconced themselves behind some grating in that court-yard and kept up a continual fire of musketry—wasting much powder and ball, without killing any of the Swiss or invalids But at this moment a troop of respectable citizens with a flag advanced to the fortress, and were followed by a fresh host of armed people. The citizens were a deputation from the Hoicl de Ville, to summon the governor to surrender in the name of the patriotic committees of liberty, and of the whole French people. As they drew nearer it was seen that a considerable portion

Several of these officers were persons of high rank. The citizens had felt the propriety of taking the command of the masses out of the hands of the mob chiefs and had offered the command in chief of the civic guard to the Duke d Aumont. The duke heatiating, they appointed, provisionally, the Marquis de la Salle, with the Chevalit de Saudral, an officer of experience for his second. They also formed a respectable staff, and these officers took a civic oath is front of the Hôtel de Ville.

of their escort consisted of the French guard and the deserters from the other regiments outside According to the report which these deputies made on their return to the Hôtel de Ville-a report entitled to little credit—the Swiss and the invalids were now pouring a murderous artillery fire on the people, and would not cease though they held up their pocket-handkerchiefs as a white flag, or flags of truce, and made all manner of signs The committee sitting at the Hôtel sent another deputation with a drum and a regular white flag; but the firing continued on both sides, the mob would not hear of delay or capitulation, and de Launey was not the man to capitulate except at the last ex-There suddenly arose a cry-probably from some of the patriot mob who longed to get at a distance from the fire of the fortress-that the people were betrayed by the Assembly at the Hotel de Ville, and more particularly by the prévôt des marchands, poor de Flesselles, who had sent rubbish and candle-ends for cannon; and anon a considerable number ran off to put more energy into the committee by calling for the head of the provost They were scarcely gone when more of the Irench guards arrived and began to make use of the artillery, thundering at the parapets, and nearly at the same moment three cartloads of straw were thrown down and set on fire near the gates, while others brought wood and fagots, and were preparing to bring oil, turpentine, and the like To check these operations a cannon loaded with grape-shot was fired from the works; and it appears to have been the first and the last cannon of any kind used by the garrison. In the Government Court, where there were several offices and habitations, the mob surprised a young lady, the daughter of an officer of the garrison, and, mistaking her for the daughter of de Launey, they resolved to make preparations for burning her alive, as the most efficacious method of induc-ing the governor to surrender The shricking girl was put upon a mattrass, and the straw was rathered round her Her real father discovered her from one of the towers, and was on the point of throwing himself from the battlements, when, in sight of his child, he was hit by two musket-balls

"The notorious Abbe Fauchet was one of these deputies. He joined in drawing up the report or proces cerbal, and, on the 5th of August following he preached a patriotic sermon in which he gave his own account of the conduct of the deputation." We lifted up," and he, the pacific decree of the committee (if it scoredly possible that the poor burse and swaded could have seen it is that horribe midde, or have understood what it means!. A jurisconsuit, a priest [Fauchet himself] dressed in the livery of peace, ought to have been heard, even for the self interest of the murdeners of the country (the thirty-two Susse and eighty two wanders). In this same sermon, presched in a church with all the fires of war! In this same sermon, presched in a church with a very consonant name, 8t Jacques de la-Boucherie (8t James of the Bushery), this revolutionary abbé exclaimed, "It was the arestoorate that cruejited the Sos of Godf" From this it may be judged how small was the probability that he would set like a Christian priest under the walls of the Bastille or give an imperial account of what passed there. We shall meet again this Abbé Fauchet, whom the French royalists accuse of fighting with the mob at the taking of the fortress with sabre in hand. He remained a tamber of the self constituted and tyranneal municipality of Faris, until he passed into the National Convention He became constitutional Bishop of Calvados, proposed an agrarian law with an immediate division of property and an absolute equality, he denounced the quency denounced Lakayette, published a newspaper called the Deux Amia, in order to prevent the guillottning of the king, and was guillotined himself soon after as a federalist and an accomplies of Charlotte Corday



ATTACK ON THE BASTILLE. From a Medallion by Andrieu.

and killed. The poor girl fainted, and would have been burnt in that state, if a young man who knew her, and who had some humanity left to keep company with his patriotism, had not cut his way through the savages and carried her off in his By this time de Launey, who had vainly strained his eyes by looking in every direction for some succour, relief, or diversion from Besenval or Broglie, or from some detachment of the army in the neighbourhood, perceived that he could no longer hold out against the swarms that beset him, and that seemed continually increasing in numbers, activity, contrivances, and resources. With the brave despair of an old soldier he resolved to blow into the air the whole fortress, which must have carried with it many, many thousands of his assailants, and a large part of the Faubourg St. Antoine. He rushed towards the powder-magazine with a lighted match in his hand, but his people seized him, stopped him, hoisted the white flag on the foremost platform, reversed arms, and cried for truce and quarter. The besiegers, though they could not hear the voices of the garrison in the infernal din they were making, could not misunderstand these signs, which, of themselves alone, rendered the lives of the enemy sacred: yet they blazed away with their muskets, and kept crying, "Down with the drawbridges! open your gates. At last, during a momentary lull, a Swiss officer of the garrison made his voice heard through a loop-hole: he demanded to capitulate, and to be allowed the honours of war. The mob roared allowed the honours of war. The mob roared "No! No! No capitulation! No quarter! The rescals have fired upon the people!" And they still pressed forward firing and screaming. The same Swiss officer then said that the garrison would lay down their arms if the people would only spare their lives. To this the reply was,

"Down with your drawbridges, and no harm shall happen to you." Or, according to other accounts, the reply contained the promise of a safe and honourable capitulation, and was delivered not by the mere rabble, but by the French guards. A minute or two after the old chains rattled, the drawbridges were lowered, and the inner gates were all thrown open. The multitude rushed in: the Bastille was theirs!*

It was, or it had been for long ages, an infamous place, a detestable den, wherein despotism threw her victims to pine and to rot; it was a place to be destroyed and obliterated from the face of the carth; but the French people could not achieve this triumph over tyranny without committing atrocious cruelties, and deeds as savage and treacherous as any that had been perpetrated in old times under the worst of their kings. As soon as they were within the fortress they fell alike upon the Swiss and upon the invalids their own countrymen. Some endeavoured to save the invalids, but the mob cried, "Give them up to us, give them up; they have fired on their fellow-citizens, and they must be hanged!" Begnard, an old soldier, who had been the first to seize the governor when on his way to the powder, received two sword-cuts and had his hand cut off with a sabre. The people picked up the bleeding hand, and fixed it on a pike, which they carried triumphantly before the old man as they led him through the streets to be hanged. Several of the Swiss were wounded and most barbarously treated after they had laid down their arms. The invalids were driven like slaves to different parts of Paris. Twenty-two of them,

* Dulaure, Esquisses.—Humbert, Journal.—Besenval.—But for the most spirited and extraordinary—and on the whole the most correct—account of the taking of the Bastille, read chapter vi., book i., of Mr. Thomas Carlyle's French Esystation.



REJOIDING IN THE FAUSOURG ST. ANTOINE ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BASTILIE. Designed from a French Medal.

after suffering insults and torments of all kinds, reached the Hôtel de Ville, where they saw the one-handed Begnard and another of their com-rades hanging and dead. They were proscrited to an officer of the new municipality, who told them that they must all be hanged like their two companions; and while this officer was speaking the mob cried out, "Give them up to us, give them up." But the soldiers of the French guards, who had somewhat more respect for the rules of war, here interfered, and partly by entreaties, and partly by main force, they saved and took under their protection about twenty-two of the invalids and cleven of the Swiss. The Governor, de Launey, was dragged to the Place de Grève, ves beaten, wounded, trodden under foot, tortured. The old soldier, who had been prevented from killing himself with his own sword, cried out, " O friends, for pity, kill me fast!" He was at last beheaded in a clumsily barbarous manner; and then the assassins put his head on a pike and carried it through the streets shouting, laughing, and singing. ruffian had cut off the old governor's queue or pigtail, and this, besmeared with blood, he held up as a trophy, carrying it through the streets, and afterwards presenting it with hellish glee to the municipal body. Poor de Launey paid dearly for the bad fame and horrible traditions of his predccessors. In his own person and character he was, though governor of the Bastille, a mild, humane, and honourable man. Three other officers of the garrison were butchered in the same manner; and a fourth, who was rescued and carried to an hospital, was covered with wounds. The prevôt des marchands was surrounded in a committee-room in the Hôtel de Ville by bloodthirsty furious men, and was pale, haggard, and half dead with affright when the mob first arrived, shouting "Victory! Liberty! the Bastille is ours!" At these joyous cries and the sight of the keys and the flag of the Bastille, which they carried with

them in great pomp, de Flesselles seemed to think that his life was safe; but the mob presently fell upon him like hungry tigers and dragged him out of the hall, crying "Treachery! treason! let us hang this one too." The poor provost repeated arguments which he had used when they wanted to kill him the day before:—"I have been deceived." said he; "you are deceived-we are all deceived." Some of the more moderate proposed that he should be committed to the Châtelet prison; but the majority cried out that he must be carried to the Palais Royal and be judged there. Remonstrance was vain, and flight or resistance impossible; de Flesselles, mustering up such courage as remained in him, said, "Well, gentlemen, be it as you wish: let us go then to the Palais Royal;" -but he had not gone many yards when a fellow put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains. In addition to the bleeding heads of de Launey and his officers the people carried in procession all the captives they had found shut up in the Bastille. The number and the quality of these prisoners afforded a proof that that state-prison was not what it had been: the people had expected to find a prisoner in every dungeon or cell; but all that they actually found were seven, and out of that number three were forgers or falsifiers of bills of exchange, and such notorious scoundrels that there was no exciting any sympathy for them. By this time it was night. There were two or three panics occasioned by rumours that Marshal Broglie had concentrated his whole army and was marching into Paris; and in each of these panics dreading. excesses were committed by the mob. But in reality they had no reason to be alarmed: Broglie and Besenval had thoroughly ascertained the fact that the French troops would not pull a trigger for the king, whatever they might do against him; the Swiss and the German troops were not in sufficient force to engage in a vast and crowded city, even if there had been no apprehension of the

French regiments falling upon their rear; and besides, by this time the court had given up its plan of prevailing by force of arms, and had abandoned itself to helplessness and despair. While the people of Paris were terrified at what might be done or ordered in Versailles, Versailles, or all the court and royalist part of it, were trembling for fear of Paris.

We left the National Assembly on their knees with their ears bent to the ground. But soon after the Prince of Lambesc had passed in full career to the palace, Mirabeau ascended the tribune and proposed a second deputation to the king. This deputation presently left the hall for the palace: they were to employ entreaties as well as arguments. Shortly after their departure two members of the National Assembly, who had been in Paris all that day and probably all the preceding night, arrived breathless among their colleagues, and announced that a fearful massacre was going

on in the capital. Soon after the arrival of these two deputies or members two Paris electors were announced. It was dark night, and no lamps or other lights had been lit in the hall. The two electors, whose figures could scarcely be distinguished while they spoke, brought the joyful news that the Bastille was taken, that the distant roar of the cannon they had heard was that of the people's cannon; that the people were masters of all Paris, and only cutting off a few heads in the first enthusiasm of victory. Instantly another deputation was appointed to wait upon the king. As it went out of the hall the other deputation returned and reported the answer which it had received from his majesty. This answer was simply that his majesty had ordered the troops to retire from the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, and that, having heard of the formation of the bourgeois or civic guard, he had named officers to the command of it. On the arrival of the third deputation at the



PRISON OF THE CHATELET (pulled down in 1802). From a Print by Clery.

palace, at about ten o'clock at night, the king appeared pale and much agitated. After expressing his great grief at the miseries which had befallen Paris, he said it was not possible to believe that they had been caused by any orders that had been given to his troops. For the rest he had nothing to say, except that those troops were now This deputation must have returned recalled. singing in their hearts, "Le victoire est à nous." Not only was the king pale and agitated, but the whole court and everything about it wore an air of confusion and dejection. On their return to the hall a motion was made for another deputation to explain more fully to the king the perilous condition in which he and the nation stood, "No,"

said Clermont-Tonnerre, "let us give them a night to take counsel. Kiugs as well as other men must pay for their experience." The motion was therefore dropped; and the Assembly sat where they were all night, doing nothing beyond sending some messages into Paris. In the same nocturnal hours the constitutional Duke of Liancourt obtained access to the king, who was still only half informed of what had happened in his capital. Liancourt, who wished for a better form of government, but not for the king's destruction, gave a frank and honest narrative." "Why, then," said Louis, "it

[&]quot;They (the court) took care, however, not to inform the hing of all the mischiefs. At two o'clock in the morning the Duc de Liancourt went into his bedchamber and waked him. Told him all. Tu

is really a revolt." "No," said the duke, it is a revolution!" Before leaving the bedside of the monarch, whom it is said he had found sleeping, Liancourt obtained a promise that he would go down to the National Assembly in the morning. At an early hour that morning the Assembly proceeded to business, and appointed a fourth deputation. This deputation was detained some time by a long speech from Mirabeau, who was telling it sundry hard things which it ought to tell to the king; as that—yesterday the foreign hordes that surrounded the Assembly had been visited and caressed by princes, princesses, and favourites of both genders; that during the night those foreign satellites, gorged with gold and with wine, had been invoking destruction on the National Assembly; that, even in the palace of the sovereign, courtiers had been dancing to the sound of that barbarous music, and acting as their predecessors had done on the eve of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. And, before Mirabeau could get to the end of his harangue, a gentler voice rose in the hall to intimate that his majesty was close at hand, coming at his own suggestion, and without guards, courtiers, or attendants of any kind. This intimation was followed by a round of applause. "Wait." said Mirabeau with great gravity, "suspend your applause until we know what are his intentions. The blood of our brothers is yet flowing in Paris. Let a sad respect be our first reception of the The silonce of monarch in this season of woe. the people is a lesson for kings."

Louis here entered the hall, accompanied only by his two brothers. The Assembly received him in profound silence. In a few simple words, Louis assured the National Assembly, which he called by that name for the first time, that all their fears and suspicions were unfounded; that it was never his intention to employ his troops against them, or his good city of Paris, or any of his subjects; that he was one with the nation; and that, counting on the love and fidelity of his people, he had ordered the troops not only away from the capital, but also from Versailles. Here the sad, silent respect which Mirabeau had recommended was broken by some joyous shouts; but, when the king desired the Assembly to be his interpreters and messengers to the good people of Paris, and when he had said, "Since you have feared to trust me, it is I that will trust you," there was shouting and applause

him that he pledged his life on the truth of his narration, and that, unloss he changed his measures speedily, all was lost. The king took his determination. The Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand), they say, was called on to prepare use discount; which he did. The orders were given for dispersing the troops. And at the meeting of the Assembly, the king, accompanied by his two brothers, came in and made his speech. This produced very enthusiastic emotions of joy, and he was reconducted to the château by the whole Assembly, and by all the inhabitants of Verasilles."—Gouverneur Morris,

The queen, Count d'Artois, and Duchess de Polignac, had been all day tampering with two regiments, which were almost drunk, and overy officer was presented to the king, who was induced to give promises, money, &c., these regiments. They shouted Vire la Reise! Vive le Combs d'Artois! I'ree la Duchesse de Polignac!—and the band came and played under her majesty's window. In the mean time the Maréchal de Broglie was tampering in person with the artillery. The plan was to reduce Paris by famine, and to take two hundred members of the National Assembly prisoners.—Gouverneur Morris, who gives this as club-talk in Paris on the 18th.

of the most enthusiastic or loudest kind. Nearly all the deputies quitted their seats, surrounded the king, and escorted him on foot back to the palace. It was observed that tears stood in many eyes; but the deputies had been watching all night, and had passed more than twenty-four hours in an agonising suspense; and all sudden changes and surprises of the passions are apt to bring on tears or hysterical laughter. The queen, who was anxiously watching for her husband's return at a balcony of the palace, with the young dauphin in her arms, and her daughter standing by her side and playing with her brother's hair, came in for a share in the tendresse and sentimentality of the moment. But could this last? Was it possible that the National Assembly, which had been so hot before, should be circumspect and moderate now that the crown was prostrate at their feet? With no balancing or controlling power, they must not only not have been Frenchmen, but not men, if they could have made a soher use of their omnipotence. Returning to the hall, the Assembly deputed 88 of their body, comprising Bailly, Lafayette, Lally Tollendal, and the Archbishop of Paris, to the Hotel de Ville, and such authorities or committees as they might find there, whom they were to inform fully of the happy reconciliation which had taken place with the king. This numerous deputation was received in Paris with transports of joy, and with some ceremonies and performances which can scarcely be admired out of France.* As the murder, only on the preceding evening, of de Flesselles had left the new municipality without a head, astronomer Bailly was immediately elected, by acclamation, to succeed that unfortunate provost, with the higher title of mayor of Paris; and, as the new civic guard, now to be called the National, was in want of a commander of good revolutionary repute, Lafayette, also by acclamation, and without any deliberation, was named to that post, which was soon to become the most important in the kingdom † A grand Te Deum was then ordered in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The Archbishop of Paris officiated, and a great deal of gunpowder was burnt in making feuxde-joie. Bailly was then conducted by the conquerors of the Bastille to the different quarters of Paris, to be presented as their mayor. On passing the Pont Neuf he was saluted by a company of the French Guards, who occupied that bridge with several pieces of cannon. At these and similar honours the astronomer shed tears, and protested that he was unworthy of such distinctions, inca-

That he was unworthy of such distinctions, inca
The citizens, after hearing an harangue from Lally Tollendal, crowned him with flowers. Lally modestly took the crown from his own head, and forced it upon the head of Bailly. Bailly, with becoming modesty, would have taken it off, but the Archibathop of Paris put his hand en the astronomer's head, and made him keep it as, This imitative classical foolery spoils, to our minds, the effect of truly striking dramatic situation. Lally Tollendal had prosounced his harangue upon liberty in the Place de Grève, opposite the very spot where his father had been executed with a gag in his mouth, and upon a most lawless sentence.

The election of Lafayette is made more picturesque in French books. The citizens of the United States soon after the war of independence, had presented to the city of Paris a marble but of the marquits. That bust was now in the Hôtel de Ville. Moreau de State Méry extended his hand towards it, all eyes went in the same dimention; and thou a general cry proclaimed Lafayette commandant of the Paris Guard,—There,

pable of bearing the great public burthen which his fellow-citizens had put upon him. The patriots walked him off his legs, and he was glad to get back to the committee-room in the Hôtel de Ville. Here he and Lafayette attempted to cool the ardour of the people, who, in their opinion, had done enough for the present; but the people, having, in these matters, an opinion of their own, continued their acts of violence, threatening with destruction all who had got the name of aristocrats, or that were suspected of entertaining anti-revolution principles. The Count de Saint Marc was nearly torn to pieces for having ventured to look into the Bastille; a female disguised as a man met with the same hard treatment; and several houses were broken open by a furious mob in search of arms, gunpowder, or aristocrats. At one moment Lafayette, in passing through the streets, found himself in the midst of a terrible hubbub. He asked what it meant? "It is nothing," said the mob, "but an abbe going to be hanged." "What abbé?" The people were quite sure it was the Abbe Roy, a great rogue, and one of their greatest enemies.* With great difficulty Lafayette got the priest, with the rope almost round his neck, carried to the Hôtel de Ville, where it was found that he was not the Abbé Roy, but the Abbé Cordier, a very zealous friend to the revolution. The mob, who had followed their prisoner to the Hôtel de Ville, were quite shocked at their mistake, and fell to embracing and hugging the abbe, who, but for a lucky accident, would have been by this time hanging on a lamp-iron. At night there was dancing and singing in all directions-not, however, without an occasional panic alarm. A considerable part of Paris is built over stone-quarries and subterraneous galleries; and a notion got abroad that the enemies of the revolution had deposited a world of gunpowder in these dark recesses, and intended blowing all Paris into the air. A deputation of electors waited on the new mayor and commandant to state these reasonable alarms, and Bailly and Lafayette ordered a thorough underground search. On the next day, the 16th of July, the permanent committee of the new municipality, which already seemed to assume a sovereignty separate from that of the National Assembly, decreed the immediate demolition of the Bastille. This order was proclaimed by sound of trumpet and in the name of Lafavette.

In these days the white cockade of the Bourbons entirely disappeared, and the tri-colour cockade was mounted by Lafayette, the National Guard, the French Guard, and nearly every man in Paris. News was received from Versailles that Machal Broglie, and Barentin, the keeper of the seals, had sent in their resignations to the king; that the new ministers were scattered before they had time to receive their portfolios; that his majesty had sent to recall Necker, the people's minister, and intended, within a few days, to visit his good city of Paris in person. By this

• For the Abbé Roy, see ante, note, p. 363.

time many other large towns of the kingdom had shown a determination not to be left behind by the capital. The people of Lyons had insulted their military commandant, burned the guardhouses and custom-houses, fought with the troops in the streets, killed a considerable number of men, or thrown them wounded into the Rhone. The people of Metz, and the villages round about, partly impelled by want, and partly by the political clubs, rose in arms, and stopped all the grain that was passing through their territory. In Caen, the Duke of Beuvron, military commander of all Normandy, attempted to check the insurrection, which was bursting out on every side of him, by crecting three gibbets, and giving strict orders to the troops to fire on the people whenever they should be riotous; but the soldiers swore they would not fire, and then the people laughed at the duke and his gibbets, and made active war upon all custom-house officers and tax-gatherers. The castle of Caen was everywhere defenceless, and might be scaled on all sides; yet the Duke of Beuvron mounted some cannon on rotten carriages, which only served to irritate the people still more. The people of Rouen, on learning the capture of the Bastille, sent a deputation to Caen, joined the insurgents there, drove away the king's troops or officers, and created a burgher guard of their own. A number of emissaries from Paris arrived both in Rouen and Caen, and soon spread themselves through all the other towns of Normandy. It was no longer a mob, but an entire people up in arms. The governor of the province was compelled to assume the tri-colour cockade, and to distribute it to the troops of the line. There was no want of arms in these parts, and there were no means of keeping them from the people In the magazines of St. Lô alone were 15,000 muskets. In the great scaports of Cherbourg and Brest the people rose almost to a man, hoisted the tri-colour, and formed a national guard. In Brest were found 20,000 muskets, a vast number of cannon, and a most abundant stock of powder. There was no blood spilt, because there was no resistance offered.* At Valance, a general officer who was "so imprudent as to resist the demands of the people, and point his guns against the town," was abandoned by his soldiers, and then murdered, together with two of his officers. In the Lyonnais, in Dauphiny, in Burgundy, in Upper Auvergne, and various other parts of the kingdom, the peasants were burning the châteaux, hunting the aristocrats, and trying their hands at a new Jacquerie. The mighty agency of fear gradually armed every town and village. To induce the masses to arm and form themselves a stratagem was employed, which was attended with wonderful success. the same moment of time, on the whole surface of France, every inhabited place was purposely frightened by reports that troops of brigands were approaching to plunder and destroy all that they might find. These reports, once set going, grew in volume and velocity, and soon made an ava-

Dumouries, Mémoires.

lanche of terror and suspicion that buried and blinded the popular mind. Every town and village was every moment expecting the arrival of these terrible bands of robbers, who were everywhere and yet nowhere. The cloud raised by a flock of sheep along a dusty road was quite enough to alarm a whole town. But under this alarm burgher guards and a rural militia were embodied with astonishing rapidity, and every musket thus brought into use was a musket for the Tiers Etat and National Assembly.*

Marshal Broglie felt, on quitting office, that his life was not safe in France. Although precautions were used, he was exposed to many risks before he could reach the frontier. He entered Verdun escorted by a detachment of hussars, and went to pass the night in the bishop's palace. The people rose immediately and threatened to set fire to the house. The militia or burgher guard were called out, but it was only to join the mob. When two battalions of Swiss arrived to reinforce the hussars he left the bishop's palace, traversed the town, where people were shouting for his head, and threw himself into the citadel, where he passed the night without fear of being burned alive. The next day, at the gates of Metz, the marshal was met by 500 semed burghers, who told him that he should not enter that town. These insults and dangers did not cease until he got upon the territories of the emperor and took refuge in Luxembourg. The marshal was not the only exile; and all the other exiles were exposed to the same hazards. Count of Artois, the king's brother, was obliged to take his departure it. a clandestine manner. The Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Polignacs, who were esteemed the chief Advisers of the queen, were reduced to the same painful necessity. Condé was pursued by some fellows mounted on horseback, who, it is said, intended to drown him in the river Oise. † The Polignacs travelled disguised, with friends dressed as livery-servants sitting on their coach-box. The Palais Royal government had set a price upon the heads of all these fugitives. This was called the first emigra-The Count of Artois and the Prince of Condé crossed the Alps and established themselves at Turin, where they were soon joined by the exminister Calonne and by numerous emigrants belonging to the high noblesse and the church. These refugees seem never to have thought that there was any possibility of their returning to France, except through civil war and foreign invasion; they were as extreme and as mad in their way as were the triumphant party they had left behind them giving the law at Versailles, Paris, and throughout the kingdom. It is said, and by one of the best authorities on all matters connected with the interior of the court, that the queen had packed up her

diamonds, and thought seriously of following the Count of Artois; that the king thought of retiring to the southward with a part of his army, and that it was only decided, on the night of the 16th, by a majority of the council, that his majesty should remain, and go into Paris to try the effects of a visit on the people.*

On the 17th of July, at ten o'clock in the morning, Louis left Versailles and the weeping queen, who expected that he would be murdered by the Paris mob. His majesty was attended by a hundred members of the National Assembly, and escorted by the National Guard of Versailles as far as the bridge of Sevres, where the Versailles men were replaced by detachments of the Paris National Guard. At the barrier of Passy his majesty found Mayor Bailly, with the enormous old keys of the city, and a municipal retimue which seemed to have no end. Holding up these keys, declaiming like an academician, and not deigning to doff his cap or bend his knee, Astronomer Mayor Bailly said, "Sire, I present your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris. They are the same keys that were presented to Henry IV. He had reconquered his people, but in the present case the people have conquered their king;" and this miserable insult he followed up with a miserable dribbling of commonplaces about basis of liberty and public prosperity, happy faces, memorable day, &c.† When the astronomer had done haranguing, M. Delavigne, a Paris lawyer, and president of the electors of Paris, read the king another long lesson. This ceremony over, the king, without any escort, without so much as a body-guard, drove through Paris to the Hôtel de Ville, through double and treble rows of National Guards, some armed with muskets and bayonets. some with pikes, and not a few with clubs and scythes stuck in sticks. Their total number, including the many thousands that had flocked in from all the suburbs, neighbouring towns, and villages, was estimated at 200,000. Instead of happy faces he saw dark and threatening countenances; and the only cries he heard were, "Vive la Nation! Vive le Tiers Etat!"! In those sullen, serried ranks were observed young women, monks, capuchins, abbes, and cures, with muskets on their shoulders or swords in their hands. On approaching the Place Louis Quinze several gun-shots whistled through the air: a lady was killed, and the Marquis de Cubières, who was riding close to the king's 'carriage, had his hat knocked off by a ball. Some of the more impatient patriots were evidently firing at the royal carriage. On passing

^{*} Dulaurs, Esquisses.—Toulongeon, Histoirs de France depuis la Révolution. Steyes, Mirabeau, Lafayette, and the Duke of Orleans are all accused of having employed agents and means to disseminate this terror, which completed the madness and ferceity of the people.

† Weber.

Madame Campan, Mémoires.
 Bailly, Mémoires.

[†] Ballly, Rémofres.

‡ Gouverneur Morris, who was a spectator, says that he walted in the street from eleven o'clock in the merning till four in the afternoon, when the procession arrived.

"It seems that his majesty was escorted by the militia of Versailles to the Point de Jour, where he entered the double file of Parisian nultita, which extends from themes to the Hôtel de Ville, seed line cumposed of three ranks; comsequently it is a body six there, extending that distance. The Assemblés Nationals walk promiseuously together in the procession.—Dêry.

‡ Dulaure, Esquisses.—Bailly, Mémoires.—Weber.

the Pont Neuf Louis observed that the statue of Henri Quatre was decorated with the tri-colour cockade. On alighting in front of the Hôtel de Ville Louis was again accosted by Mayor Bailly, who asked him if he would accept the distinctive badge of Frenchmen? He took the tri-colour cockade, put it in his hat, and then ascended the broad stairs of the Hôtel de Ville, under an arch of steel, formed by swords crossed over by one another. As soon as he was in the hall the king calmly desired that all those swords should be put in their scabbards. Moreau de Saint-Méry, the friend of Lafayette, and one that had essentially contributed to Lafayette's appointment to the command of the National Guard, then harangued his majesty, calling him a citizen monarch, and telling him that his subjects would love liberty all the better for having begun under his happy reign. When this orator was done another got up to propose that this memorable day should be consecrated by the votive offering of a statue, to be crected on the site of the Bastille, to Louis XVI., " regenerator of the national liberty, restorer of the public liberty, and father of the French people." A statue was decreed accordingly-never to be executed; and then Lally Tollendal made another oration to the speech-oppressed king, applauding him for having dismissed his late iniquitous counsellors, and for having recalled the people's minister, the great Necker; and concluded by declaring, with the emphasis of an inspired prophet, that, from that time forward, France would present to the universe the magnificent spectacle of the most beautiful of nations living free, happy, and triumphant, under a just, a beloved, and revered king. After being talked at in this fashion, Louis had nothing to do but to confirm all that had been done -to recognise the National Guards, and Lafayette as their commander; to recognise Bailly as mayor -and then to recommend order and tranquillity. He was next conducted to a large open window, and there made to exhibit himself to the people with the revolutionary cockade in his hat. At this sight the people roared "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!"-" for the cockade he had adopted seemed to be an approval of the insurrection, a sign of reconciliation, and of the new alliance between the nation and their king." Shortly after this he got back to his carriage, which he found covered all over with tri-colour ribands, and was allowed to return through Paris without being shot at.* The queen did not expect to see him come back alive. In unfeigned agony she exclaimed, "They will never let him return to me!" and as the sun went down her worst apprehensions seemed to her be confirmed. But at last a long line of dust was seen rolling along the Paris road, loud vivats were heard in the Avenue de Versailles, where the deputies of the National Assembly were ranged in rows; and, at about nine o'clock, Louis, unhurt in body, but wounded, humiliated, crushed in spirit,

^a Duhare, Esquisses; with Procès Verbal des Electeurs, quoted by Bailly, Mémoires.—Weber.—Lecretelle.

descended from his tri-colour equipage, and went hastily to his wife and children.

During the whole day Lafayette had studiously kept out of sight of the king, but on his majesty's going to his carriage, to return home, he had presented himself, and, after a few brief words, had mounted his white horse, and escorted the sovereign as far as the village called Point du Jour. Like Mayor Bailly he had pledged himself for the immediate restoration of peace and tranquillity; but in so doing he had engaged for what was far beyond his ability. That very night there was firing and fighting in nearly every quarter of Paris: in more than one quarter his authority was set at defiance, his appointment criticised as improper and unpatriotic, seeing that he, too, was an aristocrat, and his name and character were held up to contempt. On the following day he was found by a friend perplexed and exhausted by an infinite variety of occupations. He had prepared no plan for introducing order into the militia or National Guard; and he said that he had already enjoyed the utmost power his heart could wish, and was growing tired of it; that he had commanded absolutely a hundred thousand men, had marched his sovereign about the streets as he pleased, prescribed the degree of applause which he should receive, and could have detained him prisoner had he thought proper—and that, therefore, he wished as soon as possible to return to private life! + Astronomer Mayor Bailly was scarcely more confident or tranquil in his civic chair, for the permanent committee or committees of the municipality dictated to him most imperatively, and the committees were in their turn dictated to and brow-beaten by the mob. On the evening of the 18th one of the Palais Royal orators informed the multitude that he had been to the Hôtel de Ville, and had had the door shut in his face; that patriots, real citizens and electors of Paris, had been refused admittance; and that, at the same time, there were many carriages of the aristocrats standing at the door. These, he said, were truly suspicious circumstances. and must be looked into. His harangue was followed by loud and angry shouts, and a precipitate movement towards the Hôtel de Ville. The movement was arrested by some detachments of troops, and the orator was given over to a commissary of police; but on the very next morning there was a fresh riot of the same kind in front of the Hôtel de Ville. On the 20th the Hôtel des Invalides was invested ancw by an immense multitude, who pretended that there were still muskets and bayonets concealed in that edifice, and who were not dispersed without blood being drawn. The mob, who dreamed of nothing but of arms and combats, even took it into their heads that arms were concealed by the nuns of the abbey of Montmartre; and that quiet retreat was besieged by some 20,000 men.

Madame Campan, Mémoires.
† Gescorness Morru, Diary This conversation took place at Lafayette's own dinner table, where were present, besides Morris, the Duke and Duchess of la Rochefoucault and several other persons. The report of it is worth a great deal, as enabling us to estimate what manner of man this hero of two worlds really was.

who accused the poor lady abbess of treason, and of dark plots against liberty, and who threatened the place and all in it with destruction.* On the 22nd there was more decapitation, preceded by horrible torture. In naming his ministry on the dismissal of Necker (on the 11th), the king had appointed M. de Foulon, formerly a counseller of state, to an office under Marshal Broglie. This de Foulon is represented as the most unpopular man in France—as a man without bowels of compassion, who had declared in council, some time before this, when the people were complaining of having no bread to eat, that the canaille might eat hay, that grass and thistles were good enough for them. There is scarcely a shadow of a probability that he had ever said anything of the kind; but the people, who mingled with their daring unbelief a marvellous credulity, believed that he had said They had the words, and that was enough. launched their thunderbolts against Broglie, and every other member of the intended cabinet; but, as for de Foulon, they were resolved that he should not escape them, if he remained between earth and heaven. Knowing how intensely he was hated, the old man (he was in his 75th year) stole out of Versailles on the night of the 15th, fled in Clasuise to a country house he possessed in the village of Vitry, on the Fontainebleau road, hid himself there, and gave out that he was dead-dead of apoplexy; nay, dead and buried; for a servant of the house had opportunely expired, and a sumptuous funeral seemed fully to confirm the report. But the ingenious secret was betrayed by some living servant or confidant; and Rappe, the patriot syndic of the village, burst into the house with the patriot villagers, and seized the old counsellor. They tied a truss of hay on his back, put a garland of nettles round his neck, and a bouquet of thistles in his breast. They bound his feeble, rattling limbs with ropes, and they kicked and cursed him all the way to Paris, and all the way on foot; and the distance was four long leagues, and the road was stony, and the journey made by night. He was carried to the Hôtel de Ville, more dead than alive, and was there presented to Mayor Bailly, who knew not what to do with him, and who durst not tell the people that there was no crime recognised in law laid to his charge. The mayor called upon the permanent committee of electors; and the committee, after a very long discussion, frequently interrupted by the savage multitude, came to the decision that all persons arrested only on public clamour should be

The terrified lady abbest—a member of one of the noblest families of France—dispatched a note to the committee of electors sitting in the Hötel de Ville, to certify, under her own hand and seal, that everything imputed to her was false; that he was a citiscense (citogense), and scalous for the preservation of her follow-citiscens. The committee sent an elector to the abbey, in order to prevent, if possible, pillage, and the worse crimes that might accompany is, if, the mob should break into the monastery. The elector fadnoed the mob to choose two individuals from among themselves, to go into the abbey with him, and make a search. For six hours the trie virted and turned over everything in the building, searching helis, chambers, bedrooms, dressing-rooms, sideboards; trunks, cellars, gwdes, and summer-houses; but all that they ould find in the shape of srme wag one rusty old gun belonging to the lady abbest's gardener. A report made in conformity induced the mob to dispense, and so for the present the nuns were left quiet.—Duissers.

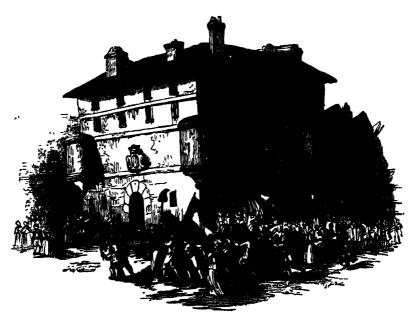
shut up in the prison of the Abbaye, and that over the gate of that, building there should be an inscription: "PRISONERS PUT UNDER THE HAND OF THE NATION." But the committee's master, the sovereign, bloodthirsty rabble, would not rest satisfied with this decision, or allow of any delay. About the hour of noon they threatened the Hotel de Ville, the mayor, the committee, and all that were therein, demanding that de Foulon should be tried instantly, and then hanged at the memorable lamp-post which stood on one side of the Place de Grève, at the corner of the street de la Vanneric. The terrified mayor and committee-men, after making a very useless address to the people, on the beauties of order, law, and justice, sent to call Lafayette and his National Guards to their assistance. In course of time Lafayette arrived, and made another speech, which was characteristic of the man, but showed a little more address and ingenuity than was common to him in moments of cusis. "You wish," said he, " to kill this man without any trial. That is an injustice which would dishonour you-which would dishonour me myself, and blight all the efforts I have made in favour of liberty, if I were weak enough to permit it. . . . I insist that the law be respected; the law, without which there is no liberty; the law, without whose support I should never have contributed to the revolution in the New World, or to this revolution in France!" † He added that, no doubt, de Foulon was guilty; but that, the more guilty he was, the more necessary was it (here lay the ingenuity) to commit him to prison, to subject him to legal interrogatories, and to try him leisurely, in order to obtain from his own lips the confession of who were his accomplices. But the address was all thrown away; and, as for weakness, this hero of two worlds, in the face of that fierce and mighty mob. was weaker than a rush or a weed before the wind. His National Guards themselves were only a part and portion of the same yelling multitude. Nearly every man in those countless thousands was gasping for blood. That all may have their share, it must be stated that Necker, the people's minister, had unwittingly contributed to the maniac rage. He was returning to Versailles in triumph, and had recommended a general amnesty, which was to include de Foulon, together with all who had taken office with Broglie; and therefore the mob, apprehending that, if the prisoner was once taken out of their hands, he would escape unhurt, determined to sacrifice him then and there. The death-warrant was pronounced, not by one of the hungry, ragged rabble, but by a well-dressed, good-conditioned man, who stepped from the crowd and said; " Friends, where is the use of trying this man, who has been judged and condemned these thirty years?"! Then there was a mad rush into the Hôtel de Ville; and, in despite of Lafayette's word of command and Mayor Bailly's oratory, and the cries and prayers of the victim-Lafayette

Proces-Verbal des Electeurs, as cited by Dulaure, Esquisses.
 † Id. id.

was nearly knocked down—they seized the whiteheaded old man, dragged him across the Place de Grève, tied a rope round his neck, and hauled him over the lanterne. The rope broke, and the halfstrangled old man fell upon the pavement: but they spliced the rope and pulled him up again. Again the rope broke and let the victim fall upon the pavement, still alive and screaming for mercy. But a new rope was handed to these awkward but determined hangmen, and after kicks and blows, slow tortures, which lasted a quarter of an hour, de Foulon was hanged. They then cut off his head and stuck it on a pike; and, while some carried the bloody pike with the head aloft, others dragged the headless body through the streets.* De Foulon seems to be very generally described as a hard, avaricious old man, that had been disposed to overlook all other considerations when money was to be gained; but some of his countrymen who have painted the worst portraits of him do not guarantee the correctness of their delineations, or attempt to produce proofs of any one criminal deed. Not satisfied with the murder of de Foulon, the sovereign mob, which (we must keep repeating the fact in order to convey a correct notion of this people and this revolution) did not consist of the mere rabble, had made up their minds to hang his son-in-law, M. Berthier de Sauvigny, who had also been a counsellor of state and intendant of Paris, at the same lamp-post. The crimes of M. Berthier are still less determined than those of his father-in-law: it is probable that his greatest offence in the eyes of the people was his family

• Procès Verbal des Electeurs, as quoted by Dulaure.—Builly, Me-moires.—Annales Parisiennes.

connexion with Foulon, who had been made to say that they might live on the food of horses and asses. On the ministerial debdele at Versailles Berthier withdrew to Compiègne, where he was arrested and thrown into prison under a pretended order from the Paris municipality, whose commands superseded all laws and established authorities. It might very well be that the order was real, and not pretended; but the municipality represented to the zealous patriots of Compiegne that, as M. Berthier was neither accused nor proscribed, there was no lawful reason for detaining him a prisoner; and they sent two Paris electors and 120 armed men on horseback to Compiègne to take Berthier out of the hands of the people there and bring him to one of the prisons in Paris. This was contradictory enough. It is said, however, that the municipality only wished to withdraw him quietly from the furious patriots of Complègne. If this was really their intention they acted most unwisely;—the removing him to Paris was to increase his risks a thousand-fold. Berthier was allowed to travel in a cabriolet; but as he approached the capital he was brutally treated, not only by the people, but also by an additional mounted escort which the municipality sent to meet him. He was close to the faubourgs when the savage multitude were seizing Foulon and carrying him to the lamp-post. Some of the municipality, seeing clearly what would happen if he were brought at such a moment to such a place, dispatched a messenger with orders that he should be carried directly to the Abbaye prison, and not conducted through the streets of Paris. But the orders of this governing body were only observed



"RISON OF THE ADDAYE. From a View by Reguler.

so far as suited the inclinations of the mob; and the mounted escort, with a host of people on foot, conducted the prisoner to the Place de Grève. On his way he met the ghastly head of his fatherin-law, carried on a pike. On arriving at the Hôtel de Ville he was introduced to mayor Bailly, who, evidently alarmed for his own safety, asked him whether he had anything to say? Berthier, not aged and infirm like his father-in-law, but robust and courageous, replied, that, when he knew what he was accused of, he would speak in his own justification; and then he said, that, having passed three days and nights without sleep, he must request the favour of a short rest. Bailly and his associates were proceeding to read some nonsensical papers-the procès verbal drawn up by the self-appointed authorities at Compiègnewhen they were interrupted and alarmed by tremendous cries of "Finish, finish with him! The Faubourg St. Antoine is coming! The Palais Royal is coming! They will have his head!" And in the next minute the guard which Lafayette had placed at the doors of the Hôtel de Ville was swept away, and the passages, hall, and rooms were inundated by the people, all roaring "A la lanteine! à la lanterne!-to the lamp post with him!" The sole chance of saving the victim-a faint and uncertain one, yet such as a brave and generous man would have tried-was for Bailly or Lafayette, relying on their popularity, to have placed themselves between the prisoner and the people, to have made a rampart for him with their own breasts: but what Bailly did was to send Berthier out of the hall into the Place de Grève, into the very crater of the volcano, under the escort of some of the National Guards, who were told that they were to conduct him sale and sound to the Abbaye prison. This mangeuvre cleared the hall, left the astronomer air to breathe on his civic throne, and relieved him and his colleagues from personal inconvenience and risk; but, without consulting the stars, must not Bailly have forescen all that happened? As soon as Berthier was outside of the Hôtel de Ville, as soon as his foot crossed the threshold, he was clutched by the mob, whirled across the square, and thrown under the fatal lanterne. He was bruised, wounded, borne down by a mass of men; but, as they were trying to fix a new rope round his neck, he forced a musket from one of his murderers, and used the butt end of it with such effect, that not a few of them fell bleeding on the pavement, or retreated before him: but bayonets were fixed, the savages closed upon him, and the strong, desperate man fell, pierced through and through, bleeding from a hundred wounds. He yet breathed: but one of the cannibals plunged his hand into his entrails and tore out his heart. This bleeding heart was presently laid before mayor Bailly and the municipal body. A man, dressed in the uniform of a dragoon, and followed by an immense crowd, advanced to the very table at which these high functionaries were sitting, and, holding out his hand,

exclaimed with hellish glee, "See here the heart of Berthier!" Bailly and his confreres are said to have been struck dumb with horror and affright. Another procession came from the lanterne across the square to present Berthier's head; but Lafayette met them as they entered the Hôtel de Ville, and prevailed upon them to save the mayor and the municipality this new horror and alarm. Both head and heart were then carried, in the midst of the exulting mob, through the streets of Paris, to the Palais Royal, there to be exhibited with the head of old Foulon."

The French writers, not of the anti-revolutionary but of the liberal party, from whom, and from whom alone, we transcribe these atrocious details. cast about them for all manner of excuses and subterfuges: they say that these horrible deeds were alien to the character of Frenchmen; that they were loathed, even in the paroxysm of that madness, by all classes; and that they were perpetrated either by a few individuals, the hired agents of certain monsters whose aim was to stain the revolution with blood and crime, in order to render it odious to the nation, or committed by some personal enemies of the two unhappy men. But these efforts are ineffectual. Such deeds, unfortunately, were not alien to the character of the French; such excesses had constantly attended their insurrections and civil wars; such enormities could not possibly be executed by any hired ruffians, by any handful of men, among tens and hundreds of thousands of people, all about equally armed, equally active, equally daring; and the very documents quoted by these French historians, and in fact the very sentences written by their own pens, prove and establish the damning facts, that the great mass of the city of Paris participated and revelled in these and still bloodier crimes; that men, women, and children followed the bleeding heads for hours, shouting, applauding, and singing; and, in brief, that the crimes were not private or particular, or confined to a few, but the crimes of the majority of the population—essentially national crimes, and for which the national character will eternally be amenable. + And what did Lafayette after these signal proofs of his impotency and the people's execrable barbarity? Did he resign his command—his titular command—over the National guards of Paris, who rather joined in with the murderers than made any real effort to prevent them? No, he only pretended to resign, or, if his intention was sincere, it was but for a moment. One of his innumerable culogists, a man that has

^{*} Thiors.—Mignet.—Dulaure.—Proces Verbal.—Histoire de la Revolution de 1789, par deux Amis de la Liberté.—Bailly.—Lacretelle. † Gouverneur Morris, who witassed some of the horrors, certainly thought the whole people answerable for them. He was walking under the arcade of the Palais Royal waiting for his carriage.—"In this period the bead and hody of M. de Foulon are introduced in triumph; the head on a pike, the body dragged naked on the earth. Aftsewards this hocritist exhibition is carried through the different streefs. His erime is to have accepted a place in the ministry. This mutiliated form of an old man of seventy five is shown to his son inlaw, Berthier, the Intendant of Paris; and, afterwards, Berthier also is put to death and cut to pieces, the populace carrying about the mangled fargments with a savage joy. Gracious God! What a people!"—Diery.

· been called upon to exercise the science of government, finds everything right and everything commendable in Lafayette's conduct at this juncture. He says, that, filled with grief and indignation, Lafayette resolved to send in his resignation (not to the king, for the king was nothing—not even to the National Assembly, but to the mayor and municipality of Paris); that Bailly and the municipality, terrified at this proposal, made all the haste they could to turn him from it; that then it was agreed among them that he should send in his resignation in order to make the people feel how dissatisfied he was with their conduct, but that he should allow himself to be won over by the entreaties which the people would be sure of making to him; that the resignation was sent; that thereupon the people and the National Guard surrounded Lafayette, promising him the greatest obedience for the future; and that upon these conditions or promises the general resumed his command.*

Foulon and Berthier were murdered on the afternoon of the 22nd of July, five days after the king's visit to Paris. Necker arrived at Versailles on the evening of the 28th, after having traversed France in triumph, followed by one continuous mob, shouting and applauding, and receiving from him paternal nods, and paternal advicenot worth more than the nods—to be peaceable and orderly. The king received him with some embarrassment, but the National Assembly welcomed him back enthusiastically; for his triumph was their triumph, and they alone had brought him back. His best friends had endeavoured to show that France was now in a state not to be governed by any minister, or any system of administration whatsoever, and had strongly dissuaded him from returning or trying any more dangerous experiments; but Necker said in his sententious manner that it was better to expose oneself to danger than to remorse. He was elated by the mouth-honour he had received on the highways, clated by the equally hollow applauses of the Assembly, and experience and a duplicated failure had not weakened his gigantic confidence in his own puny powers and abilities. That his triumph might be complete, and the applauses of the provinces confirmed and heightened by the voice of the capital, on the morning of the 30th, when he had been only a few hours in Versailles, he set off for Paris, and for the Hôtel de Ville, wherein there resided more sovereignty-cramped and mob-controlled though it was—than in the palace of the king or hall of the National Assembly. The vanity the man was gratified to the utmost: he was received with transports, and all the way from the bridge of Sèvres to the Place de Grève his progress was a triumph; his path was strewed with flowers; bouquets, garlands, and wreaths were showered upon him; and the air was rent with shouts of "Vive Necker! Vive le Ministre du Peuple!" He was affected to downright weeping, but the tears were of the sweetest kind; he felt even an increase of confidence that this generous, this enthusiastic people might easily be led by the hand.* In front of the Hôtel de Ville he was received by a deputation, for, except towards the king, the rules of etiquette were studiously attended to; and, being conducted into the hall, he was presented to the Mayor of Paris and a new provisory municipal body which had been composed by Bailly and Lafayette, and which consisted of 120 deputies from the different districts of the capital, instead of the 400 electors and deputies who had hitherto figured as the municipality. Bailly seated Necker by his side, and then made him an oration. The mayor told him, in rhetorical language, that his departure had afflicted France, and that his return had brought back life to France; that the past would answer for the future; that the sensibility and acclamations of the people were very fine things; that this people, who had always loved their kings, adored Louis XVI., &c. Necker responded with a long-winded discourse. He was then conducted into another hall, wherein all the electors of Paris were assembled, and where Madame Necker, his wife, and Madame de Staël, his brilliant daughter, were seated in the high places, with Madame Lafavette and other dames, all wearing the tri-color cockade, which had been sentimentally presented to them by Moreau de Saint-Méry, with the words—" These colours are dear to you; they are the colours of liberty." Here Necker, with as much modesty as he could assume, listened to two more culogistic orations, one from Delavigne, the other from Moreau de Saint-Mery, who, between them, told the restored minister that it was the empire of his virtues, his glorious name, his genius, his vast plans of beneficence, which had enabled Paris to collect a force sufficient to intimidate traitors and put down the late iniquitous ministry; that it was from these virtues, this name, this genius, that France expected the completion of her happiness; that the destiny of that vast empire was visibly united with the destiny of Necker; that he must have seen with his own eyes that his return was a national triumph; that the love and confidence of the French equalled his genius; and, finally, that they all swore to unite their efforts in seconding the guardian angel of France-"l'ange tutélaire de la France." Necker replied to these palinodiae by reading the same long-winded discourse he had just delivered to Bailly in the other room. The effect must have been soporific. The twice-told tale ended with the assurance that the king had received him with the greatest kindness, and with the prayer or conjuration that they, the electors of Paris, in whose hands now lay nearly all the powers of government, would exert themselves in re-establishing a perfect and a lasting tranquillity. "In the name of God, gentlemen," said Necker, " no more judgments, no more proscrip-

Marquis de Ferrières.

Thiers.—Dulaure says that Lafayette was moved to tears by the conjurations and entreaties of the affrightened Builty and municipality, and by the touching proofs of their coufidence, exteem, and attachment.

tions, no more bloody scenes!" No man could more sincerely desire the cessation of these horrors, and one of his objects in coming to the Hôtel de Ville was to recommend to the Parisians—the only power capable of giving it with effect-a general amnesty, and the immediate release of Besenval, who had been denounced by the National Assembly, by the Palais Royal, by the municipality, who had been arrested on his flight towards Switzerland, his native country, and was now lying in prison expecting every moment to be his last. He had proposed this scheme of mercy to astronomermayor Bailly; but this gentle philosopher had disapproved of it as dangerous to the good cause, and to the champions of that cause, from its tendency to excite suspicions and discontents among the people. Bailly moreover thought that so great a subject as a general amnesty ought to rest, not with the Paris electors and municipality, but with the National Assembly: as for the king, with the ordinary royal prerogative of mercy, he seems never to have been thought of by Bailly, by Necker, or by any of them. Necker, however, in spite of Bailly's advice, introduced the subject in the Hôtel de Ville, and there was this excuse for him;—if blood was to be saved, there was no time to lose; and, if the municipality and the closurs had not the power to carry and enforce a scheme of mercy, there was no such power anywhere else in France. Besides, Necker sew there seated Lafayette, with all the outward shows of military authority and absolute command, and he did not fully know how the mob had played, and how they would still play, with the hero of two worlds, as with a puppet. There was, morcover, yet another and strong inducement: the Baron de Beschval, though the countryman, was known to have been the constant opponent or enemy of Necker; and would it not be magnanimous, great, glorious, in a moment of triumph, to secure the head of an old foe? Necker therefore demanded from the electors a full pardon for the baron. "I prostrate myself," said he, " I throw myself on my knees before you, to entreat that neither towards M. de Besenval nor any other person such rigours as I have heard of shall be practised. I demand grace for the baron and an amnesty for all others that are in the same situation." And at these words the national sensibility showed itself in a universal shouting of "Grace, pardon, amnesty!" When the enthusiasm had subsided Clermont-Tonnerre proposed that the amnesty should be embodied in a decree. The motion was carried without discussion, and the electors of Paris decreed, in the name of the people of that capital, that they pardoned all their enemies, &c.* Mayor Bailly, being called upon to sign this precious decree, positively refused. His refusal may have proceeded truly and conscientiously from the motives he assigned for his conduct; but it was nevertheless attended by two very apparent consequences—it increased Bailly's

 Besenval.—Bailly.—Lally-Tollendal, Mémoires.—Madame de Staöl Reflections.—Dulaure, Requisses.—Thiere.

popularity with the mob, and it made the mob believe that, since the Mayor of Paris would not sign it, the decree was nought.* After the hollow or useless amnesty had been read in the midst of acclamations, it was proposed that the busts of Necker and Bailly should be placed by the sides of the American-given bust of Lafayette which figured in that hall; and that these two new busts should be executed at the expense of the Paris electors. And when this was agreed to with sensibility, enthusiasm, &c., they voted that medals should be struck in honour of Moreau de Saint-Mery and Delavigne. Necker, attended by the same triumphant procession with which he had arrived, and revelling in a mirage or bright Fata Morgana, partly of his own making, and partly conjured up for him by the great magicians in the Town-hall, returned towards Versailles. But this was the last day of his high triumph and popularity. By the morrow the vision was fled: it had burst like the mirage of the descrt-it had faded away and become invisible more rapidly than ever Fata Morgana vanished on the Calabrian coast or the beautiful straits of Messina. Necker had left Paris, in the afternoon, an idol, a guardian angel, a god; but, before midnight, he was suspect; and, on the following morning, he was an aristocrat, a devil. "Necker, says the best French writer of his school, "did not know the people; he did not know with what facility they suspect their leaders and destroy their idols. The Parisians believed that he wished to withdraw their enemies from the punishments which they had merited; the districts assembled; the illegality of an amnesty pronounced by a civic assembly without mission or authority was attacked in a lively manner, and the very electors who had voted it in the Hôtel de Ville agreed to revoke and renounce it. Without doubt it was necessary to recommend calmness to the people, and to bring them back to pity and mercy; but the best means for obtaining this end would have been to have demanded, instead of the liberty of the parties accused, a proper tribunal to try them, and remove them from the murderous jurisdiction of the multitude. In certain cases that which is most humane is not what most appears to be so. Necker, without obtaining anything, unchained the people against him, and let loose the districts upon the electors; from that moment he began to wrestle with the revolution, which he believed he could master, because he had been, for a moment, the hero of it. But a man counts for very little in a revolution which moves the masses; the movement either drags him on or leaves him behind; he must either precede it

• We give Bailly's reasons in his own words:—"They brought me the decree to sign. I refused. It was unconstitutional, out of place, and daugerous. Unconstitutional, because it belonged neither to the electors nor to the municipality of Parıs to pronounce an annesty in favour of the enemies of the mution; out of place, because this was not the moment, when hatred and the spirit of party were beginning, and when the enemies of the country were concarde and not known, tor giving a general pardon; daugerous, because it might render us supposed of weakness, or own of consistance. A great mights was committed in this business. The very next day it three us into a terrible embarrassment."—htemores.

or fall. Never was there a time that made more evident the subordination of men to things: revolutions employ many chiefs, but when they give themselves up it is to one alone." * Except Necker, who " saw everything in Necker," there was no one that could really believe that he was to be this one man-this revolution-absorbing unit; and even he himself never for one moment contemplated being anything more than prime minister to a constitutional king; never for one moment conceived that the present movement was not to be arrested except by a man of the sword. The Faubourg St. Antoine, nearly all the districts of Paris, 1 sent off a deputation to the National Assembly at Versailles, to complain of the attempt at an amnesty; to warn them against originating or sanctioning any such unpatriotic measure; to tell them, in short, more plainly than by words, that the people were and would be their masters and the sole lawgivers in France. The Assembly, partly out of jealousy of the high functions which had been assumed by the municipality and the electors, and partly from their own vile dastardly fears, received these vagabond, bloodthirsty deputies with respect, and assured them that there was no intention of subtracting the enemies of the country from the hands of justice. And they presently voted and decreed that a tribunal should soon be established to try the late ministers and other state delinquents; that a committee should be instantly appointed to examine into the accusations against them; and that the Baron de Besenval, instead of being liberated and conducted in safety to the Swiss frontier, should be confined under safe guard at Brie-Comte-Robert, the place in the provinces where he had been seized. The last decree was the best that could have been made for the old courtier and soldier of fortune, for if he had been liberated he would have been assassinated on the road, and if he had been brought to Paris no human power could have saved him. Thirty thousand frantic Frenchmen awaited for a whole day the arrival of the Swiss baron in the Place de Grève, having collected all the instruments or means of insult or torture, and a strong rope and a knife beside the lanterne for their finishing strokes. Besenval was saved; but the Parisians continued to administer the law in their own manner, indulging in personal animosities, and passing a non fiat upon

and, memoryes.

For the love of truth, for the love of Heaven! let us read no more, let us hear no more—at least not in English books, or from English lipe—about the heroic courage of these Bullys and Lafayettes, and of this National Assembly! Fear—dastardly, blind, uncalculating fear—was the spring that moved them note, and on nearly energy other occasion!

every kind of privilege, and already on most kinds of property. There was much to redress, and there was no patience for the work, and in no one quarter a proper notion of doing the work gradually and so as to respect existing interests, and to grant compensation to sufferers from changes. We believe there is little exaggeration in the following picture of France at the moment of the revolution: -" The condition of the country, both political and economical, was intolerable. There was nothing but privilege—privileges vested in individuals, in classes, in towns, in provinces, and even in trades and professions. Everything contributed to check industry and the natural genius of man. All the dignities of the state, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, were exclusively reserved to certain classes, and in those classes to certain individuals. No man could take up a profession without certain titles and a compliance with certain pecuniary conditions. Even the graces and favours of the crown were converted into family property, so that the king could scarcely exercise his own judgment or give any preference. Almost the only liberty left to the sovereign was that of making pecuniary gifts; and he had been reduced to the necessity of disputing with the Duke of Coigny for the abolition of a useless place.* Everything then was made immoveable property in the hands of a few, and everywhere these few resisted the many who had been despoiled. The burthens of the state weighed upon one class only. The noblesse and the clergy possessed about two-thirds of the landed property; the other third, possessed by the people, paid taxes to the king, a long list of feudal droits to the noblesse, tithes to the clergy, and had moreover to support the devastations committed by noble sportsmen and by their game. The taxes upon consumption pressed upon the great multitude, and consequently upon the people. The collection of these imposts was managed in an unfair and irritating manner: the seigneurs or lords of the soil left long arrears with impunity; but the people, upon any delay in paying, were harshly treated, arrested, and condemned to pay in their persons in default of money or produce. The people therefore nourished with their labour, and defended with their blood, the higher classes of society, without being able to procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves. The bourgeoisie or townspeople, or body of citizens, industrious, educated, less miserable than the people, could nevertheless obtain none of the advantages to which they had a right to aspire, seeing it was their industry that enriched and their talents that adorned the kingdom. Public justice, administered in some provinces by seigneurs, in the royal jurisdictions by magistrates who bought their places, was slow, often partial, always ruinously expensive, and, above all, atrocious in criminal proceedings. Personal liberty was violated by lettres de cachet, the liberty of the press by royal censors."† Each and all of these things were evils that called for

* The Marquis de Bouillé tells this story. † Thiers.

^{*} Mignet.

† "Mallebranche," said Mirabeau, "saw everything in God, but Neoker sees everything in Neoker."

It is not to be supposed that the districts merely employed arguments and representations to terrify the electors and the National Assembly; they scared them out of their wits by gathering in the Pallis Royal by night, by sounding the tocsins, by threaten the Hotel de Ville with siege and assault, by swearing that the Jould enforce the revocation of the amnesty though they should have to fight a battle a hundred times more bloody than the one they had fought at the Bastille. Almost from the raoment of Necker's departure, to the revocation of the amnesty by the functionaries in the Hotel de Ville, and indeed down to the return of the deputation from Versatilles, Paris was up in arms and in open revolt—Lally-Tollendal, Mémoires.

Ror the love of truth, for the love of Heaven! let us read he more,

redress: the necessity of a revolution we have admitted over and over again—it is only for the means employed, the blind, mad hurry, the fury for doing all things at once, the utter disregard of all vested rights whatsoever, the stone-blindness to the justice and political prudence of compensation or a life-allowance to men born and bred in the enjoyment of certain benefits, that we reserve our condemnation and regret. It is true that the privileged classes had clung to their privileges with a most unwise obstinacy; it is true that they had tendered concessions only at the last moment: but these concessions, truly important in their amount, had now been tendered; a more moderate people with wiser and better leaders would have made some allowance for the passions natural to the human breast, for the love of keeping what we have once got or what our progenitors have left to us through generations or through whole ages, and such a people, having secured the guarantees and safeguards of constitution and law—things within the reach of the French at this crisis-would have remained satisfied with reform without driving on for a universal destruction,—would have rested content with a proper limitation of rank, privilege, and distinction, without aiming at a visionary and monstrous system of equality—a system for which, if it were practicable, the French, with their national vanity and rage for distinction, would be about the worst suited of all the peoples in the

Convinced more and more every day that principalities and powers were at their feet, and that there was in reality no power in France except their own, the people proceeded to make that power felt in all directions. They could make no allowances whatever, they would hear of no compromises, they would show no mercy to their old oppressors, or to those who had in any way stood above them in the eyes of the world. In Paris and in most of the great cities they broke up in a single day all municipal corporations, all trade incorporations or chartered companies, insulting and terrifying out of their lives all the more conspicuous members of them; and with a very exemplary unanimity they not only refused to pay any taxes to government, but also refused to pay any rent to the proprietors of their dwellings, shops, and warehouses. Their philosophes and their patriots in the National Assembly had taught them to ascend to first principles in all things, and to doubt the propriety of any such artificial distinctions as those that regulate the possession and descent of property; and the revolution was especially a millennium in their eyes, because they saw in it the prospect and the certainty of a new division and distribution of property. The most original of all our English writers on the subject of the French revolution humourously calls these and other doctrines "The Gospel according to Jean Jacques:"* but it was rather the gospel according to Voltaire and Diderot, whose novels and tales

must have been a thousand times more familiar to the popular mind than the cold, hard, dry, and difficult abstractions of Rousseau, whose Contrat-Social never was or could be a truly popular book -a people's hand-book. The country people in the various provinces of France daringly set forth their right to the land which they tilled or upon which they dwelt; and their Jacquerie went on with still increasing ferocity. Even in the showing of writers who seem to have considered the rich and privileged classes as only fit for destruction, the violence and the cruelty was excessiveatrocious.* Not contented with refusing rents, services, and droits, they rose upon their seigneurs and hunted them out of their homes, districts, and provinces as if they had been wolves; they continued to set fire to their châteaux, and took particular care that their parchments and title-deeds should not escape the flames. Mixed with some modern refinements, which proved at least that these Jacques-Bons-Hommes understood the value of documentary evidence and of parchment titles to property in courts of law, were many traits and incidents of the ancient barbarity, and of the dark, quick suspicions which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had so sharpened the thirst for With this suspicious turn of mind almost every accident might lead to carnage. De Mesmai, seigneur or lord of Quincey, and one of the judges of the parliament of Besançon, gave a fête in his park, or on the ground roundabout his château, for but very few French seigneurs had a taste for a country life, or were possessed of either what we call a park, or what we understand by a pleasure-garden. All the peasantry of the neighbourhood collected in their holiday dresses, and were apparently dancing very happily in their wooden shoes, when a barrel of gunpowder blew up and killed or wounded several persons in the crowd. The thing was accidental, or if there was malice and design in it they proceeded from parties very different from the lord of the château and giver of the feast. But a cry of suspicion and rage, preceded and sanctioned by cries in higher places, + was instantly raised by the peasantry, and the incident was laid hold of as a complete justification of whatsoever savage deeds they might commit upon seigneurs in general, or upon any person or persons belonging to the aristocracy or otherwise objects of envy or hatred. This 'infernal fable,' as it was not improperly termed, was industriously circulated in all directions, and was only consigned to oblivion at the moment when M. de Mesmai and his friends, backed by a cloud of witnesses, were ready to disprove and utterly discredit the horrible calumny. It is scarcely necessary to state that the château of de Mesmai, and those of his relations and friends, were reduced to ashes, and that all the excesses which most disgrace humanity were committed in that district. The flames spread rapidly through all parts of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Dauphiny, Champagne, Alsace, Britany, and other provinces; and it was soon observed + In the National Assembly. * Thiers, Mignet.

that they raged with a fearful impartiality. At first those seigneurs were attacked who had been proud and oppressive or for other reasons most unpopular; but soon all were assailed alike, the least proud and oppressive with those who had been most so, the most popular with the unpopular. It was quite enough to be a seigneur and to have a château—in this burning hell there was no distinction among persons. We cannot dwell upon these horrible particulars; but some few authenticated cases we feel ourselves morally bound to give, for truth has been overlaid by sophistry and declamation, and for half a century incessant efforts have been made—and they are still employed—to give a false colouring and character to these proceedings, in order that the national reputation of the French may be spared, and the true spirit that animated a people broke loose concealed, excused, or more than half justified. If these coverings and disguises are allowed to bury the facts, most of the great lessons derivable from them for the instruction and guidance of other nations and other legislatures must be lost. All that one of the most able and popular of the French historians of their own revolution has to say upon these frightful excesses is, that " it is very difficult for a people in the moment of victory not to make an abuse of their power."* Another native historian, certainly not so able as a writer, but still more popular with a numerous party, and whose pen has procured for him a name, and for some time the highest office among French statesmen, glides smoothly and complacently over all the dark pools and gulfs of iniquity, touching on no point that exhibits the native ferocity, sounding no depths where the blood is deepest, and holding, with a jesuitism surpassing that of all jesuits, that the end justified the means. † Not being able to deny the cruelties, he passes them over in the fewest possible words, and winds off his sentence by attributing them all to the former oppressions and long sufferings of their authors: he has not a breath of reproach or of grief to spare on such a trivial subject—the peasants were only "hardened by their miserable life and rendered ferocious by their long sufferings;" but then he emits a tornado-blast aguinst the remains of the feudal barbarities, followed by a mighty puffing upon regeneration—a regeneration begun with fire and sword and baptized in blood. There is even included in his few words a visible subterfuge: he speaks only of the crucities of the peasants-les cruautés de ces paysans;-but the peasants, the poor, rude cultivators of the soil, did not sin alone; they had partners and companions in their crimes who belonged to very different and much higher classes of society; the farmers that rented the land were as eager for blood and fire as the fellows that laboured it, and far more anxious for the destruction of title-deeds; the lawyers in the towns shared in the desires and schemes of the farmers and small proprietors in the country; and the town rabbles, often set in motion by citizens of

superior condition, were as savage and relentless as the country boors. The cruelties committed in the city of Paris quite equalled in atrocity, and far exceeded in amount, those perpetrated in the provinces, horrible as the latter were. No regard was peid even to the distinction of sexes: women, ladies noble by birth, and in some cases venerable by age, were subjected to all the horrors which a filthy, viciously inventive imagination can engender upon cruelty. The worst of the cases cannot be so much as mentioned to modern English ears. but a correct notion of them will be conveyed by any old chronicle relating what happened on the capture of towns by storm, or by the pages of any old French historian who details the abominations of the first Jacquerie. For cases that more readily admit of relation: - In Franche Comté, Madame de Battily was almost torn to pieces, and, in order to save her life, an axe being held over her neck, she resigned not only her title-deeds which the ruffians were calling for, but also her whole estate. Another lady in the same province was compelled to make a similar sacrifice, having a pitchfork at her throat, and her daughter lying at her feet in a swoon. The Countess of Montessu was seized with her husband on the high-road and kept for three hours with a pistol at her breast: she prayed for death as a favour: in the end both count and countess were dragged out of their carriage and thrown into a pond, where they must have perished but for the accidental passing of some of the king's troops who yet retained some sentiments of humanity. The Baron of Montjustin was suspended in a well for an hour and a half while the mob were deliberating whether they should end his torments by letting him fall into the water, or put him to death in some other way. The Chevalier d'Ambli was scized in his château, dragged naked through the village, and buried in a dung-heap, after having had his hair and his eye-brows plucked out by the roots, the mob dancing round him all the while like red Indian savages torturing their war-prisoners to death. In Normandy a gentleman afflicted with the palsy was thrown into a fire, whence he escaped with the loss of his hands; and a gentleman's steward was tortured and burned, until his feet were consumed, to make him deliver up his master's title-deeds, which apparently had never been in his possession. These title-deeds acted like the reports of concealed treasures in the East: all kinds of cruelty and of torture were employed to get at them or extract confession as to the places where they were deposited. M. de Belzunce, trusting to the generosity of an enemy, delivered himself up unarmed and helpless to a mob, who received him with bullets, and who were so eager for his death that they fired at him from different sides at the same moment, and actually killed and wounded several of their own party. The survivors cut his body to pieces, and some of them were even seen gnawing his flesh. In Languedoc M. de Burrus was cut to pieces in the presence of his wife, who was

† Thiers.

on the point of lying-in, and who died, together with her infant, in consequence of the shock; and, in the same sunshiny province, M. de Montesson was shot after seeing his father-in-law massacred before his face. Old fathers of families, matrons with their daughters, were sent flying through the night from their burning houses with nothing on them but their bed-clothes, and happy if they had not to endure in their flight the practical experiments of some low-born de Sades, ready, with hellish glee, to prove and test the fact laid down in in one of the most-read books in France, that the indulgence of cruelty heightens the relish of lust.* These deeds were perpetrated at a time when there was no resistance, when the nobles were consenting to everything, when a considerable part of them had devoted themselves to the popular cause, and when they had all renounced their privileges, and intimated, however tardily, their readiness to submit to a new order of things. †

It was in very few places that any attempt was made by the upper classes to resist their doom; they were so entirely abandoned by their dependents, and so outnumbered by the inferior classes, so actively assailed and borne down by furious, united masses, that there was scarcely a hope of even temporary success: but in several places, where the attempt at resistance was made with proper concert, intelligence, and courage, the mob were foiled and their atrocities checked. Thus the gentlemen of the Maconnois and Braujolois, seeing no other means of salvation, united in their own defence, took up arms, armed their relations and friends or such of their retainers as they could depend upon, and advanced against a rabble some six or seven thousand strong, who were headed by a lawyer, and who had already spread destruction through the fertile valley of the Saone, where blackened walls and heaps of ashes were all that marked the spots whereon seventy-two châteaux had recently stood. The gentlemen, of whom many had served in the army, beat the rabble with their unwarlike leader, and committed a great slaughterfor these gentlemen were French gentlemen. And after the execution done in the field they erected a temporary tribunal at Macon to complete the work by legal executions. This court condemned some twenty or thirty of the ringleaders to death; but the democratic newspapers of Paris and the other great towns, which had not uttered a word of condemnation against the burning, torturing and murdering of the mob, cried out loudly against these active measures, and the National Assembly soon interfered and put a stop to the proceedings at Macon, where a number of the worst of the offenders still remained untried. These gentlemen

* This atrocious theory forms the sum and substance, the morals, of the popular novel (it is still popular in Francel), 'Justine, on Les Malheurs de la Veris;' written by the notorious Marquis de Sades—

of the Maconnois and Beaujolois had certainly kept up in their brief hour of success the national character for impetuosity and proneness to blood, and these qualities would at any moment have made a counter-revolution all "one red;" but their example of alacrity in uniting themselves for self-defence was not followed, and when, in brief space of time, through the manœuvres chiefly of Lafavette. the whole of the royal army was made to fraternize with the National Guard, the whole kingdom was laid at the feet of the armed people under the designation of national guards or civic guards, and arms were taken out of their hands and for years put beyond the reach of all other classes. Except in the provinces, which became the seat of a protracted and most savage civil war, the nobles and gentlemen who did not fly their country, and who escaped the first slaughters, remained like sheep in a butcher's pen, and with the butcher's knife never far from their throats.

In these first ebullitions the people were as furious against the clergy as against the lay nobility, and they burned and destroyed as many churches as châteaux, mingling in these exercises every possible sport and device to show their utter contempt, not merely for the ministers of religion, but for religion itself-not only for the doctrines and the mysteries of the Roman form of Christianity, but for every part and parcel of the Christian creed and of all other creeds whatsoever. In the meanwhile the men who made thunder and lightning in the National Assembly kept themselves and their colleagues engaged in the metaphysical task of drawing up a Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was to stand at the head of the new constitution that was a-making. Some unmetaphysical people thought that such a declaration was altogether unnecessary; some cool, practical people thought that if it was to be made this was not the moment for it—thought that extreme care ought to be bestowed upon it, and the greatest precaution taken not to convulse men's minds, already so excited, by a sudden infusion of abstract rights and principles: but the Americans had begun their revolution, or had at least preceded their declaration of independence, by a declaration of rights; Jefferson recommended the measure, being

a snare every motion tending to repress the disorders or blame the excesses of the populace. It was still doubt mixed with fear (is diffuse) that lay at the bottom of men's hearts. They had triumphed by means of the people, and could not be severe against the people; on the contrary, although the Assembly often declared in their preambles that they were profoundly afficied, and even queensed, at the violences committed by the haudits and brigands that wern burning the châteaux and insulting the nublesse, they enjoyed in severe a terror which they believed necessary. If a short, they acted and felt much as Robespierve and his followers ald, afterwords, dwring the more tragical 'Reign of Terror.'] 'They had gue themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse for them. They condemned for decency, but they means and early them they means and accordinated the mob for policy: they are complements to authority, and encouragements to those who defied it. Their respect for the executive power was nothing but a formula of style; and revealed the state of nothingness to which they were reduced, the members of the Assembly, who remembered to well the time when they themselves had feared, were not sorry to see that Fear had changed her lodgings. If, thought they, you ministers were strong executive make the people respect you, you would be strong executive make the people respect you, you would be strong executive. This was the production of fear."—Descent.

Matheurs de le Verits i' written by the notorious marquis de Dauce-of whom more hersefire.

† Laily-Toleulal. Mémoires.

2 des. Regits. Nothing is more certain than that the National Assembly alternately winked at and encouraged the châteaux-burns ing, the destruction of titte-deeds, and the rest. "The Assembly," says an attentive and competent observer of all their proceedings, "were so afraid of offending the people, that they almost regarded as

neady with his pen to assist in drawing it up; Lafavette considered it as an indispensable preliminary, being ready with his sword to fight for it; and all the vainest members of the Assembly, all the philosophes and system-mongers, were eager to try their hands at a work which, in their fond belief (for there was wonderful credulity in worldly matters mixed up with the universal incredulity about religious matters), was to enchant the whole world and to act like a revelation to the body of the people in all countries. But these metaphysical deliberations were insupportably tedious to many men condemned to listen to them, and the plan of making such declaration would have been rejected altogether by a considerable majority, if it had not been for the mean fear in which members stood of the clamorous gods in the galleries, and of the journalists and demagogues who wielded the fiercest of democracies out of doors. morning of the 4th of August the vote was carried that there should be a Declaration of the Rights of Man, to be completed forthwith and placed at the head of the constitution. But on the very same day an in-rushing and overpowering torrent of facts disturbed the labours of metaphysics: reports were presented from all parts of France showing that the kingdom was becoming one vast field of anarchy and blood without dykes, barriers, or outlets of any kind. To the ultra-revolutionists these must have been notes of joy, for most of that class always calculated that France must pass through that Slough of Despond before she could reach the bright hill-top of republican perfection; but the great majority of the Assembly, not desperate chough to wish, nor wise enough to foresee such extremities, went to their dinners that day with uneasy stomachs and minds; and this uneasiness was aggravated during the dinner-hours by a familiar interchange of opinions, doubts, and fears—for when men meet at dinner-tables and in coffeehouses they express more freely and more clearly what they think, feel, and fear, than when they mount a tribune with a written oration in their hand and the eyes of thousands bent upon them: in such scenes the actor was swallowed up in the man; but in the National Assembly, as in other places of the like nature, though perhaps in a less degree, the man was lost in the actor. At those dinner-tables and coffee-houses, where the members of the noblesse congregated, there was a startling recapitulation of losses and dangers; many of them had to lament the destruction of their châteaux with all their moveable property, and all of them had to complain of the refusal of their tenantry to pe more rent, or to fulfil any of those customary duties which in many respects were little else than the anbatitution of so much service for so much money. If this refusal were persisted in by the people there would remain nothing for the nobles and great landholders to do but starve; and was it likely that the people would not persevere when they had everything to gain and nothing to lose, when they were becoming the only armed power in the state, with nothing

to fear. We do not find the fact mentioned in memoirs or histories; but it seems at least probable that these bereaved and panic-stricken seigneurs took more wine at this sad repast than was usual with them. Assuredly their conduct immediately afterwards looked like a fear that had gotten drunk, They went to the evening meeting of the Assembly with a sudden conviction that only a voluntary surrender of a great portion of their rights and possessions could secure to them the quiet possession of what was left; and before business commenced they exhibited an extraordinary degree of agitation. Presently a report was read on the existing troubles in the provinces, and the means proper to make them cease. This paper was read by M. Target at about eight o'clock : it dwelt in good set terms on the sacred rights of property and of personal security, on the majesty of the laws and the inevitable necessity of paying rent and taxes; and it even ordained, in its impotency, that the landlords should receive their rents, and the govern-ment their taxes, as aforetime. When the reading was over the Vicomte de Noailles began the explosion of what has been styled "generous sentiments, an emulation in disinterestedness, which without constraint, without effort, caused a revolution a great deal more efficacious and lasting than that of the taking of the Bastille."* From the tribune he declared that it was vain to think of employing force against the people; that the people must be satisfied by the immediate redress of every grievance of which they complained, and the immediate surrender of all the privileges and distinctions which they had taken up arms to abolish; and he proposed as a beginning, 1. That it should be declared by the Assembly, as the representatives of the nation, that henceforward the taxes should be paid by all classes in proportion to their property: 2. That all public burthens should be equally borne by all: 3. That all the feudal rights should be made redeemable in money upon moderate and equitable terms: 4. That the corvees seigneuriales, the main-mort, and other personal services, should be abolished without any redemption or considera? tion. The Duke d'Aiguillon seconded de Noailles in a speech that was all over fear, and terror, and trembling, like a thick grove of aspen trees. duke proclaimed that there was no help or hope save only in satisfying the people; that it was not a band of armed robbers seeking to enrich themselves in the national distraction and calamities, but the entire people that were forming a sort of league to destroy chateaux, ravage estates, and above all seize the title-deeds, patents, and pedigrees of all the foundal proprietors. He excused the nobility, who for the most part seldom resided on their estates, at the expense of their avents and factors. "The proprietors of fiefs," said he, " are very seldom guilty of the tyranny which their vassals complain of; but their men of business are often without pity, and the unhappy cultivator, subjected to the barbarous remains of feudal laws, too often groups under their weight. These feudal rights, it cannot be doubted, are a property, and all property is sacred; but they are burthensome to the people, and every body now agrees that they arc a continual restraint upon the people and their industry, injurious to agriculture and to trade." As if purposely to do away with the duke's pleading in favour of the modern mercy of his class, and to keep alive and reinvigorate the prevailing hatred against the aristocracy—as if to excite the peasants and their leaders to more burnings, and more and more blood—as if to proclaim, at the first enunciation of these self-sacrifices on the part of the noblesse, that the people could place no reliance on so accursed a race, a Breton deputy, named Leguen de Kerengal, who had put on a peasant's dress for the occasion, ascended the tribune and read a most fiery oration, which had probably been composed for him by Camille Desmoulins, or by some disciple or co-mate of that Demosthenes of the Palais Royal. This precious production carried out to their farthest possible extremes the practices of certain Assembly orators, of representing the aristocracy of the eighteenth century as the same tyrants and monsters as their ancestors who lived in the twelfth century: and it described not only as universal in the old time, but as still existing, numerous abominations which had never existed at all, except as monstrous exceptions to general rules of conduct, and numerous barbarities which had ceased and been forgotten of men for hundreds of years. The composer of the paper-whoever he was-had turned over a few old chronicles, and picked out all the atrocities he could find committed by the worst of the barons in the worst ages; and, putting a little of his own invention into the cauldron, he had mixed them up altogether, and had poured them out, scarding and scorching, as a proper representation of the essence of aristocracy in all times and under all circumstances. We cannot turn a page in these revolutionary annals without falling upon foul, obscene matter that will not bear repetition, and that would scarcely be tolerated even in the stews—in this country. But there is one passage in the oration read by this Breton deputy which may be cited, and which will convey some notion of its monstrous exaggerations. It affirmed that by one of the feudal rights the people were bound to pass the nights in beating the ditches of the castles, and the ponds near at hand, in order to prevent the sleep of their voluptuous seigneurs from being disturbed by the croaking of the frogs. The oration declared that the proper way of treating all these old and infamous parchments was to make a sacrifice and a blaze of them on the altar of the country. M. Lapoule, a deputy from Franche Comte, seemed determined not to be outdone by the Breton: he described as extent and in full operation in his province many barbarous laws and rights; and he announced as an indubitable fact that in old times the feudal lard in certain cantons of France was authorized to rip open the bowels of any two of his vassals, in order

to refresh himself and warm his feet in their warm bleeding bodies whenever he returned fatigued and cold from hunting! Here the orator was interrupted, not by a loud laugh, but by crice of horror and indignation, by which the popular mind seemed to call for nothing less than vengeance on the heads of the representatives of these old barons of bloodand-bowel foot-baths. And even in this manner, and at this season of popular fury and madness. were the people urged on to fresh assassinations by the fables and flourishes of rhetoricians. members of the Assembly ventured, however, in spite of the frowning galleries, to accuse Lapoule of gross exaggeration and imposture, and to dere him to the proof; and, amidst a roar of voices, the chicken-hearted orator left his speech unfinished and slunk away from the tribune.* Then M. Dupont de Nemours, a moderate reformer, a constitational-monarchy man, who did not think that earth would be made a heaven by a precipitate and unconsidered surrender of every feudal right and parchment, endeavoured to turn the debate into another channel by speaking of the absolute necessity of protecting persons and property; but M. le Marquis de Foucault ascended the tribune immediately after him to declare that he and the order to which he belonged were prepared for every sacrifice. "I only demand," said he, " that that part of the noblesse whose fortunes are derived from and increased by the favours of the court, shall be made to support the greatest part of the taxes which are going to be imposed upon us nobles." Though not quite disinterested, this discourse was received with acclamations; and it called up the Dukes de Guiche and de Mortemart, who held court places, and who both thought themselves bound to declare, as well for themselves as for other nobles similarly situated, that it was but just that they should lighten the tax-burthen of such of the nobility as lived in an honourable independence without partaking in the bounties of the king. Another noble deputy, the Vicomte de Beauharnais, then the husband of the woman that was destined to be an empress as the first wife of Napoleon Bonaparte, demanded for all Frenchmen an equality of pains and punishments, and an equal admission to all posts and employments whatsoever, without any of the old distinctions as to rank and The Duke du Châtelet recommended that the tithes of the church should be made redeemable as well as the feudal rights; and the Vicemte de Montmorency proposed that all the motions of that evening should be passed at once, and embodred in decrees without further discussion. The president—not now Bailly, who had so much business as Mayor of Paris, but le Chapelier, the present leader of the famed anti-monarchical Breton Club -slyly hinted that none of the members of the clergy had delivered their sentiments upon these great questions of sacrifice and surrender; and

Dulaure attempts—what the orator himself did not—to prove the draulfullity of Empoule's beauty story! His reasonings and equal-romations on the authors may be found in the last Paris actition of his Engalesce Historiques, bearing the recent date of 1885.

that it would be delicate and proper to hear some opinions from that reverend body before coming to a conclusion. This instantly called up De la Fare, Bishop of Nancy, who had preached the sermon in the church of Notre Dame to the States General when first assembled, and M. de Lubersac, Bishop of Chartres, the most amiable and the most sincere of all reformers, who, for his own part, was ready to sacrifice all he possessed in the world, and to go forth like a primitive apostle. De la Fare said that he had been accustomed to a near view of the miseries of the people, and that the members of the clergy could have no more ardent wish than to see them ended; that the redemption of feudal rights was indispensable to a nation establishing its liberties; and that tithes ought to follow the same course. The poor bishop of Chartres, who was so soon to be chased himself like a wild beast, recommended that the game laws and all the laws of the chase should be instantly sacrificed, together with the other feudal rights; and he drew a touching picture of the mischief done to poor farmers by the Nimrods of France and the beasts and birds harboured and encouraged to make them sport. These discourses excited a lively enthusiasm—un vif enthousiasme—and several clerical deputies, cheered and applauded to the skies, ascended the tribune after the bishop of Chartres, and supported his propositions. Next, the Count de Custines, who had served in America with Lafayette, demanded, as Montmorency had done before him, that all the propositions should be instantly accepted and decreed. M. de Castellane thought that it would be enough for one night to declare the feudal rights to be redeemable, according to tariffs which should be prepared as soon as possible. The Duke de Mortemart demanded that all the decrees which had been suggested should be passed before any adjournment—sans M. le Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau desemparer. said that they were only giving hopes to the people, whereas they ought to be giving them realities. Another noble deputy demanded that justice should be administered throughout the kingdom gratuitously, and that judgeships and other offices should no longer be sold. Another proposed abolishing the feudal right of the dovecote or pigeon-house, saying that he regretted, like Catullus, the having no better sacrifice to offer than a little bird! The Duke of Liancourt demanded the immediate enfranchisement of all the serfs in the kingdom, and kinder treatment for the black slaves in all the colonies. A deputy of the Tiers Etat pronounced sentence of annihilation upon all pensions obtained without service to the country; amanother recommended the immediate destruction of all and every privilege claimed by provinces, cities, boroughs, corporations, trading companies, &c. &c. Every thing was adopted, for the nonce, in the crude shape in which it was proposed, without examination, without debate. "A sort of intoxication," says Thiers, "took possession of the Assembly; rejecting superfluous discussion, all

orders, all classes, all who were possessed of any privileges, hastened to renounce them. After the deputies of the noblesse and clergy had done sacrificing, the deputies of the commons began to make their free-will offerings. Not having any personal privileges to sacrifice, they gave up those of provinces and towns: the same equality of rights already established between individuals is now established also between all parts and portions of the French territory. Some of the deputies surrendered pensions which they enjoyed; and a member of the old parlement, having nothing to surrender or to give, gave up, with Roman phraseology, his own body and soul to the commonwealth. The table was covered with acts of surrender and renunciation. For the present they contented themselves with drawing up a list of the patriotic sacrifices, and put off till the next day the drawing up of the articles (la rédaction des articles). The force of example seemed general; but in the midst of that enthusiasm it was easy to perceive that certain members of the privileged orders, not very sincere, wished to drive things to extravagant excess. Every thing was to be feared from the effect of night and from the violent impulse which had been given, when Lally-Tolendal, perceiving the danger, passed a pencil-note to the president saying, Everything is to be feared from this emulation: adjourn the Assembly' (levez la séance). At the same instant a deputy sprang towards Lally, and, squeezing his hand with emotion, said, 'Give us the royal sanction to what we are doing, and we are friends.' Lally, feeling the necessity of attaching the revolution to the King, then proposed that Louis should be proclaimed 'Restorer of French Liberty.' The proposition was received with enthusiasm, and a Te Deum was decreed."* But there was even more enthusiasm and acclamation than this historian tells of. In the course of the night the Duke of Liancourt proposed that a medal should be struck to consecrate the memory of this nocturnal sitting; and this was adopted by acclamation. The Marquis de Goury proposed instituting a national fête to celebrate in all ages the anniversary of this night of the 4th of August; and this also, together with many other propositions, was adopted by acclamation. In short, outwardly and visibly, there was nothing but enthusiasm and acclumation. Much that was done might be good to do; but was this the way to do it? Could any man in his senses entertain a hope of such legislation, or a sentiment of respect for such legislators? At about two o'clock in the morning they separated and went to their beds, some of them with the self-comforting conviction that they had regenerated France, restored tranquillity, secured a lasting happiness for all classes and conditions of men, by removing the grounds of jealousy and contention, completed their glorious work, and all in one short night, and introduced the Millennium, wherein all Frenchmen would attain to the perfection of human virtues

· Hist. de la Révolution Française.

and a happiness greater than that of the gods.* Others, however, thought that they had done a great deal too much, and in too great a hurry; that they had thrown up property and rights without the slightest security for compensation; that they had justified or sanctioned every popular outcry against the superior orders, and every attack on the châteaux and record-rooms of the noblesse, and on the churches, abbeys, episcopal palaces, and cartularies of the clergy; that they had openly proclaimed to an infuriated people, almost everywhere up in arms, that the National Assembly was afraid of them, and ready to make such laws or decrees as they might choose to dictate; and, in fine, that this night of the 4th of August, 1789, was the Saint Bartholomew of property! We believe that one of the great, if not the greatest, of the original impulses on the part of the privileged classes was FEAR—sheer fear and consternation, but mixed up afterwards with a little vanity and not a little spite. In the following reflections we recognise the thought, if not the hand, of Burke:-" An opinion has been adopted by some, that the business of this celebrated night was neither more nor less than a game of cross purposes, played by the contending parties; that the sacrifices made were mustly dictated by a spirit of revenge, when one party, incensed by the losses it had been made to suffer, proposed to the other acts of generosity by way of punishment; and that they mutually dared each other to concessions, of which those who suggested them expected to enjoy the honour without feeling the inconvenience. Whether this opinion may be considered as too sefined or not, it is, however, certain that, under the mixed operation of fear, hope, policy, emulation, enthusiasm, vanity, and impetuosity of temper, several things were done on that night which were afterwards, upon cool recollection, sorely regretted; and it is positively asserted that several of the nobility, who had from the beginning been eminent for their patriotism and for the share they had taken in forwarding a reform in the old government, were, notwithstanding, so much disgusted by the proceedings of this night that they immediately abandoned the popular side and party, and ranked from thence among the most violent aristocrats."+ In effect, as soon as the intoxication of the moment was over, a very numerous body was found ready to complain of the precipitate sacrifices which had been made. cool part of the noblesse perceived that their lands would soon go with their privileges; and the beneficed part of the clergy saw no prospect of any compensation for their surrendered tithes. very abolition of the old game-laws excited alarm, even among men who cared little for the pleasures of the chase, for it tended to put a gun in the hands of every peasant, and the peasants, judging

e "It seemed," says Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, the Protestant advocate and divine, "that in one night France was going to be regunarated so true is it that the happiness of the people is easy to be made when those who govern them think less about the people." Peop Rabaut Saint-Etienne i Ann. Regist.

from their present humour, were likely to use their guns more against nobles and priests than against ordinary game. On the morning of the 5th of August innumerable objections were taken to the proceedings of the over-night; and, as the resolutions had not been embodied or reducted in decrees, it was thought not too late to modify several of the articles. But while those who had to bear the sacrifices conceived that they had given up too much, the men who had nothing to sacrifice—and these continued to form an immense majoritythought that they had not given up enough, and that more ought now to be demanded from them. This was in the natural order of things, and would have been foreseen, if not guarded against, by rational men. Last night the Assembly had declared by acclamation that tithes should be made redeemable. this morning it was coolly proposed to abolish them altogether without any redemption or equivalent of any kind; but the clergy were to take the word of the Assembly that a comfortable provision would be made for them by the nation. The most simple-minded, credulous priest among them could hardly put faith or trust in such promises; and there arose from the clerical body a general murmur of disapprobation and alarm. They urged that this new scheme was an entire departure from the substance and spirit of the former proposition. Garat, an active journalist, and at this time a hot republican, told them that the two propositions amounted to the same thing; that the State would buy up the tithes in charging itself with the pay and maintenance of the clergy. This doctrine stirred up the bile of abbé Sièyes, an atheist indeed, a foe to all churches, but a considerable recipient of church-money, as vicar-general of the bishopric of Chartres, canon and chancellor of Chartres cathedral, &c. He declared that the present proposition was an attempt at a wholesale robbery. "You wish to be free," said he, " and robbery. "You wish to be free," said he, " and you know not how to be just!" The caustic mot made an impression, and occasions were not wanting afterwards to recall it to men's minds. It became one of the most frequently quoted of all the smart sayings of the revolution, whose whole history, in a manner, it contained. Other philosophic abbes, some of whom were aiding the revolution in the Assembly, and some of whom were advocating its principles out of doors by means of pen and press, were not less dissatisfied than Sièves at the project of converting them all into pensioners of the state. The economist, philosophe, free-thinking abbe Morellet, one of the best of his class, saw little to commend in the march of the revolution from this moment; for he too enjoyed some of the good things of the church which had been so frequently distributed without the slightest attention to belief or unbelief, to decorum of life and manners, or its opposite, and which had not surely gone to support literary men who must otherwise have starved. But all murmur, opposition, or remonstrance was fruitless; and these cierical philosophes were made already to feel that

though they had essentially contributed to put the car in motion, they could not stop it, nor even regulate its speed. Other classes of philosophes felt this a little later: all the reformers and constitution-makers were destined to feel it in their turns, though, down to the very last of them, each appears to have indulged in a momentary illusion of power and control over the huge machine. In the Assembly, although his mot told so well, the great Sieyes himself was all but hissed and hooted for his unphilosophical discourse upon tithes; and all the consolation that his friend Mirabeau could give him was—"My dear abbé, you have let loose the bull, and now you are complaining of his giving you a touch of his horns." The abbé vented his spite, in private, by heaping terms of contempt and opprobrium upon the National Assembly; but in their hall he was constrained to sit mute and helpless, and witness the entire abolition of tithes, without any stipulation concerning the amount of the salaries or pensions the nation was to pay the churchmen in lieu of them. But Sièves and the rest knew that any stipulation would be altogether useless as security; that the people would not pay the tax either as tithes or in any other shape, and that the all-commanding majority in the Assembly entertained very parsimonious notions as to what would be a proper compensation or allowance. There were now blank visages even among the unbeneficed, who, receiving but a modicum themselves, had been very willing the preceding night, and indeed all along, to reduce the amounts paid in tithes to the great dignitaries of the church. These country curés hoped for a more equable distribution of it, but wished for no destruction, or absorption into the state, of church property. Many of them could complain with a better grace than the Sièyes or the Morellets, for they believed in the doctrines of the church and performed the most labornous of its duties. They were, however, given to understand that in regard to them the justice and the generosity of the Assembly and nation would show themselves conspicuously; and they were induced to concur even in the total abolition of tithes without compensation. The Assembly after this compliance left the curés as poor as they had found them; and a few more turns of the wheel would either crush the greater part of them or drive them into exile and absolute beggary. And this too might have been foreseen by these unbeneficed priests. In the course of this debate—if debate it could be called—very little respect was shown to any of the clergy; their objections were met with banter or ridicule, and they were asked whether they would opposit majority of five to one? They were made to feel that in joining the Tiers Etat, and consenting to form a part of one house or chamber, they had abandoned and given up everything to a despotic majority, that had no toleration, no mercy or consideration whatsoever, for any minority. One of the country vicars exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart—"Was it then to devour us that you invited us to join you in the name of the God of

peace?" But it was even so; and when priestly joined philosophes, unbelievers, reformers, levellers, anarchists by taste or by necessity, what could they expect but to be devoured? The crowded galleries as usual took part in the discussions, and hissed the priests who had courage enough to speak up for their order. The eloquence of fear at length convinced the most obstinate, and on the 6th of August the Archbishop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, surrendered all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation. In so doing the prelate uttered a few sentences that might have touched the hearts of a more religious or more generous and considerate people :-- "Let the Gospel," said he, " be preached; let divine service be performed with decency and dignity; let the church be provided with virtuous and zealous pastors; let the poor be succoured. This is the true destination of our riches; these are the objects of our ministry, and of our wishes: for ourselves personally we rely, without bargain or reserve, on a just and generous nation." Within a few short months the only Gospel preached was a cold and withering atheism, the churches were all destroyed, shut up, or converted into barracks, storehouses, or club-rooms, and the best and the most conscientious of the clergy were butchered or scattered over Europe. The National Assembly took only six more days to digest and frame into laws or decrees all the other resolutions passed on the night of the 4th. Few of the aristocracy ventured to oppose the torrent, and those who did were accused of monstrous inconsistency, and of a selfish design to retract their promises and engagements. Besides, all argument was stopped by the appeal to vote by head; and, in all instances, towards nobles as well as towards priests, the majority proclaimed by their manner that minorities were only things to be trampled under foot and spit upon. On the 13th of August all the articles, logically dressed and drawn up, were presented to the king for the empty form of his royal assent. At court the same potent agency of fear still prevailed, and Louis, though disapproving of several of the sweeping measures, and though abhorring the war which the Assembly had declared against the church, dressed his face in smiles, thanked the Assembly for the glorious title they had conferred upon him of 'Restorer of French Liberty,' and invited them to join him in rendering thanks to Almighty God for the generous sentiments which now prevailed. And this most royal Bourbon. having at his right hand Chapelier, the republican president of the Assembly, walked in procession with the deputies and joined in a Te Deum, which in reality celebrated the destruction of the monarchy. The king, however, did not at once accept or sanction all the decrees: on the contrary he endeavoured to gain time, and laboured to show that many parts of the reform were either too extreme or too precipitate; but the majority of the Amembly had declared that they would admit of no medifications, and, impelled by the universal eloquence and logic of fear, he gave a hollow assent to all the

decrees before a month had elapsed. Louis had been essured that this conduct would fully satisfy and tranquillise the people; but the decrees, so far from putting an end to the brigandage and violence of the people, gave them new vigour and audacity, by convincing them that all assaults made upon the noblesse would meet with impunity, if not with re-"I again repeat it," says Dumont, "whatever men do through fear fails in its object: those whom they fancy they will disarm with their timid concessions only become the more bold and confident." Acts of atrocious violence continued to be committed in all parts of the kingdom; the chateaux continued to be burnt as before; and fields, woods, copses, parks, not excepting even the royal chases, some of which the Assembly had considerately thought ought to be preserved for the recreation of the king, were inundated with rustic sportsmen, who committed terrible havor wherever they went, and who exercised their new craft with so much eagerness and so little skill that travellers could not pass along the highways, or townspeople quit their streets, without running the risk of being shot. Paris was as stormy as ever. On the night of the 6th of August, while the National Assembly were finishing the confiscation of tither, wh immense multitude collected in the Place do Grève, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, to murder the Marquis de la Salle and others for being suspected of sending gunpowder out of the capital. Lafayette hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, but in spite of his presence and harangues, the mob forced the doors of that building, scattering his national guards, and demanding La Salle with terrific cries. At the same time a fellow was seen bestriding the fatal lamp-post with a candle in one hand and a rope in the other, all ready for the victim. L. Salle was not in the Hôtel de Ville, and being walned in time he succeeded in escaping out of Paris; but Lafayette was there in all his impuissance, and he was compelled to accompany the mob from room to room, from the cellars to the garrets, and to witness their dexterity in breaking open doors and cupboards, overturning furniture and everything clae, which they did in the hope of finding La Salle concealed in some sly corner; for they would not take Lafayette's word for the fact that he was not there. This was surely a humiliating position for the hero of two worlds: there was no escaping from it, however, until eleven o'clock at night, when, according to one account, the mob was scared out of the Hôtel by the sudden apparition of soldiers in Place de Grève; but when, as we believe, the the rioters retired of their own accord, having fully satisfied themselves that the sacrifice they had chosen for that night was not to be found there. Other riota succeeded: there was, in fact, no occupation but rioting, no law but mob-law. few days after, the king's ministers presented a report on the state of the kingdom to the National Assembly, calling upon them to co-operate in devising some means to check this fearful anarchy;

and at the same time Necker, quite crest-fallen, with his popularity worth no more than an old ballad, was obliged to reveal the deplorable state of the finances, which no cobbling of his could any longer conceal. With regard to the anarchy the Assembly issued a decree calling upon the municipalities, who were all either revolutionists and anarchists themselves, or far too weak to check the anarchy of others, to maintain public order by dissipating all seditious mobs. The Assembly also declared that the national guards and the regular troops should be placed under the orders of the municipalities after they had all sworn to be true to the nation, the king, and the law. But these oaths, and the gradual intermixture of the troops of the line with the militia and armed burghers, destroyed the little discipline that remained in the royal army, and made the soldiers all one with the people. The National Assembly, municipalities, national guards, and troops of the line, all agreed in believing that the aristocracy was not yet sufficiently terrified and humiliated; that the court was still plotting for a counter-revolution, and was still to be dreaded; and they all concurred, in various ways, in spreading extravagant tales, wild terrors, and maddening suspicions. As to poor Necker, with his empty treasury, the Assembly told him that they were forbidden by their constituents to consent to any new taxes or loans until the constitution should be finished and set a-going. But, for some months past, no taxes or duties had been paid in any part of the kingdom; those who had attempted with any energy to collect them had been murdered, and their books and registers were all destroyed. The treasury was as empty as it was when Loménie de Brienne quitted it. At last the Assembly relented so far as to consent to a new loan for 30,000,000 of livres; but they reduced the rate of interest proposed by Necker, upon the fanciful assumption that French patriots could, would, and ought to lend their money to their country at four and a-half per cent. But French patriotism was very poor—so poor or diffident that it could not raise a sum of money which a London parish would have furnished in four-andtwenty hours; and in the present state of the country not four and a-half, but forty, per cent. would have seemed proportioned to the risk in the eyes of foreign speculators. It therefore happened that Necker's loan remained unfilled, and his coffers empty. In other respects also the banquierphilosophe had grounds for lamentation: the Assembly went over his accounts as if they doubted his probity; and it was easy for him to perceive "that the spirit of the nation could no longer accommodate itself to the slowness and timidity of the minister."*

Having, in the fustian language of the time, "discharged their duties with respect to the finances and the maintenance of public tranquillity," Assembly returned to the higher function of the drawing up the Rights of Man, for Lafayette was

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· Sourenire sur Mirabeau.

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smixious above all things for the completion of this great work. They rubbed up their logic and their metaphysics, and sat again disputing whole days and nights about words or the vaguest of ideas. I remember that long discussion which lasted for weeks," says an ear-witness, " as a season of mortal ennui: there were empty disputations about terms, there was an accumulation of metaphysical rubbish and an overpowering loquacity; the Assembly seemed converted into a disputatious school of Sorbonne, and all the apprentices in legislation made their essays on these puerilities. After many models had been rejected, a committee of five was appointed to draw up a new one. Mirabeau, one of the five, had the generosity, which was ordinary to him, to take the whole task upon himself, and then give it to his private friends to perform it for him. Here then we were, Duroverai, Clavière, Mirabeau, and myself, composing, disputing, writing a word, and scratching out four words, exhausting ourselves over this ridiculous task, and producing at last a piece of patchwork, a miserable mosaic of the pretended natural rights of man, which had never existed. During the course of this triste compilation I made reflections which I had never made until then. I felt the falseness and the absurdity of the work, which was nothing but a puerile fiction. The declaration of rights, said I, may be made after the constitution, but not before it; for rights exist by laws, and cannot precede them. Such maxims, besides, are dangerous. We ought not to bind legislators by general propositions which we may afterwards be obliged to modify and limit: above all things we ought not to bind them by false maxims. It is not true that 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL.' They are not born free; on the contrary they are born in a state of helplessness and necessary dependence. And where are they born equal? Where can they Do we mean equality of fortune, of he so born? talent, of virtue, of industry, of condition? The falsehood is manifest. Volumes would be required to give an appearance of sense to this equality which you proclaim without any exception." But Rousseau hati proclaimed in prose, and Voltaire before him in verse, that all men were equal; and Sièves, with all the philosophes and the great majority of the Assembly, had made up their minds that this dogma, this untrue truism, should stand at the head of their Declaration of the Rights of Man. Dumont, however, succeeded in making Mirabeau heartily ashamed of the whole production; and, when that mighty roc, dressed out in plumage, his own, but brightened and set off by his manual of wearing it, perched on the tribune with the worldmanifesto in his claw, he told the Assembly that the thing would never be more than an almanac for a year—that they were losing their time in abstractions and generalities—that they ought first to make the constitution, and then, if they would, the declaration of rights. But unfortunately Mirabeau, before getting his ienson from Dumont, had spoken on the other side: he was now violently assailed and abused for his own inconsistency; and not being prompt at debate, or at all prepared to argue a question without written materials in his hand, he soon receded and gave up the question altogether, just as a considerable number of deputies were We cannot. preparing themselves to support him. however, believe that any perseverance, boldness, or ability in Mirabeau, and a score of two of supporters, could have prevented the birth of the wretched abortion: the galleries, the journalists, the pamphleteers, who were all working so fast as to have doubled or trebled the price of printing in Paris, had all taken the Declaration to their hearts' core; and the great mass of the people had by this time been taught to consider it as the great sine qua non in their treaty with chance, fortune, or fate, for their political regeneration and maximum happiness.* Several of the more moderate deputies did indeed declare their opinion. Malouet demonstrated the inconveniences which must inevitably arise from such a declaration; and represented that it would be much better to endeavour to restore tranquillity than to loosen and break all those artificial ties that bound society together, by metaphysical definitions, which were sure to be vague or incorrect—that what the Assembly ought now to do was to labour with all their might to devise means for restoring order and subordination to the laws, so as to induce the people to respect property and pay the taxes, without which the state could not exist for many months longer. He also treated the proposed Declaration of the Rights of Man as a cruel deception, calculated to do more mischief to the people themselves than to princes and govern-ments. "Why," said he, "should we transport men to the ideal summit of a mountain, and show them the wide domain of their rights beneath, when we shall most assuredly be obliged to make them descend from that fanciful elevation, and compelled to bring them down to the real world, where they will find every step fettered with necessary restraints?" After much cobbling and alteration, a Declaration was adopted and published to the world, though without the royal assent, at the beginning of September. It did as little honour to the logic as to the common sense of those who concocted it: it was full of contradictions and inconsequences; it proclaimed that all men were free and equal-were not only born free and equal, but remained so-but at the same time it imposed restraints which were necessary indeed, but which overset the whole theory of perfect liberty and equality. What had been seen and predicted happened immediately: the people regarded only the crude dogma, and utterly disregarded the comment and the limitations; their pride was flattered, and all their evil passions were encouraged to dissolve the ties of social order, and work out the doctrine by seizing the property and

The Manquis de Bouillé says destinity than the Businessian of Rights was carried movely through the impatements and district of the galleries.—Mémoires,

destroying the persons of all who were richer or greater than themselves. Having accomplished this promising introduction to their great work, the Assembly endeavoured to put the finishing hand to the constitution. Mounier, Lally-Tolendal, Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, and a few others—we believe their entire number did not exceed a dozen -constantly recommended as a model the constitution of Great Britain, which was also honoured by the approbation of Necker and two or three of his brother ministers. But the old national prejudices rose up in arms, and the majority not only felt, but declared in language more or less plain, that it would be dishonourable and disgraceful for free and enlightened Frenchmen of the eighteenth century to adopt a constitution which had grown up in the ages of barbarism, and which still smelt of feudalism; and as for the philosophes and writers out of doors, who were ever dictating to these legislators, they asked how Frenchmen could possibly follow the example of a dull people, that were slavish enough to respect a king, and superstitious enough to believe in a God? But without copying the whole of the English constitution, they might have seen that no constitution could march without two chambers; and here they had even republican precedents, for the Americans had, at an early stage, felt the necessity of having a senate, and no republic had ever flourished without a senate or some sort of body to check and control the direct representatives of the people. Even Jefferson had hinted to them that twelve hundred men in one chamber were too many, and that for good legislation two houses or chambers were necessary: nay, at one time, this thorough-paced democrat had even thought that it would not be amiss to place the privileged classes in one house, like our peers and bishops in the House of Lords, and the unprivileged in another, like our members in the House of Commons. But his disciple, Lafayette, thought any such scheme improper or impracticable; the general feeling was decidedly hostile to any separation of the legislative authority; Sièyes chopped logic and split straws in order to demonstrate the monstrous absurdity of any such scheme; and, except Mounier and Lally-Tolendal, scarcely a man in the National Assembly would so much as listen with patience to the name of an upper house. A CHAMBRE-HAUTE would indeed have been a preposterous anomaly after their Declaration of the Rights of Man, with its perfect-equality dogma. Besides, was not the entire people let loose, like a hundred thousand packs of famishing hounds, to destroy all privileges and distinctions? Was not the name of noble, aristocrat, bishop, or priest a cry to arms and cutting of throats? And was there any wisdom, or moderation, or political experience in the upper classes who might have been made to compose this upper house? And, if these qualities had existed in the high aristocracy, could the Tiers Etat, who had denounced the whole body of the noblesse as blood-suckers and traitors to the people, believe in their existence, or rely on the exercise of them

when collisions, which were inevitable, should take place between the two chambers? Men most hate and fear those whom they have most injured and insulted: the last thing we forgive in an enemy is the wrong we have done to him. Dumont in a few words tells the whole story, and shows the impossibility of any accord or co-operation-" The Tiers had placed themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse, or of making the noblesse fear them." Nor was there any agreement among the noblesse themselves, or any clear conception of what an upper house was or ought to be. A very large portion of the aristocracy now assuredly looked to nothing less than a counter-revolution, to be effected not parliamentarily, or by debates and words spoken in chambers, but by steel and gunpowder and the assistance of foreign armies; and of those who still attended the discussions in the hall, and looked to some more pacific settlement of the revolution, all that belonged to the inferior nobility (la petite noblesse) detested the idea of an upper house, in which they could not hope to find a place. Cooler and wiser men, even in rejecting the hereditary claims of the Pairs de France, and of an aristocracy (as such) altogether, might yet have hit upon some plan for forming, if not an upper, at least a separate house or chamber, and might have profitably followed the example of the Americans, who had placed the senate between congress and their president. But they were all convinced that they knew how to manage " these things better in France;" and they were captivated by the syllogisms and logical definitions of abbe Sièyes, who laid it down as matter more indisputable, unchangeable, and true than all the gospels ever written,-that society was one great wholethat the mass, without distinction of classes, ought to will—that the king, as sole magistrate, ought to execute what the mass willed. As a corollary to this absolute maxim, Sièyes affirmed that a monarchy or a republic would be the same thing, with no other difference than the less or greater-number of magistrates charged with the execution of the national will. The vast majority of the Assembly indeed wished and willed a thoroughly democratic republic, with a nominal king at its head-a roi de feve, or twelfth-night king, with no more power over the Assembly, with no more faculty to control its proceedings, than the king of sugar and flour has power to eat the cake it is stuck upon. The intention of establishing the nullity of the sovereign power was fully developed in the discussions or harangues on the royal prerogative. Mirabeau;

o " It must not be imagined that there was any regular debating on the ceto like what takes place in the English House of Commons. As soon as the lists were spaned orators were choose pow of convey, and these centure, armed with their manuscripts, mounted the tribuse one after the other, each reading his discertation, which had nothing whatever to do with the dissertations which had preceded it. I cannot imagine anything more weartone than this zero of academical siting, than this reading of pamphiets filled with repetitions, and having no connexion with one another. The form of a debate, where every one species to answer or to attack, excites all the faculties of the mind, and Reeps attention awake; but these French discourses, composed beforehand in the closet, refuted objections which had never began made, and did not refute those which were made. One was eternally at the same point with them, for every orator recommenced the

who had rejected the scheme of an upper house, partly out of hatred and spite to the aristocracy which had cast him off, and partly through a convistion that any such scheme at the present moment was impracticable, was induced by various circumstances and considerations to venture to recommend that the executive power should be made respectable and considerable. Among the innumerable theorists of the day there was a certain Marquis de Caseaux, who had written a book which nobody had ever read, and which was scarcely intelligible, entitled 'The Simplicity of the Idea of a Constitution.' Mirabeau, who had almost worn out his old friends in making them write out speeches and draw out plans for him, scized upon this new "Apocalyptic friend," who indoctrinated him in the mechanism of political societies, and furnished him not merely with arguments but with a manuscript speech of his own composition, to prove that there could be no law or government in France unless the Assembly granted to the sovereign the absolute veto or prerogative of rejecting all such votes, bills, or decrees as he might think proper (or, in the more constitutional language of England, the assent of the sovereign was to be held necessary before any bill could become a law). Mirabeau, without giving himself the trouble to correct the oddities of thought and phraseology, read this oration from the tribune, to the astonishment of a few friends and to the complete bewilderment of the house and galleries. For once his indolence did him good service: the speech was so obscure that people could not make out what it meant, and as the orator introduced a few impromptu flourishes of his own against tyrants and despots, Mirabeau escaped being hissed and hooted there, and being denounced to the Palais Royal and the clubs at Paris. Possibly it was not indolence, but a sly calculation, for Mirabeau well knew that all those who should propose leaving any prerogative to the king would be held up as traitors to the people, and have their names published all over France in black-lists and furious newspapers. He had said, indeed, in a more private manner and at an earlier period that, if the absolute veto, or the king's right of sanction, were not allowed and secured, he would rather live in Constantinople among the Turks than in Paris among free Frenchmen: but it was very necessary to him that he should live; he had no taste for martyrdom, no principles for which he would either die or suffer; and therefore he determined not to resist openly the sovereign will of the sovereign people. Henceforward he spoke as upon the subject, either privately or publicly, as was possible; and, notwithstanding Caseaux's unlucky ideology, he contrived to keep his popularity in that bureau of proscription the Palais Royal, and to make the people believe that he was against the veto. Mounier, who acted with more honesty

question as if nothing had been said upon it until he had opened his lips. Nothing but snihusiasm could enable a man to support the mortal sneed of these sittings,"—Dumont,

and boldness, was openly threatened with death and damnation, from popular opinion, from the Palais Royal, from all Paris; and such was the state of liberty, that this man, one of its earliest and best champions, was in danger of losing his life for having expressed a political opinion. How well public opinion was prepared for such constitutional matters, is explained in sundry little anecdotes. "What is the meaning of this veto?" asked one countryman of another. "I will tell you: you have got your spoon full of soup; the king says, spill your soup, and you must spill it; and that is veto." Even the townspeople, the cultivated Parisian populace, took the word veto as a synonyme for tax or tyrant, and immediately began to call the king Monsieur Veto. When Mirabeau went into Paris to settle accounts with Madame Jay, who was his mistress and his publisher's wife, he was surrounded by crowds of people, who conjured him, with tears in their eyes, not to suffer the king to have the absolute veto. They cried, "Ah, Monsieur le Comte, you are the father of the people; you must save us, you must defend us against those wretches who wish to give us over to despotism! If the king has the veto, where is the use of the National Assembly; all is lost, and we are slaves!" Monsieur le Comte took good care to conceal the tendency of those abstractions of Cascaux which he had read to the Assembly; he amused the mob with commonplaces about patriotism, and then dismissed them with patrician politeness.* He valued his popularity, upon which depended life or death, too much to attempt to explain or recommend the veto to the mob.

The capital was now divided into sixty sections or districts, which represented so many independent republics or anarchies, for each had its committees with executive power, and each attributed to itself a legislative power. "Everybody," says a French writer, "wished to act and command, for in France the love of liberty is rather apt to be a taste for power." † These sixty sections or districts not only dictated to Mayor Bailly in the Hôtel de Ville, but also assumed the right of controlling the twelve hundred deputies sitting at Versailles. As they had their logicians and definition-makers as well as the Assembly, they laid it down as something incontrovertible, that the power of those who delegate must be superior to the power of those who are delegated; and that the people could in no sense be bound by the votes of their deputies or their delegates in the Assembly. if such votes were opposed to their wishes. Every district, every class or profession, formed in fact constituent and legislative Assemblies of their own, wherein they accepted or allowed the votes and decrees passed at Versailles. The soldiers discussed state matters at the Oratory, the journeymen-tailors at the Colonnade, the peruquiers, whose trade was to be annihilated by this democracy, debated in the Champs Elysées, the footmen and

• Damont. + Miguet.

other classes of gentlemen's servants harangued, voted, and divided at the Louvre.* Of clubs aboveground, and clubs under-ground, there was no end. There was one incessant and universal roar about Veto, veto; and every explanation seemed to make the monster blacker than it was before. Camille Desmoulins, and other orators still more fervid than he, kept up the excitement in the Palais Royal without explaining the true meaning of the word, which many of them were incapable of doing. Their general topic was, that the National Assembly was not going fast enough for the good of the people, and was allowing itself to be duped and undermined by the court and aristocracy. Instead of talking about veto and chambers, why did not the representatives of the people go straight to their object and obtain bread for the people? The favourite or most influential of these orators, and one who had more power over the mob than the great Camille himself, was a certain Marquis Saint Hurugue, who, after wasting his fortune and marrying a common prostitute, had been shut up in half the prisons and mad-houses in France, but who had recovered his liberty in these universally free times. He was old and mad, but his manners were popular, as he would drink and smoke with the mob, and the loud and rude inspiration of madness was well suited to the popular taste. The people called him Father Adam, and were always ready to undertake mischief of his recommending. Mounted on a chair or a table, he was constantly telling the patriots of the Palais Royal that they must go in a body to Versailles and demand an account as well from the Assembly as rom the king, for their shameful hesitation in working out the happiness of the people. On one occasion he put himself at the head of the mob and marched out of Paris by the Versailles road. This time he was headed back by Lafayette and some detachments of the national guards, for which good office Lafayette got the name of Cromwell, and the national guards no small share of unpopularity. Saint Hurugue, Camille Desmoulins, who was only a few degrees less mad, and all the loud-tongued demagogues complained that the national guards were becoming aristocrats; and demanded that the National Assembly should expel every deputy that opposed the will of the people by voting or speaking for the veto. They actually denounced Mounier, and sent a deputation to Lally-Tollendal to engage him to separate from the bad citizens who defended the veto, and to tell him that 20,000 men were ready to march from the Palais Royal to the hall of the Assem-The municipality of Paris mustered up courage enough to put the maniac marquis under arrest; but this did no manner of good; they durst not keep him in confinement, and, when in a very few days he was released, he was only more furious than before. Other places followed the example of the capital: all Paris was becoming a Palais Royal. The people of Rennes sent up an * Mignet,

address to the National Assembly, declaring tha the veto was inadmissible, and that all who voted for it were traitors to their country. The galleries of the hall, which, on a moderate estimate, were capable of containing 3000 people, became still more furious and impatient, interfering with every proposition, and cursing and threatening every member of the House that either recommended two chambers or the king's prerogative. The more timid of the deputies now absented themselves altogether; and many who remained trembled and were silent. The president was more than once driven from the chair by gross insults. Lally, Mounier, and one or two others, were hooted out of the tribune. The one chamber, or the unity of the Assembly, as it was termed, was finally decreed by 490 voices, against 89 who voted for two chambers. To moderate the fury against the veto it was resolved, by those who wished for some degree of kingly authority, to change its character or name, and call not for an absolute but suspensive veto (veto suspensif). That is to say, the sovereign was to have the power of withholding his consent or sanction for a certain time. Louis consented to this alteration, and Necker went down to the Assembly with a memoire, proposing a veto which should only have the power of suspending laws during one or two assemblies or sessions of the legislature. Mounier and Lally have been accused of a serious political blunder, and of a lamentable imprudence, very injurious to the king and to the whole monarchy, in opposing this modification and in insisting that the veto ought to be absolute; but, as every kind of veto was abhorrent to the imagination of the people, we think that Lally's regrets and Mounier's denunciations could have produced very little effect one way or the other. All that they said was that the king ought to have more prerogative: all that the people and the majority of the Assembly said, and had been saying all along. was, that the king should have no prerogative at all. But, while Mounier and Lally contended for the absolute veto, the majority affected to feel that some power of sanction or of rejection ought really to be vested in the sovereign; and they declared that the suspensive veto was the just medium between too much and too little. By it the king was to have the power to suspend a law during two assemblies; but if a third Assembly persisted in the law and sent it up again for the royal assent he was then to be bound to give his sanction. They took care, however, to explain the term sanction or assent, and to limit the operation of the thing itself. It was asked whether this sanction or royal assent was necessary to the constitution itself? And not merely was this question answered in the negative, but the negative was accompanied by specifications, that the constituent power was superior to the powers constituted; that the royal sanction could be exercised only upon legislative acts, and not upon constituent acts, which must be promalgated by the Assembly. With these limitations the veto suspensif was carried by 673 voices,

against 325 that voted for the veto absolu. Mirasan again showed his craft by not voting at all. Mounier and Lally-Tollendal instantly withdrew their names from the constitution committee, and declared they would have nothing more to do with constitution-making. The constitution committee nevertheless continued their labours, admit-'ting of no obstacle, allowing no opposition, or even expression of opinion contrary to the will of the majority. Study and meditation went for nothing in committees or in the House; all the decrees continued to be passed as if at the point of the sword: there was no interval of repose, no truce allowed for men's passions to cool themselves. Everything having been thrown down and destroyed, everything was to be re-made, and all at once; but the Assembly entertained so high an opinion of their own genius and ability, that they would readily have undertaken to make codes and constitutions for all the nations of the earth. most dominant trait in the French character," continues the Genevan historian and philosopher, "is self-conceit. Every member of that Assembly believed himself capable of everything: never were so many men seen that imagined that they were all great legislators, and that they were all collected to repair the faults of the past, to remedy all the errors of the human mind, and to secure the happiness of mankind for centuries to come. Doubt had no place in their minds: a proud infallibility reigned in all their contradictory decrees. In vain a numerous minority complained, implored, remonstrated, and protested; the more the minority attacked them, the more satisfied they were with themselves. When the king ventured to send them some gentle remonstrances on the wording of the sweeping decrees of the 4th of August, and on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, they were astonished that ministers should have the audacity to write critical notes on their labours. and M. Necker, the real author of those notes, was lost with them from that moment."* But all this could not well be otherwise: the French, in no time, in no class, and in no circumstances, had been able to tolerate a minority: if the minority was strong enough to fight, it fought; if too weak to fight, it fell to the earth and was trampled upon, and every attempt to rise again was punished as rebellion and treason. And now the strength of the majority, with Sièyes's one and indivisible mass on its side, was so immeasurably superior! The victories it had gained had been so numerous and so rapid! They had swallowed up the noblesse and clergy by the bold proceedings at the Tenn Court and by getting them to sit and vote as body with the commons; they had destroyed not merely their privileges but their property by the resolutions of the 4th of August and by the Declaration of the Rights of Man; they had debarred them from the only faint chance—and a most faint one it was of recovering some portion of their weight, by refusing the second chamber; and by

Dumont.

all their proceedings united they had brought down the royal authority—they had cast the crown to the same dirt in which they had thrown coronets and mitres.

In the mean while the financial distress had kept on the increase. The Assembly consented to a second loan proposed by Necker; but, though this time they did not meddle with the rate of interest, hardly any money could be procured. The troubles of the country had finished the destruction of public credit; the incessant emigration of the upper classes carried off a large amount of specie; the rich who remained buried their money for fear of being robbed of it by the practical illustrators of the Equal Rights of Man; travellers who annually brought large sums into France now shunned the country, and foreign speculators would not risk their capital in so frail a bottom as a National Assembly loan. Necker, who had long since wished himself back at his pleasant quiet home at Copet, was harassed, and could do nothing more nor less than harass the Assembly. He beset them with his eternal complaints, he reproached them with having done nothing for the finances and public credit in five long months; and then the Assembly, wearied, disgusted, irritated, declared in substance that Necker was wholly deficient in statesmanlike talent, a wear some, pedantic, old fool, that was very probably playing fast and loose with them and with the court, and that ought to be got rid of. Sic transit gloria. Alas for the people's minister! Alas for the man that had trusted so much to the people's virtue and moderation! Mirabeau, who had always despised and hated the banquierphilosophe, very principally because he was a man of decorous life, now held him up to contempt while pretending to serve him and to save the country from a national bankruptcy. Some romantic patriots in the Assembly fancied that the present necessities of the state might be supplied by appealing directly to the patriotism and generosity of the people, and by inviting them to make gifts (dons de patriotisme). The idea was seized in a moment, for it was very favourable to orations and comparisons with the self-devoting virtues of antiquity. As specie was so rare, silver spoons, forks, all things were to be taken, and the names of the donors were to be registered in an imperishable book. In a fit of enthusiasm nearly all the members of the Assembly took their gold and silver buckles from their shoes, and offered them up on the altar of the country. Following this glorious example, numbers of men, not delegates, but makers and masters of delegates, came to sacrifice their buckles: women brought their spoons and their forks, their wedding-rings and nick-nacks, so that the National Hall was made to look like a pawnbroker's shop. The donors were far from being of the richest or most respectable orders; conspicuous among the number were the prostitutes of Paris and Versailles, who, with a frank, plainspeaking patriotism, offered a share of their earnings, and had their obscene offer accepted: nor

was it unfitting that such a liberty should be nourished by such donations. The epidemic, like other novelties, raged for a time, and then was over. On the 26th of September Gouverneur Morris went to Versailles to see what was doing, and found the Assembly occupied in receiving "trifling matters of presents, called the gifts of patriotism, but more properly the sacrifices to vanity." Except one landed proprietor, who gave up a whole forest, and Necker, who presented 100,000 livres, we hear of no important gift. The patriots who had plundered the châteaux and churches do not appear to have come to offer up any part of their spolia opima. On the whole, patriotism would no more give than it would lend. The necessities of the state were not to be met by silver buckles and wedding-rings. For a time, no doubt, as Mirabeau had said, the poverty of the court and government was the safety of the National Assembly:-the deficit was a rock, but not unfavourable to the growth of liberty. Like the profitable inertia of the Tiers Etat, it could not, however, be further prolonged, for all classes were feeling the effects of it, and thousands of desperate men, who had been employed in public works, must be paid, and, as there is already a talk of foreign interference and invasion, the frontier fortifications must be repaired, and stores and ammunition purchased. Besides, the deputies themselves, who are living on their twelve shillings a day per man, will not be able to get their pay many days longer, if some means are not adopted for putting money into the coffers of the state. The king and queen had already sent some of their plate to be coined into money for the relief of their own immediate necessities. It was in vain to look to the receipt of taxes; the people would pay none. Necker, therefore, with the courage of despair, laid before the Assembly a scheme for a supply which the boldest minister of the most despotic government might have shrunk from proposing. It was simply this:—that every man should make an extraordinary contribution to the state of the fourth part of his annual income, to be paid at different times during the course of three years. It left, however, a large margin for all those that might consider the exaction as excessive, for the estimate of each man's income was left to his own honour, and the poor industrious classes were to be wholly excepted. The Assembly appointed a committee, and the committee, after passing three days in examining the project, made their report. "Vast respect," says the Transatlantic republican, who was watching their puerile proceedings, and marvelling at them, "is expressed for the Premier Ministre de Finance, and then sundry details and combinations, which show that the committee understand the business much better than the minister. At the close of the report there is a feebleness which they are not perhaps aware of. They appeal to patriotism for aid;

? "Rvery citizon," mays miguet, "was to fix the sum himself, employing this simple form, which points an well these early times of frankness and pairiotism;—" I declare sold trush,""

but they should in money matters apply only to interest. They should never acknowledge such want of resource as to render the aid of patriotism necessary." After the report was read the Assembly were for taking it into consideration, but this would have occupied three or four days more, and the necessities of the government were so urgent as to admit of no delay. Mirabeau insisted that they should take up and adopt Necker's proposition without any discussion. "He is called to the tribune," writes Morris, "and in a style of fine irony urges the immediate adoption of the plan as proposed by the premier ministre, from the blind contidence which the Assembly have in him, and from the unbounded popularity which he enjoys! These, says he, in our dreadful situation, which he has exposed, and in the imminency of danger, which precludes debate, urge, nay, command us to adopt, without examination, what the minister has devised for our relief. Let us then agree to it literally (textuellement), and, if it succeeds, let him, as he ought, enjoy the glory. If it fails, which Heaven forefend, we will then exercise our talents in trying to discover if yet there remain any means to save our country." This bantering course had been cunningly calculated. "To my great astonishment," continues our American, "the representatives of this nation, who pique themselves on being the modern Athenians, are ready to swallow this proposition by acclamation. The President, Clermont de Tonnerre, who perceives its tendency, throws into a different form the style of its adoption. Mirabeau immediately rises, and very adroitly parries the stroke, by showing that this form is not consistent with his view, which the Assembly appear willing to comply with; that certainly a subject of such magnitude should not be carried by acclamation, without having the specific form before them; and, if he were to propose a form, it would require at least a quarter of an hour to consider and prepare it. He is immediately (by acclamation) ordered to redact his proposition, and, while he is about it, the Bishop d'Autun (Talleyrand) retires. We remark it. My friend acknowledges that they are in league together. The world already suspects that union. During their absence there is a great deal of noisy debate on various subjects, if, indeed, such controversy may be dignified with the name of debate. At length Mirabeau returns, and brings his motion forward in consistence with his original idea. The Assembly now perceive the trap, and, during the tumult, Lally-Tollendal proposes that the motion be sent to the committee of finances to frame an act (arrêté). Here again Mirabeau manœuvres to avoid that coup. while the House are hung up in their judgment, or rather entangled from the want of judgment, d'Esprémenil makes a motion co-incident with that of Mirabeau in substance, though contrarient in form. There is not sufficient confidence in him, and therefore his proposition drops. But it would seem from thence that he is in the faction with

Gouverneur Morris.

Talleyrand and Mirabeau, or that the same principle of hatred to Necker has operated a coincidence of conduct on the present occasion. After this, tumult and noise continue to reign in the hall. Mirabeau at length, in another speech, openly declares his disapprobation of Necker's plan. It is moved to postpone the consideration of the subject at three o'clock; but that motion is lost. At about four I retire, extremely fatigued, in the belief that Mirabeau's motion cannot possibly be adopted, and that they will postpone at last the consideration." But Mirabeau had tickled his trout in the way they liked to be tickled; and, all the speakers condemning or sneering at Necker, the Assembly inclined to accede to Mirabcau's original proposition that the extraordinary contribution plan should be adopted before any adjournment. At the decisive moment the bold orator re-ascended the tribune, shook his long black locks, and thundered out a speech which was compared to the grandest and most passionate orations of Demosthenes. In concluding, he exclaimed, "Vote this extraordinary subsidy, and may it prove sufficient! Vote it, because, if you have doubts on the means, you have no doubts as to the necessity, and our inability to supply its place with any other plan. Vote it, because the circumstances of the country allow of no deliberation, and because we shall be held accountable for any delay. Be careful not to demand time: misfortune never grants time!..... You heard not long ago mad words from the Palais Royal—' Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and the Assembly deliberates!' and yet there was then around us neither Catiline nor dangers, neither factions nor anything like Rome: but to-day bankruptcy, hideous bankruptcy, is here among you; it threatens to consume you, your property, your honour: and you deliberate!" † At these words the Salle de Menus Plaisirs was shaken in all its parts by a farresounding acclamation, and with this roar of voices Mirabeau's motion and Necker's plan "were carried hollow." An address to the patriotic part of the nation was then passed, stating the necessity of making great sacrifices in cases of great emergency. It was soon found, however, that no momentary enthusiasm in-doors could render palatable out-ofdoors a scheme which proposed nothing less than

* Gouverneur Morris, Diary This unornamented account of a most important debate is curious and interesting, and lots in no inconsider able light on the general procedure of these novices in parliamentary business The native French accounts one and all, diaguise the ab business The native French accounts one and all, disguise the ab surdities with the pomp of their language and the complex texture of their paragraphs.

Transact.

At dinner that evening Gouverneur Morris met Necker's celebrated daughter, Madame de Stael, who was in raptures, and fully convinced that her father's plan would yet save the country. Sie was greatly pleased with the conduct of Mirabeau, which, she said. was greatly pleased with the conduct of Mirabeau, which, she said, was, perhaps, the only way of bringing such a wrongheaded at the Assembly to act rightly! She thought that the blockhead had nothing to do but to comply with her father's wishes. The poor American had been very nigh telling her, before he knew her close relationship to the minister, that he considered her father's plan as a very bad one! The mistress of the house, Madame de Tessé, took Madame de Staff to task for the approbation she had given to that ismoral man, Mirabeau : the de Staff to the approbation she had given to that ismoral man, mirabeau is the de Staff to the council of politeness." These little familiar glimpser show the feetings and passions of the time. In her published Considerations sur la Revolution, the de Staff says, with some miveté—"The day on which Mirabeau displayed his highest eloquence was when he astaclously defended this finance decree proposed by M. Necker, and painted the horrors of bank-ruptoy.

ruptcy.

taking exclusively from the superior classes of society a fourth of their annual revenue. Those classes, already attacked, despoiled, or soon to be so-those classes, delivered up, bound hand and foot, to the people, very naturally considered this decree as proceeding from a combination, made by men without property, to strip those who still retained any of the last farthing they possessed. For, the example being once set of taxing a part of the community, and condemning them to bear all the burthens of the state, there was no possibility of seeing to what extent the process might not be carried under the sanction of such a precedent, and by an Assembly that had usurped all the powers of government, and that were likely to maintain their usurpation by other acts of the same kind. The state necessity was a common plea of tyrants, and might be brought forward as long as it should suit these unscrupulous legislators, or as long as any gentleman in France should have any income or revenue left. If the total failure of the customary taxes was to be alleged as an argument, why had the people been aroused and armed to resist their payment, until better, or, at least, other taxes had been provided to supply the deficiency? At this moment the landed proprietors had sacrificed a vast amount of rights and property to the public good; another great amount of their property had been totally destroyed by the horrid burnings and devastations of the unbridled people; altogether they were in a state of humiliation and distress; and, being in this state, were they alone to be called upon for the means of preventing a national bankruptcy?* With such feelings as these the honour of men was not implicitly to be relied upon: many, in going through the prescribed formula-I declare with truth, &c .- declared what was not true, and underrated their incomes very materially. But could any minister of finance except Necker, or any legislative body except this National Assembly of France, have expected any other result from such a plan? As for patriotism, as we have shown, she was a beggar that wanted to get, and not to give. The extraordinary subsidy, therefore, was scarcely more productive than the loans. It ought to have been evident to every thinking man that the next step would be some wholesale confiscationnot a call upon the superior classes for the fourths of their incomes, but the violent seizure of the estates from which their incomes were derived. "The finances of a revolution," says a truly re-volutionary historian, "must depend upon more daring and vaster measures: the Assembly had not only to feed the revolution (faire subsister la révolution), but also to fill up the immense deficit which retarded its march and clouded its future prospects."+

In the mean time a terrible cry was continued at the Palais Royal, in all the sixty sections of Paris, throughout the whole kingdom, against the very limited prerogative granted to the king by the suspensive veto. By the furious populace, whose

* Ann, Begist,-Bertrand de Molleville.

† Miguet.

grees ignorance was now the dominant philosophy, and whose words were laws, all the calamities of the country, the distress and want of employment which proceeded from the anarchy the regenerators had made, the scarcity of bread which resulted from the hail-storms and the bad harvest of the preceding year, were all attributed either to the veto or to the plots of the aristocracy. An orator haranguing a Paris mob was heard to say, "Gentlemen, we are in want of bread, and here is the reason of it. Only three days ago the king got that veto suspensif, and already the aristocrats have bought up the suspensions, and sent all the corn out of the kingdom." To this sensible and profound discourse his audience gave a hearty assent, ejaculating "Ma foi, il a raison Ce n'est que ça, (my faith he is right; it is nothing but that)."* Other haranguers swore that the aristocrats had been throwing the wheat and flour into the Seine. had been burying it in the earth, had been burning it in their châteaux, in order to starve the people; others were equally confident that the queen was sending it all to her brother Joseph! Necker had done what he could to procure corn and bread for the people; but his all amounted to little or nothing. A few months before this, and bonly a few days before that brief dismissal from office which had hurried on so many strange events, he had written a somewhat fulsome letter to Mr. Pitt, calling him a minister of rare virtues and sublime talents, the most eloquent of men, and the most virtuous of orators, and praying that he would permit the exportation to France of 20,000 sacks of English flour. † Pitt, who was not liable to sudden, romantic emotions of generosity, called the corn-factors of Mark-Lane together, and con-These factors were sulted them on the subject. of opinion that the sending out of the kingdom such a quantity of flour, though it did not exceed a week's consumption in London, would probably raise the price of wheat. As the price of corn, at this time, in Great Britain actually exceeded the price at which exportation was allowed by law, the application was safely submitted to Parliament, then sitting. The Commons appointed a committee, who reported "that, from a comparative view of the prices of wheat-flour in France and in England, they were of opinion that 20,000 sacks of flour ought not to be exported;" and upon this opinion Pitt coldly informed the French ambassador that the request could not be granted. And when he found, soon afterwards, that private individuals were supplying the half-famishing French with corn, he, by royal proclamation, prohibited the exportation of corn in any way or to any country. The French did not give much credit to the sincerity of his apprehensions of a bad harvest next year, and scarcity at home; but rather attributed the refusal to English hatred, malice, and un-

Gouvernour Morris, Diary. The astonished American adds, "Oh rare! These are the modern Athenians! Alone learned, alone wise, alone politie, and the rest of mankind barbarisms!"

† Tomilies, Bishop of Winchester, Life of Pitt. The date here given to Necker's letter is June 25, 1709

charitableness. It was a new twig of rue put into the old cauldron of sourness and bitterness. Pitt. who had taken the responsibility upon himself during the recess of parliament, was covered, as soon as the Houses met, by a bill of indemnity. The scarcity in Paris and its thickly-peopled neighbourhood kept on the increase, and by the and of August it approached, in numerous cases, very nearly to absolute famine. It appears that, at least in some instances, efforts were maliciously made, or measures foolishly adopted, that had the effect of rendering the government—if the king and his ministers could yet be called a government-more and more hateful to the people. The Marquis de Bouille says, that, having at Metz, and in the provinces under his command, corn sufficient to subsist the troops, amounting to 20,000 men, for eighteen months, on being pressed by the people, whose provisions were almost totally exhausted, and still more by the administrative bodies, who could not possibly supply them, he proposed to the government to distribute the half of this grain among the towns and villages, upon condition of receiving the same amount of grain from them after the ensuing harvest. He adds, that this might have been done without any inconvenience; that he presented the plan to ministers, who rejected it; that, notwithstanding this refusal of the ministry, he resolved at last to carry his project into execution; and that he was afterwards thanked for so doing by Necker himself, though he had refused his consent to the measure.* Purveyors appointed by the commune or municipality of Paris to procure grain, or find out where it was hidden, performed their office, some in so violent, and some in so corrupt a way, as to increase the distress. Mutters were not mended by the appointment, in the Hôtel de Ville, of a committee of subsistence; for these committee-men did not go to work in the wisest way, and could not furnish bread where there was no corn to make it. The monstrous absurdity, moreover, was committed of fixing by proclamation the maximum price of corn. Government, or public bodies of any kind, could obtain no credit from farmers, factors, or holders of corn; for there seemed to be no security, no certainty of payment anywhere. The Paris cornmarket, constantly beset by a desperate mob, required six hundred of the national guards constantly under arms to protect it; and this frightened away many dealers and producers who might otherwise have carried their grain to market. The bakers' shops were assailed from morning till night, and the bakers abused, ill-treated, and threatened with the lanterne, as if they were the cause of the scarcity, or could sell loaves cheap when corn was dear. Mayor Bailly and the philosophical heads of the commune decreed that rye and other ceregies should be mixed with the wheaten flour; and rye and millet and what-not were mixed with the bread in increasing proportions, until at Tast the Paris loaf was black. This gave rise to

* Mémoires.

new fary, and to a suspicion, very generally entertained, that there was an intention of poisoning the people, and that slow poison was mixed in all the leaves. In the little town of St. Denis, a few miles from Paris, the mob rose upon their mayor, and hanged him on a lamp-post, for allowing such black bread to be sold to them. The ultra-revolutionary journalists and pamphleteers—the Marats, the Dantons, the Camille Desmoulins-artfully and industriously propagated the belief that there was a fixed design on the part of the court and aristocracy to poison or starve the people: they told stories about the noblesse cutting down the young corn, paying millers for not grinding, and bakers for not baking, throwing all the flour they had or could get into ponds and rivers, &c.; and no lie, however absurd and monstrous, seemed incredible to the people, who pretended to be the most civilized and enlightened nation in Europe. To keep the more desperate and utterly destitute portion of the population of Paris quiet, and yet to have them at hand for any emergency - for even now these triumphant revolutionists were constantly haunted by a dread of royalist plots and counter-revolutions -Bailly and Lafayette got twelve thousand employed in digging trenches on Montmartre, at a livre, or about tenpence, a man, per day, which was all paid out of the city funds. But this resource could last only a very short while.*

At the same time the people were exasperated by reports that Bouillé was seizing all the corn he could lay his hands upon, and that the king, with all of the royal family that had not yet fled across the frontiers, was going to join Bouille at Metz, and there raise the standard of civil war, while the emigrant princes and nobles, at the head of various foreign armies, were preparing to invade France on every one of its frontiers. From sentiments very different from love, the populace had for some time desired that the king should be made to reside in Paris; and ever since the 30th of August, when the mad Marquis Hurugue tried to march to Versailles, the idea had been entertained of bringing the royal family by force to the capital. Nor was this desire or settled plan entertained solely by the mob and the Palais Royal orators; it had been suggested frequently among the civic authorities sitting in the Hôtel de Ville, and it had been whispered among the deputies of the National Assembly, who thought that they should be safer in Paris, with half a million of patriots around them, than at Versailles, where they still fancied themselves overshadowed by the court. Lafayette has himself confessed, in more places than one, that he had along been of opinion that the Assembly would be more quiet, and the king more secure, in Paris;"4

and when this opinion was so strongly entersups by one with his power, or, for the moment, ver commanding influence, we may reasonably question whether any delicate regard to the acknowledge right of the sovereign to choose his own place o. residence would prevent the wish from being realized by force. All the journalists, with all those that loved the excitement of oratory, had long been clamouring for the removal of the Assembly to the capital, it being a long journey to Versailles and back, and expensive too. It is certain, indeed, that several weeks before the unlucky fête given to the regiment of Flanders in the Palace of Versailles, that palace would have been invaded, and the king compelled to come to the Tuileries, but for exertions made by the more respectable part of the national guards, who possibly cared very little about the sovereign, or any rude treatment he might receive, but who were bound by their own interests, by their own instinct, to check such perilous maniacs as Saint Hurugue, and curb the rabble who threatened a universal plunder or overthrow. This portion of the civic militia, composed of reputable bourgeois, lawyers, merchants, shopkeepers, and others who had some property to lose, did not wish the revolution to go much farther. and were eager to cast off the desperate bands who, in the hour of danger, had placed themselves in the van, and with whom they had hitherto co-operated and fraternized. It was all very well to pull down every thing to their level, but there they thought the levelling ought to cease: it was proper, in their eyes, to throw the crown in the dirt, to plunder the noblesse, and squeeze the fat church; but, notwithstanding the new gospel of the Rights of Man, they could see no moral or political propriety in being humbled, plundered, and squeezed themselves. Their time was not yet come—the Revolution was too young for it; and for the present they were enabled to exercise an irregular and very uncertain control over the rabble. They assumed a uniform, took the oaths, as administered by Bailly and Lafayette, to be true to the nation, to the law, and to the king, took their arms from as many of the poorest classes as they could, and turned no inconsiderable number of rapscallions, not merely out of their regiments, but out of Paris. The national guards, being thus purified, might to some extent be depended upon for the preservation of order, but they were not strong enough to make head against any great popular rising in the districts and faubourgs, and they were not wise and cool enough to be exempt from the passions, the suspicions, and panic-fears of the times. As soon as they established their supremacy in Paris, which they were the sooner enabled to do by incorporating with themselves the regular troops of the French guard, who were to be paid by the city, they manifested the national character in a very decided manner: they patrolled the streets incessantly with drum and fife and fixed bayonets; they hectored over the unarmed part of the population as if they had been all their lives gens d'armes; they did all

[&]quot;This multitude of men," says Bailly, "would have become a formidable army if they had been left without bread; so we were obliged to exert ourselves in order to obtain funds to sprovide them with bread, and to prevent their mutmylss, which they frequently threatened to do."—Méssires. He makes the number of men peid by the municipality amount to 17,000, but we very much doubt whether the number given in our text be not grossly exaggerated.

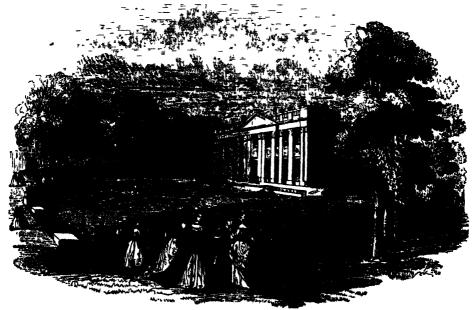
Lafayette rysiewed these deeperadoes more than once.

† Memoirs, Correspondence, dec., published by Lafayette's family.

the laties of police in an ultra-military fashion, so that nothing was seen for a time in the streets and squares of Paris but levelled bayonets and waving swords. Instead of looking like a city that had overthrown despotism, conquered its king, and achieved the perfection of liberty, Paris looked very much like a town that had recently been taken by storm, and that was still in the hands of a pestilently unquiet garrison of conquerors. Bailly and Lafayette, who, as mayor of Paris and commander of the National Guards, took upon themselves the chief direction of affairs, endeavoured to purify the press as well as the militia. This too was but a part of a very intelligible whole, and nothing but another proof of the national spirit. They and the party to which they belonged had hallooed on the journalists and pamphleteers to a certain point, but now they pretended that beyond that point they should on no account go. National Assembly had indeed decreed, with their usual solemnity, that the entire liberty of the press was one of the unalienable rights of man; but Bailly, Lafayette, and their compeers seemed to understand by this that the press might be free to print what they thought, but nothing more. They arrested the printers of several patriotic journals, and suppressed their papers as dangerous to the morals and peace of society; they prohibited the hawkers of newspapers from exercising their noisy calling in the streets unless previously provided with their civic licences, and every man of them with a badge. For a time the Marats and writers of that class, who in a future day were to be Baillys and Lafayettes, only with infinitely more power, were driven to hide themselves in by-places, and

to write and print in dirty cellars, in butchers' shops, and deserted churches; and Lafayette boasted that he had arrested anarchy—stopped the revolution precisely where it ought to stop. Poer man! he might as well have pretended to drink up all the waters of the Seine that flow by Paris on their way to the ocean; or, between two thunderclaps, he might as reasonably have said, "This stillness is my making!"

We return to Versailles. Ever since the capture of the Bastille, and the consequent overthrow and flight of Marshal Broglie, there had been scarcely any troops in or near to this royal residence. The national guards did duty at the hall of the National Assembly, and even mounted guard at the palace. The king's body guard, about four hundred strong, and composed entirely of noblemen and gentlemen, did duty in the interior of the château, and had their quarters close at hand. There were, besides, the body called "Cent Suisses," or Hundred Swiss, a portion of the Swiss guard, and some chasseurs à cheval; and these were all. As the intention of the Palais Royal demagogues was perfectly well known, as the court was still more afraid of the Paris mob than the mob were afraid of the court—and with much reason—as there had repeatedly been a talk of sending fifteen, or twenty, or thirty thousand patriots to Versailles, there had arisen a very natural anxiety to obtain a more considerable military force; for what could four hundred gentlemen of the king's body guard, a squadron or two of chasseurs, some Swiss, and a few hundred Versailles men-supposing them even to be depended upon, which they were not-do against the whole rabble of Paris, led on by a Saint Hurugue? Assuredly the National



MARIE ANTOINETTE AT VERSALLES-GARDENS AND PALACE OF THE PETIT TRIANGN.

Assembly had never been in half the danger of Broglie's army, for half that army were on their side from the first, and they were backed by the whole people; yet the Assembly had given many a token of being ill at ease, and had, at least once or twice, been on the very verge of a flight. To increase the not irrational alarm of all that inhabited the palace, intelligence had been received, about the middle of September, that the grenadiers of the old French guards, now incorporated with the Paris militia (under the name of Centre Gremadiers), intended to rendezvous in the place Louis Quinze, and to march thence by night upon Versailles, in order either to bring the king to Paris or to make him their prisoner, by doing the duty of the château, and dismissing both body guards and the Versailles national guards. The name alone of these Gardes Françaises was enough to give the court an ague fit! On the 17th of September Lafayette wrote to M. de Saint Priest, one of the king's ministers, to deny that there was any danger of the kind; but his letter was ambiguous, and the court had no confidence in the The letter was communicated to Count d'Estaing, commandant of the national guard of Versailles, who agreed that it was not satisfactory, and that there was not force sufficient in that town to resist the Gardes Françaises, and the multitude that would be sure to join them. D'Estaing (a soldier and a sailor, who had served with distinction in the late American war, and who had fought Howe and Byron), a decided enemy to all counterrevolutionary projects, wished yet to reconcile an affection for the king, a regard for monarchy and the established rules of society, with a love for liberty and reform: he had undertaken the very dangerous and difficult task of advising the court, or rather the queen, who appears at this moment to have been the only person in the palace capable of forming any project, or of comprehending the real extent of the danger. With the best intentions, d'Estaing consulted with his staff, with the superior officers of the Versailles national guard, and with the municipality of that town, who were as yet composed of men that wished well to the court. They all agreed that, for the sake of the town itself as well as of the palace, some more regular troops ought to be brought up; and the municipality made, in form, an application to the minister at war for one regiment of two battalions. Saint-Priest, in a very constitutional mattner, notified to the National Assembly the demand of the municipality, and informed them that ministers proposed bringing the regiment of Flanders to Versailles. The As-sembly neither sanctioned not condemned the supposition; they declared that it was not their business,† On the 23d of September the regiment of Plans ders arrived, bag and baggage, and with all their appointments and appurtenances. They were met at the entrance of the town by detachments of the Versailles national guard, and by the municipality.

who, to pacify the suspicions of the Assembly and people, administered to them the new oath, which put the nation first, the king last, and the law between the two. But suspicion was too susceptible and irritable to be soothed in this way; and the arrival of this single regiment seemed to fill all the patriots of the town and the majority of the Assembly with alarm and consternation. Terrible things were said of the long train of tumbrils and waggons that had come with the troops; and it was confidently reported that this particular regiment of Flanders had been selected because it was composed exclusively of fanatic royalists. Mirabeau now thundered from the tribune. If he had raised his voice two days before, when Saint Priest delivered his message, the regiment would not have been called to Versailles. Ministers now justified the measure by referring to the demand of the municipality. The arrival of the regiment was instantly communicated, with the addition of many well-invented aggravating circumstances, to Paris. where the sections instantly assembled to discuss the matter in their emphatic way. Again a mad panic seized them, and prepared them for a ferocious desperation. There was going to be a counterrevolution—of that they were certain; and the army of Bouille was coming to Paris to murder them all in their sleep! Those who were more capable of making calculations than this mad rabble conceived that one regiment brought to Versailles could not endanger even the Assembly sitting there, and that all the regiment of Flanders could possibly do would be to facilitate and cover the escape of the court. But then the king would go to Metz and put himself at the head of Bouille's army; and, as that army had not been proselytized by Pythagorean philosophers, as Bouille was known to be a decided royalist, and a brave and able officer besides, what risks and perils must not follow? These were the doubts and calculations of Lafavette. who, for some ten days at least, had been thoroughly convinced in his own mind that the king was contemplating a flight to Metz and an appeal to the stern arbitrement of the sword. A man with a little more perspicacity would have seen that poor Louis XVI. was by habit and by character incapable of so bold a step, so long as there remained a hope or a chance of safety and of future security to his family and himself. Lafayette's suspicion was, however, confirmed by a report which had been for some days confidently propagated, at first among the upper classes of Paris, and then among the populace, that an association was in course of being signed by the high noblesse and clergy, who engaged is defend royalty and to supply the king

a The ming was desirating at this moment that act a crop of blood should be spile truck its account it he could prevent it. The declaration was at the partial will whom there could have seen as about the desiration, there is an expectation of the seen of the spirits of the sp

^{*} Bailly, Mémoires.—Lafayette, Memoirs and Correspondence. † Dulaure, Esquisses.

with money to the amount of one milition and a half of lives per month. According to some accounts, this association had been got up by the queen and her advisers without the concurrence, and even without the knowledge of the king; according to others, the king was as deeply in the project as the queen. Lafayette spoke of these things at a dinner party in Paris to Count d'Estaing, who had been sent by the queen to ascertain the real state of the public mind in the capital. Though Lafayette spoke in a low tone of voice, the count was thrown into an agony of alarm lest some of the servants might overhear the conversation. The domestics of the great were become the greatest retailers of political news; and even the servants of the royal household, converted for the most part by the journals and by the Declaration of the Rights of Man into very decided patriots, diligently plied the office of eaves-droppers. and, patching together the disjointed sentences they chanced to overhear in the palace, they made their reports out-of-doors, and furnished staple materials for coffee-houses and public places. Not a few of them, it is said, were in the pay of the National Assembly. The prevailing morality was and had been long before the revolution lamentably low; and now patriotism justified not only the breaches of trust, but the rude infraction of every feeling of honour, of every virtue. D'Estaing whispered to Lafayette at this dinner party, that he should he careful what he said about such unproved rumours, as a word from his mouth might become a signal of death. "He is coldly positive, this M. de Lafayette," adds Count d'Estaing: " he replied to me that at Metz, as everywhere else, the patriots were the strongest; and that it was better that one man like Bouille should die than that all should perish." * The Marquis de Bouillé was Lafayette's near relation; but that little circumstance only gave a more Roman turn to Lafayette's patriotically constructed sentence. The Scipio Americanusthis was one of the numerous names which Lafayette had obtained from his admirers in France -was evidently alarmed at the idea of the king's flight to the army; and his own letters prove that he stood in awe and fear of Bouille. Whatever share, direct or indirect, he may have had in the brutal movements of the populace, it is proved beyond the reach of a doubt that he considered that neither the revolution nor himself was safe so long as the king resided out of the capital. In the Tuileries Louis could be watched day and night by thousands of eyes, and any evasion would be difficult in the extreme, if not impossible. The eagerness of the Palais Royal had explained itself in overt acts; and, without any imprudence on the part of the court, Versailles would assuredly have been invaded a few days sooner or later. But the court committed follies which hastened the attack. The body guard and the courtiers, from the moment that the regiment of Flanders arrived, paid unusual attention to its officers. This might pro-

* Letter from Count d'Estaing to the queen, as given in Histoire Parlementaire. The date of the letter is September the 14th.

ceed from a very natural feeling us jury must war spring, for they had passed some anxious days and nights when they were left almost along to defend the palace and the royal family; but the patriots suspected that such flattering attentions could only be meant as a preparation for some comp d'étal, in which the regiment of Flanders was to be ch agent. The officers were not only presented at the levee, but were admitted in the evening to the queen's drawing-room, and to several other favoure or honours " which French vanity prizes so highly," All these things were represented to the people as so many criminal seductions employed against liberty.* The Gardes du Corps determined upon giving a grand dinner to welcome the arrival of the new regiment. This was common, or at least not unusual; but what was a very alarming innovation was that permission was granted by the court to hold the military banquet within the palace, in the Grande Salle de Spectacle, or theatre. The feast was given on the 1st of October; and, besides the officers of the regiment of Flanders, the officers of the Swiss Guards, of the Cent Suisse, and many of the officers of the Versailles national guard, were invited to it. The tables were tastefully arranged on the stage, and covers were laid for three bundred guests: the loges, or boxes of the theatre, were partially filled by ladies and gentlemen curious to see the beau spectacle, and who were admitted by tickets. When the performers sat down to dinner, the officers of the regiment of Flanders were mixed in brotherly fashion with the Gardes du Corps, the Swiss, and the militia officers; and the band, instead of Ca Ira, or other new liberty tune, struck up some old loyal air. This alone was considered as a very heinous sin by some of the spectators in the boxes. It seems, however, to be admitted by the severest of these censors that the officers themselves behaved with sufficient decency during the first course, or down to the moment at which the champagne corks were cut loose; but when this brisk wine had circulated a little, all decency, all respect to liberty and patriotism were, it is said, audaciously thrown off. The bands of the Gardes du Corps and regiment of Flanders were ordered to play, and they played with great expression the air

"O Richard! O mon roi! L'univers t'abandonne." †

This appeal to the feelings was too much for the sensibility and enthusiasm of the royalists; and, while some wiped their eyes, others set up a shout of "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" The devil could not have been more irritated by exorcism and holy water than were the patriots present at the time the hands were playing and the loyal shouting. Two little girls, related to persons in the queen's service, joined in the cry of "Vive

^{*} Marquis de Ferrières, Memoires. *

'O' Richard I O my king I all the world is foreaking thes. *

'O' Richard I O my king I all the world is foreaking thes. *

'O' Richard I O my king I all the world is foreaking thes. *

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'O' Richard I O my king I all the world is foreaking the

le Roi!" with all their little force of lungs, and were happy in that exercise, when a starch deputy of the Tiers Etat, sitting in the next box, took them severely to task: "It afflicted him," he said, " to see young and pretty Frenchwomen brought up to follow such vile usages; to cry out, enough to split one's head, for the life of a single man, and to place the king's image in their heart, by a veritable fanaticism, even above that of their dearest relations: he painted to them the contempt such conduct would inspire in brave American women, if they could see French women corrupted in this fashion in their tenderest youth."* But worse was to follow; and, though he could silence two young ladies, the starch Tiers deputy could not stop it. The grenadiers of the regiment of Flanders were admitted into the pit; and, after such a favour had been granted to these new-comers, it was thought but fair and proper to extend it to the common soldiers of the other corps that had been longer at Versailles; and in a few minutes the body of the theatre was almost filled with soldiers. By this time the champagne must have gone round very briskly, or the manners of the common soldiers must have become wonderfully free, for the grenadiers of the regiment of Flanders begged that they might be permitted to drink to the health of the king, the queen, the dauphin, and the rest of the royal family; and wine was given to them in goblets, and they gave out their tousts with good loud grenadier voices; and as they drank them off officers and spectators made a deatening chorus of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Reme!" &c. At this happy, delirious moment a door was thrown open, and the king, and the queen leading the little dauphin by the hand, entered upon the stage and walked down between the long ranges of tables smiling graciously, and (the queen at least) nodding and bowing most gracefully. † This carried enthusiasm to fever-heat and above it: such a clapping of hands and such a straining of voices all pitched to one key, all crying God save the king, the queen, and the dauphin! had never been heard before; the bands again struck up "O Richard! O mon roi;" and when that was finished they played an equally pathetic and appli-

* Madame Campan, Mémoires sur la Vie Privée de Marie Antoinette

cable air, "Peut-on affliger ce qu'on aime?" (Can one afflict what one loves?) Tears and audible sobs were now mingled with the subsiding acclam-The gardes-du-corps, the officers of the regiment of Flanders, and all the other officers bidden to the feast stood up with their swords in their hands-three-hundred good blades shining and pointing heavenward,—and in that martial attitude, and with faces reddened by wine and loyalty, they drank to the king, the queen, and the dauphin. Their majesties then bowed and withdrew, being followed by peals of applause which resounded through every part of that vast and magnificent palace. The epauleted and cordoned performers remained on the stage and at table passing the wine with a rapidity and profusion rare in their country. Whosoever has had the misfortune of witnessing the effect of wine upon these excitable people—of seeing at Very's, the Rocher de Cancalle, or other place where feasts are given, a party of twenty or thirty Frenchmen, soldiers or civilians, elevated by drink—may form some notion of the furor of two or three hundred officers far gone in Burgundy and Champagne. tinguished by self-restraint in any circumstances, a Frenchman in drink is a madman, playing tricks most fantastic and alarming to behold. According to the most moderate accounts all moderation was lost as soon as the king and queen had retired from a scene upon which they ought never to have entered.* The bands played royalist airs, the officers singing the words, and the common soldiers joining chorus; the trumpets sounded a charge, and some of the officers escaladed the boxes as if they were taking a place by assault; and it is said -but the facts are very doubtful-that a voice arose crying " Down with the tri-color cockade! Long live the white cockade! That is the good one! (c'est la bonne)"—and that in the twinkling of an eye a great many patriotic cockades disappeared. It is even said that some arch-traitors were seen trampling the tri-color underfoot; and that in the course of the evening the toast of Vive la Nation, being proposed by one of the National Guard officers, was refused by the other officers with very contumelious language that will not bear translation; but these two facts seem as apocryphal as the two preceding ones. + When the party broke up some of them went and danced, and did worse things, under the windows of the king's apartment: and a soldier of the regiment of Flanders-for men and officers appear to have been mixed throughout these orgies-climbed up to the balcony of his

to inette.

† This visit to the scene of festivities, though represented, like all the rest, as a premoditated design, appears really to have been a sudden thought, an inspiration of the moment, and to have been adopted by the king in mere easiness and compliance of temper. Madame Campan says, that she was astonished beyond measure at their appearing; that, as she herself was going to the theatre to see the sight, the queen told her that the court had been advised to appear, but that she thought under the circumstances such a step might do more harm than good, and that neither the king nor herself ought to have any altrest partin such a fete. Madame Campan adda the was the Duke of Luxembourg who induced the queen to change her resolution. The king had been out hunting and had only just returned to the palace when the proposal was made to him. The simple truth appears to be that the court were labouring under a moral vertigo, and, reeling among doubts and uncertainties, and catching at straws and shadows for support, scarcely knew what they were doing. If there had been a premoditated design there must surely have been a little more caution. When the queen's dying brother, the Emperor Joseph, heard of the events of this night, and of the fearful tragely which followed them, he said to the Count de Segur, who was about returning to Paris: "I know not what to say or think of people who allow feasts to be made for gurder-dw-orrps, without being sure of their army." † This visit to the scene of festivities, though represented, like all

Marquis de Ferrières, Memores.

† Madame Campan says, "It was reported that white cockades were mounted. The story is false. It only appears that some young fellows, belonging to the national guard of Versailles, turned their tri color cockades, which were white underneath." This lady did not remain to see all the extravagances that were committed later in the night. But a great number of the officers themselves afterwards deposed upon their honour and upon their oaths, that no insult whatever was offered to the tri-color or national cookade. The gardes-ducorps had all along retained the white cockade. According to the same evidence the toast of Vive la Nation was never proposed by any one. They may have been too far gone in wine to retain any distinct recollection of what had passed; but Bailly and other authorities of that party do not seem to have known whether the toast was insoluntly refused, or only purposely omitted—omits d desseis.

majesty's bed-chamber to cry out Vive le Roi. This fellow, so enthusiastically or drunkenly loyal, became in four days one of the most dangerous of the mutineers—one of the first of his regiment to declare for the Paris mob. On the same night another soldier of the same regiment committed suicide in an access of loyalty and remorse, quickened by intoxication. One of the queen's chaplains found him lying on the ground with his own sword covered with blood near him. To the priest who offered his spiritual succour the fellow confessed that he had let himself be corrupted by the enemies of his king, and that, since he had seen his majesty and the queen and dauphin, his regret and remorse had turned his head.* From this it should appear that in the course of seven days, which was all the time the regiment of Flanders had been at Versailles, proselytizers and propagandists had been at work to induce the men to attack rather than defend the palace. On the following day, before the fumes of the wine drunk in the theatre were out of their heads, the gardes-ducorps, collecting the fragments of the feast and four hundred bottles of wine which had not been drawn, gave a grand déjeuner in their own hôtel or quarters. Nearly the same scenes were repeated; and the folly and extravagant loyalty were maliciously promoted by agents of the revolution who were there as guests. The national guards, both of Paris and of Versailles, were, it is said, spoken of very disrespectfully. Some gentle voices lisped, "Long live the white cockade? That is the only true one! That is the badge of honour and of glory!" Fair dames and damsels, in the service of the queen and princesses, distributed some white cockades, telling the officers that that was the only good one. The dames exacted from their chosen knights a vow of fidelity—a vow to be true to the Bourbon white—and the knights, mostly young officers, trebly drunk with wine, vanity, and gallantry, obtained the favour of kissing the dames' fair hands.+

All this was the farce before the tragedy an inversion of the usual order of our dramatic representations. Laurent Lecointre, recently a draper in that town, but now lieutenant colonel of the Versailles national guard, raised his voice against this wicked knight-errantry, and anathe-

• Madame Campan, who says that the priest was her own relation, and was on his way to sup with her in the palace when he found the dying soldier. This ladly, who was premiere forme dechambre to the queen, says, that she had returned from the Grande Saile de Spectacle, delighted with all that she had seen (she had not stayed long enough to see the most extravagant parts of the ultraloyal performance), that she found a good deal of company in her apartment, and that she related to them all that she had witnessed. She subjoints: "M. de Beaumetz, deputy of Arras, listened to my recital with a frozen air, and when I had fulshed he told me that what had passed was horrible; that he knew the spirit of the National Assembly, that he knew that the greatest misofrunes must follow close upon the scenes of that evening. He begged permission to retire, in order to deliberate calmly, whether on the morrow he should emigrate or join the extreme party (the côtic gauche). He made up his mind to the latter course, and never again appeared in my society."—Misoriers. This case may serve as a specimen of many sudden political conversions. It came to this with many of the deputies—Shall we fly our country and lose our all? Shall we stay, preserve our honour and our principles, and perish? Or, shall we save ourselves and our property, or our means of obtaining a living, by joining the strongest party?

Marquis de Ferrières.

matized the white cockade, which led to a fierce quarrel with an old chevalier of St. Louis. This said draper-colonel, who subsequently ran the full lengths of Jacobinism, and became one of the most active of accusers and terrorists, published everywhere the most provoking accounts of these two unhappy festivals, inventing many circumstances, and monstrously exaggerating others. The feast in the theatre was held on the Thursday: by Friday morning early everything that had happened. and a great deal more, was known in Paris: on Saturday morning came the news of the dejeunerinsults upon insults not to be borne-and by Sunday the 4th of October all Paris was up in arms against white cockades and black cockades, and every knot of riband that was not the true tricolor. The reported insults to the national or patriot cockade—ce mépris pour des signes chéris -made, most of all, the Paris blood boil. Woe to the man that day that ventured abroad in any unpopular uniform, or with any cockade but their true one. One such daring individual was nearly hanged at the lanterne, many were beaten. Lafayette doubled the patroles; but even the respectabilities of his national guard now looked sullen and savage, as if events had occurred that called for and justified fresh insurrection. The madness of the mob was increased by the non-arrival of some boats that descended the Seine daily with corn for the capital. A cry was raised and repeated in ten thousand places at once, that while the aristocrats were faring sumptuously, and giving profligately extravagant feasts to insult liberty and the nation, the people, who were the nation, were left to starve. Cries of "Bread! Bread! Give us bread!" had been mixed, even on the Saturday, with cries of "To Versailles! To Versailles! Let us go to Versailles and get bread! Let us grapple with the conspirators before we are quite starved!" Among the many republics within a republic, or anarchies within an anarchy, was one composed principally of the market-women of Paris, the Dames de la Halle, a class for which we have no representative in England, the nearest approach to it being the fish-fags of Billingsgate. dames had been distinguished in the olden time by their noisy and outrageous loyalty; and their proudest boast was a privilege they possessed of presenting to the king at some festival an enormous bouquet or nosegay, and of sending up deputations to the court on the birth of a Dauphin or other happy event; but all this loyalty was now an exploded faith, a scorned superstition; the market-. women were converts to the new philosophy, and championesses for liberty and equality. They felt, too, the hardness of the times, and believed that their trade was spoilt and their stomachs pinched by the horrible machinations of the queen and the aristocrats. For a long time they had never alluded to the queen except in the most outrageous and obscene language. They had also been declaring for some time that the men were too slow and timid. On the preceding Saturday even-



PORT ST. ANTOINE. From a View by Legard.

ing a woman of this class had delivered an oration in the Palais Royal, of the most spirit-stirring or stomach-stirring description. Other females had harangued in narrower circles; and it seems to have been agreed among a very considerable number that there should be an insurrection of women The scheme offered many adon the Monday. vantages. Though the respectabilities of the national guards might possibly be inclined to put down poor men, they could not possibly make use of their arms against poor women. At the dawn of Monday-a cold drizzling October morninga crowd of women collected in the Faubourg St. Antoine, whence they soon marched in the direction of the Hôtel de Ville, pressing every female they met into their ranks, and forcing them to march, shout, and shrick with them. At the same moment a girl belonging to the Quartier de St. Eustache, ran into a guard-house of the national guards, seized a drum, beat it through the streets, collected all the poor women of that quarter, and marched away to form a junction with the Faubourg St. Antoine women in the Place de Grève. Some of them took their brooms and mop-sticks with them, some their fire-irons, some the which they dried their clothes, to make havers for aristocratic necks. Other columns soon came posting from other parts of the town, and every woman seen stirring at that early hour, the poor milliner going to her daily work, the old devotee going to matins in her parish church, the housemaid risen betimes, was forced to join and march. It was a universal press of women; and all these columns concentrated in the great Place de Grève, "uttering cries relative to the dearth of grain." * Early as they were, the van of this strange army found a male mob already in the square, endeavouring to hang a baker. The baker was rescued by some of the national guards, and his executioners coiled up their ropes and joined the women; and presently greater mobs of men, many of them armed with pikes, or with their pockets filled with stones, formed in the rear of the women and pushed them forward. The tocsin was now sounding from every steeple, and in every quarter the drums of the national guards were beating to arms. A detachment of cavalry or mounted national guards was charged by the women and driven back as far as the corner of Sheep-street (la Rue du Mouton). The demon-possessed rabble then returned to attack the gates of the Hôtel de Ville, crying "Bread! Bread! We will speak to the mayor! We will see father Bailly !" All the infantry of the national guards that were on the spot formed in order of battle in front of the gates, levelling their bayonets and beseeching the women to keep off them. There were two or three cannon, but they were not loaded. For a few minutes the women halted; but then the men in the rear, throwing stones over their heads at the national guards, pushed them forward, and then the national guards shouldered arms, separated into two wings, and left an open passage between them up to the unbarred gates of the Hôtel de Ville. We believe, and circumstances justify the suspicion, that if the heart of these civic heroes had not been more than half

Carlyle, French Revolution. - Dussals, Jours.

with the people, or if they had not been awed by the great multitude of pikemen in the rear, they would have kept their ground, even though they had used their bayonets against the breasts of these she-devils. This was not a time of delicate distinctions, and the whole story of the revolution shows the hollowness of the vaunted gallantry of the nation. One of the greatest moving principles of it was a rabid hatred and spite against one fair and most graceful woman—a savage fury against the queen, which astonished and disgusted a frank republican, who did not belong to a people making any particular pretension to gallentry and womandevotedness, but whose veins were filled from the milder and better tempered Anglo-Saxon fount. As soon as these national guards gave way the women precipitated themselves into the building, and soon spread themselves over every part of the interior. Some of them, whose manners and dress seemed to testify that they were not of the very lowest orders, entered into the different bureaux or offices of the municipality, and engaged in a conversation with the clerks who had been roused out of their heds before their time: others, more ragged and plain-spoken, demanded bread and arms with terrible oaths, saying that their men were not bold enough; and they seized the books and papers, and swore that they would burn them all, as they were the work of the members of the commune, who were all traitors and all descrying of the latterne, and Bailly and Lafayette more proper to be hanged than any of them. Other divisions of these female stormers tried to break open the magazine of arms: their efforts were fruitless, but, in a short time they were joined by some of the male mob, who brought crowbars, axes, hammers, and who presently broke open those doors, and made themselves masters of seven or eight hundred muskets, a proportionate number of bayonets and swords, and two small cannon. They next broke open a strong room which contained the weights and measures, and three sacks of money. Crying out for the mayor and the heads of the commune or municipality, the women rushed up to the belfry or clock-house that surrounded the lofty edifice, and there they found, seeking to conceal himself, the abbe Lefevre, a member of the commune, an enthusiastic revolutionist at the beginning of the revolution, a pricet braver than artillerymen, one that had distributed gunpowder in the Hôtel de Ville amidst drunken men with

d Couverneur Morris.—His generous feelings were excited long before matters had reached their present height. In describing the procession of the States General and court to the church of Notre

was interrupted in reading his opening speech by loud and joyous acclamations:— The tears start from my eyes in spite of myself. The quest weeks or some to when, but not one voice is heard to wish his well. I would certainly raise mine if I were a Frenchman; but I have no right to express sentiment, and in vain solicit those who are user me to do it. He seems to bless some one "imbased with the milk of humad kindness, who obtginated a faint Five is Reise" at the end of the cereionjes of that day. But since that day of promise or of extravagalit hopes, the public mind had become far more inflamed against the utihappy Marie Ambiliants!

pipes in their mouths at the time of the Bastille insurrection, but who had now incurred odium and suspicion. The she-devils gripped the abbé by the throat, passed a rope round his neck and then over a beam, hoisted him up and left him hanging. The worldly salvation of this abbé Lefevre is accounted for in two ways—some say a woman, or two women, touched by compassion, cut the fatal cord; others say that the rope broke, and let the abbe plumb down some twenty feet or more.* Certain it is the abbe survived his hanging or half-hanging many a year, living to be a member of the National Convention, and to publish the complete works of that driest and most dogmatizing philosophe or atheist, Helvetius, only suffering (as was not unnatural after such half apoplexy) a continual shaking in the head and limbs. If in their first fury these Dames de la Halle and demirens had found astronomer Bailly or General Lafayette, it is by no means certain whether they would not have tucked them up in the same manner. But the mayor and the commandant-general were luckily at their own houses. The officer in command of the national guards, who had served under Lafayette in America, knew not what to do, except to summon his general, who was evidently very slow in coming: his alarm increased upon seeing some of the furies preparing to set fire to an enormous heap of papers, which must have ended in the burning of the whole edifice: he was completely lost; but Stanislas Maillard, a dealer in skins, a huissier à cheval, or riding messenger, and one of the volunteers at the taking of the Bastille, stopped the women, put out their lights, and told them that the proper thing to do was to go at once to Versailles, and that he would be their leader. This saved the Hôtel de Ville. Maillard asked for orders from the superior officer of the national guards. explaining to him how that the first thing to be done was to get rid of these she-devils. The officer would not take it upon himself to order a march upon Versailles; but he told the huisser a cheval that he might go wherever he chose, provided only he did not disturb the public tranquillity. This was delicate. Maillard thereupon took a drum, went out into the Place de Grève, drumming with all his might, and calling upon the women to follow him to Versailles. Horses were procured to draw the cannons, some carts and coaches were roughly pressed into the service, and the Dames de la Halle and the rest of that strange army followed Maillard and his drum. He led them across the Louvre, and through the gardens of the Tuileries, to the Champs Elysées, where a halt was called to wait for recruits. These recruits were not all of the softer sex; for when the petitcoat column was put again in motion, there was a large body of armed men in its front, and all the volunteers of the Bastille in its rear. Some nonsensical stories are told about a speech from the

^{*} Another story is, that the nine Lefevre was cut down, is a a-less state, by men a traketed liter about on the leads of the ballating until he recovered his senses, and then permitted him to crawl home as but he could.